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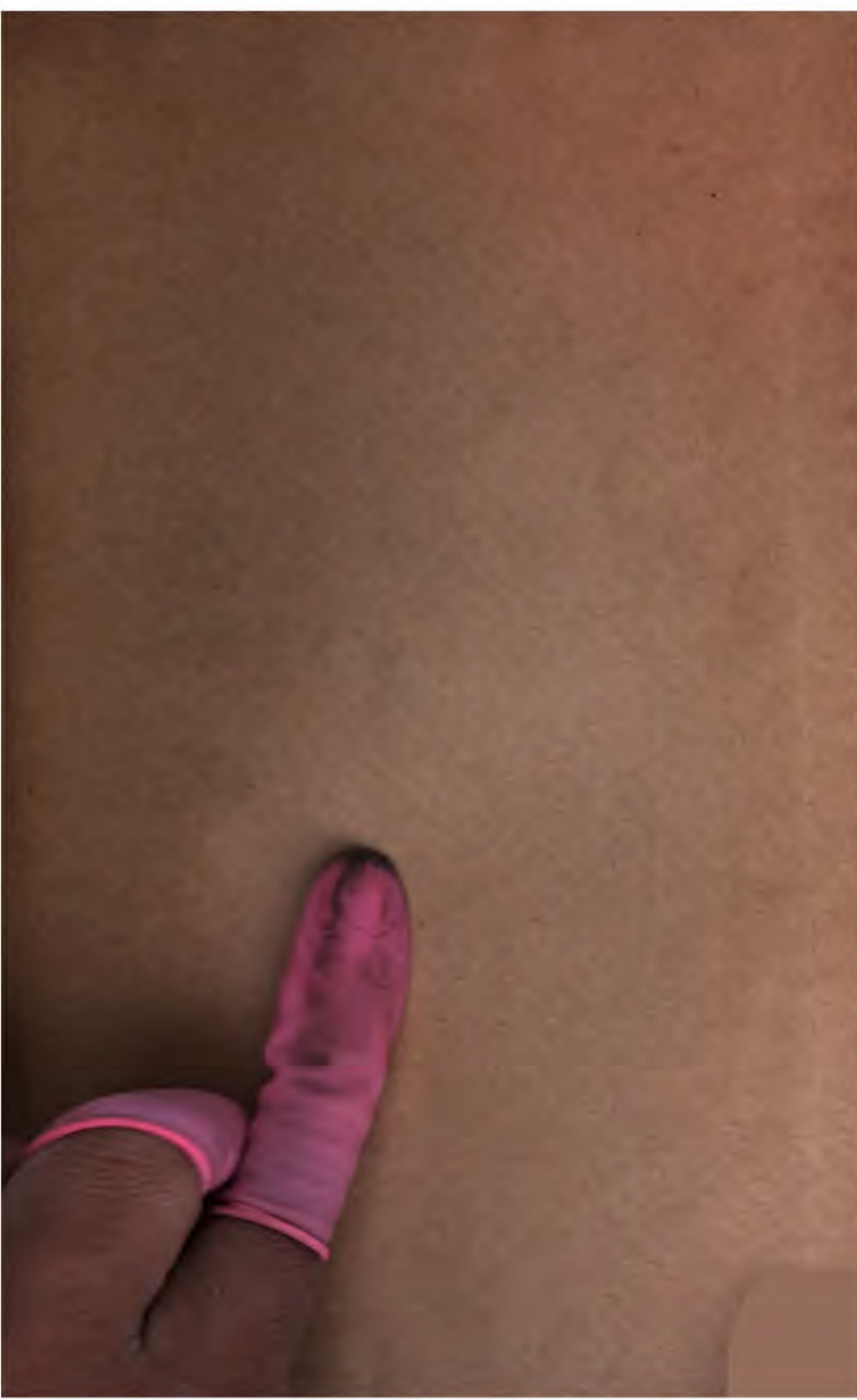
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THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1906.

THE TEA DUTIES.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

THE brief Report on the recent history of Tea Culture in Assam, lately issued as a Blue-book by Mr. Kershaw for the Government of Assam, accompanied by voluminous returns for the year 1904, is a record of work that may well make us feel proud of our race. Read with the "Tea and Coffee" Blue-book laid before the Imperial Parliament by the Board of Trade in August last, it shows the planting community of India bravely and resolutely struggling against the most intolerable fiscal oppression—oppression that is all the more galling because it is gratuitous and unnecessary, benefiting no one, hated even by those who impose it, and maintained simply in deference to the fanatical prejudices of the slaves of an antiquated and obsolete economic fetish.

Like all other Indian producers, the tea-planter contributes heavily to the Imperial exchequer of India, not merely, or even mainly, in the shape of the direct taxation imposed upon him, but indirectly by reason of the currency and exchange policy of the Government. Everyone is agreed that this policy is a right and necessary one for India, and therefore for the Empire ; but due consideration should be shown towards the interests that suffer from its

adoption. And let it not be forgotten that this policy, with its restrictions on the coinage of silver, acts as a direct protection to the teas of China with its free silver. Of that there can be no doubt in the world, though the Cobden Club would howl if this rank protection of China, naked and unabashed, were mitigated by even the smallest preference given to the teas of India and Ceylon.

This unfair burden would be uncomplainingly borne by the Indian and Ceylon planters, from patriotic motives, if only they were treated with ordinary decency in the other fiscal arrangements of the Government. So, too, they have always cheerfully acquiesced in humanitarian labour legislation, feeling that the results are worth some immediate sacrifice. And it has long been admitted, even by those who are accustomed to look with suspicion on "pioneers of Empire," that there does not exist in the whole world a more humane, a more generous, or a more high-minded body of men as a whole than the planting community. Burdens such as those which I am now speaking of, which have at any rate an intelligible *raison d'être*, for they are felt to be burdens of Empire and of humanity, have been readily and cheerfully borne. But there are, and ought to be, limits to this patriotic complaisance. And surely those limits have been reached and passed when an industry that has resuscitated a British colony, that has created an Indian province, that has provided a livelihood for vast numbers of our Indian fellow-subjects, is impoverished and strangled for no better reason than the gratification of a well-meaning but exceedingly foolish British prejudice. These Blue-books prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that—directly in the markets of the United Kingdom, indirectly in colonial and foreign markets where India is not permitted to negotiate—Indian and Ceylon tea is penalized to an extent that is simply appalling, while the most worthless rubbish of Chinese production is proportionately protected, merely in deference to the Cobdenite fanaticism of a portion (probably a small portion) of the

British electorate, and to the foolish and unreasoning dread of that fanaticism that is entertained by a certain number of British politicians who pose as Free Fooders.

For these papers show most clearly that, in the wrong done to the tea industry, the *fons et origo mali* is to be looked for simply and solely in the working of our British and Indian fiscal systems. Under the existing British fiscal system, which Mr. Balfour's sarcasm has christened "Insular Free Trade"—much insularity, and very little Free Trade!—British-grown tea is subjected to every possible discouragement. It is hit both ways by our insular methods. For insularity refuses to remember that it is grown within the Empire, and therefore is really a domestic product. It treats Indian and Ceylon tea as a foreign product that cannot be grown within our insular limits, and that consequently may be taxed up to the hilt without any reproach of Protection. There is hardly any other commodity of general consumption that can neither be grown in "British" soil nor worked up in "British" factories, if by "British" you mean "insular British."

Tea is as much, and as essentially, "food" as corn is. But if you tax foreign corn you might benefit the British farmer, and that, say the Free Fooders, would be Protection. Now, revenue must be raised somehow. There must be some indirect taxation, for incomes are already taxed at a shilling in the pound, and the income-tax and the death duties between them are rapidly tending to destroy thrift. And indirect taxation, to be adequate, must be levied on articles of general consumption. So the *soi-disant* Free Traders, and also—paradoxical as it may seem—those very foolish and illogical persons, the Free Fooders, have quite made up their minds that on these grounds tea is a commodity on which you may without reproach impose an import duty more than ten times as heavy as that which would be cursed by the Cobden Club if it were imposed on corn.

But to anyone who will take the trouble to examine the

statistics of the tea trade, whether as given in these Blue-books, or as very lucidly explained in Mr. Stanton's excellent paper read before the Society of Arts, it will at once be evident that they completely knock the bottom out of every one of the Free Fooder's leading contentions—contentions that are usually put forward with a contemptuous air of cocksureness that altogether disdains to argue with such inferior mortals as Conservatives or Tariff Reformers.

For instance, take the contention, maintained by most Free Fooders as if it were a mathematical fact, that all import duties are paid by the consumer, and that consequently Indian tea-planters need not bother about British import duties, except in so far as they check consumption. Well, as to the import duty checking consumption, the figures yield a somewhat dubious return; for whilst the imports of Indian tea into the United Kingdom during the year 1904-1905 (the year of highest duty) were $2\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds less than in 1903-1904, they were nearly 16 million pounds more than in 1902-1903. But as to the consumer paying all, or (in this particular case) any part, of the import duty, we find that the price obtained from the consumer in London averaged under 7d. per pound in 1904-1905, as against $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound in 1903-1904, and as against $7\frac{3}{8}$ d. per pound in 1902-1903! Of course, every political economist knows perfectly well that, while it may properly be said that, *ceteris paribus*, an import duty may be paid by the consumer, and may therefore tend to check consumption, yet the fact is, in this world of sin and woe, there is never, or hardly ever, such a state of affairs as *ceteris paribus*. And Lord George Hamilton—though (strangely enough) something of a Free Fooder himself—with his usual straightforwardness frankly acknowledged this fact at Mr. Stanton's meeting at the Society of Arts; for he said: "Of course, there are other influences and agencies far more potent than taxation in regulating prices." He went on to minimize this admission, but these words of his are quite sufficient for my present contention. In every

case, and in regard to every commodity, there will probably always be dozens of factors that will enter into the determination both of price and of consumption. And opinions, even of competent experts, will generally differ as to which is the predominant factor. For instance, the Assam Government says : "The fall in price has been very generally attributed to the increase in the home duty, which is said to have lessened the demand for the better qualities of tea ;" though we do not find any considerable increase in the price of the lower qualities to console us for the fall in the better qualities. We simply find that large quantities of the cheaper sorts of the China tea that is protected by its free silver poured in to keep even these prices down. My old friend, Mr. J. D. Rees, I.C.S., C.I.E., in the admirable paper* which he read last year before the East India Association on this subject, was evidently distressed to have to confess that, as a matter of fact, it was the planter chiefly, and possibly the merchant and distributor in a less degree, who pay the tea duty, and not the consumer at all. For he explains the phenomenon by the anxiety of blenders to keep down prices in order to avoid a check in consumption ; and since competition between the blenders (as well as, it may be hoped, commercial morality) forbids the supposition of any general fraudulent substitution of the lower qualities for the better, it is obvious that Mr. Rees's explanation simply amounts to a confession that competition has compelled the planters and the distributors to pay the duty.

If we take a longer period of years, the fact becomes still clearer that, owing largely to the effective competition of the protected China tea, the duty is mainly paid by the planters and by the distributors, and not by the consumers. This is what the newly-published Blue-book has to say on the point :

"In 1884 the value of the tea landed in this country averaged 11½d. per pound ; in 1904 it averaged about 7½d. The value of the tea imported from British India was, in 1884, 14½d. per pound ; in 1904 it was 7½d. The value

* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, pp. 277-295.

of that imported from Ceylon was 17·26d. per pound in 1884; in 1904 it was 7·20d. Chinese tea in 1884 averaged 10·59d.; in 1904 it averaged 7·16d. It thus appears that, whilst the average value of tea from all these sources has declined to almost the same point, the absolute decline has been greatest in the case of Ceylon and least in the case of China teas. It is of interest, moreover, to compare these landing values in the United Kingdom with the declared values of the tea exported to all destinations from the various producing countries. Thus we find that the exports of tea from British India in 1884 were valued at 13·33d. per pound; in 1904 their value was 6·63d. at the port of export. Similarly, the exports of tea from Ceylon in 1884 were valued at 11·63d. per pound; in 1903 at 6·24d. per pound. China tea, in 1884, averaged in value at the port of export 7·26d. per pound; in 1904 5·37d. per pound. It will be observed that the decline in value here shown is (especially in the case of Ceylon and China) noticeably less than the decline in the import values in this country."

It is only because, in the particular case of the tea trade, we possess the statistics of this trade equally for the country of production and for the country of consumption that it is possible thus clearly and certainly to demonstrate the futility of the cocksure dogmas of the Free Fooders. From these statistics we see that the heavier the tax, the keener the competition of the protected China product, and the more crushing the burden on the planters of India and Ceylon, and all the industries related to them—the railways, shipping, landing, warehousing, importing, distributing, wholesale dealing, and retailing industries that draw revenue from the trade in tea. Of course the time will come—if this outrageous impost, or anything approaching it in severity, be maintained—when the resisting powers of the planters will have been worn down, when their profits, and even their capital, will have disappeared, and they will have to give up the struggle; and then the home consumer will have to pay all the duty. And even before this climax is reached, and

while the industry is becoming more and more a losing concern, as the competition will naturally slacken, so more and more will the tax have to be borne by the home consumer. And thus gradually the trade, which was won from China by British pluck and British capital in India and Ceylon, will be retransferred back again to China, where it will be entrenched behind free silver, sweated labour, and the lowest standard of living known to modern humanity.

With regard to this pleasant prospect of the imports of cheap foreign-grown tea into the United Kingdom once more ousting British-grown tea from the home market, some very pertinent remarks* were addressed to the meeting of the East India Association on July 20, 1904, by Mr. Durant Beighton, one of our Indian civilians (now retired), who has had an unrivalled official acquaintance with the Indian tea industry. Mr. Beighton said that the increased import of foreign teas was largely owing to the increased duty, for "if the bulk of the imports were to consist of very coarse tea, owing to the necessity of tea companies making their profit by quantity instead of quality, China tea would come in in ever-increasing quantities." Mr. Beighton warmly advocated an extra impost on the foreign tea, so as to put it on a fair level with British-grown tea, which seems the most simple act of justice and fair-play towards the Indian planter. Lord George Hamilton, replying as a Free Fooder to this very reasonable proposal, said that "China tea amounted to only 7 per cent. of the whole, and what was the use of taxing that?" But, as a matter of fact, the import of foreign-grown tea in the year 1904 amounted to about 22 million pounds, against about 234 million pounds coming from India and Ceylon; so that if this trade could be captured every Indian and Ceylon planter, on the average, would add to his yearly sales at least 9 per cent. more than he now sells. Would any intelligent business-man scoff at such an addition as that? Why, he would perceive that it would give to the wholesome Indian product the control

* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904, pp. 396-398.

of the market, to the infinite benefit alike of producer and consumer! And if good Indian and Ceylon tea, relieved from the burden of the duty, were in this way obtainable at the cheap prices now given for the inferior China rubbish, there is every reason to believe that the *per capita* consumption of tea in the United Kingdom would rise at least to the level which it has attained in Australia, and this would mean a further addition of 50 million pounds per annum, or altogether an addition of something like 30 per cent. to the sales of the Indian or Ceylon planter! Would Lord George Hamilton scoff at that? At the meeting of the Society of Arts on June 3, 1904, Mr. Rutherford, the able President of the Ceylon Association in London, turned the tables on Lord George, by showing how utterly preposterous is the contention that Indian and Ceylon teas in this country have reached the limits of possible consumption, or anything like it. He observed: "As we have been told by Mr. Stanton that this country consumes 6 pounds per head, as against Australia's $7\frac{1}{2}$ pounds, then, if we are 'saturated,' what term can be applied to them?"

Mr. Stanton, of the world-renowned tea firm of Gow, Wilson, and Stanton, gave a masterly exposition of the whole subject in the paper which he read before the Society of Arts on June 3, 1904. And these were the striking words which he used about our taxation of British-grown teas: "It is quite intelligible that as long as tea was not grown by our fellow-subjects, but by foreigners, it should have been taxed, but when its production was so largely in the hands of our countrymen, as has been the case for the last twenty to thirty years, it is somewhat strange that the taxation should have still continued so heavy, and that it should have been impossible to find some other product upon which an impost could be levied which was not so largely grown by our fellow-subjects. With the duty raised to 6d., tea was taxed to the extent of not far short of 80 per cent. of its value, a burden which is admittedly a very heavy one." And now it is more like 120 per cent.

Mr. Stanton showed that the result of our unpatriotic and unsympathetic taxation of our own kith and kin is, and must be (1) the reduction, at any rate for the time, of the consumption in the United Kingdom of the wholesome temperance beverage afforded by our Indian and Ceylon teas ; (2) the substitution, in the food of our poorer classes, of the rubbishy, worthless foreign tea, in some cases the rejections of other countries ; and (3), if persisted in, the crippling of an industry of immense value to India and Ceylon, as well as to the Mother Country. Now, the practical question is, Wherein lies our hope of averting these evils ?

Well, it is clearly shown, both by the official papers I have been quoting, and by the general sense of the discussions at the Society of Arts and the East India Association, that a new era of prosperity for the tea industries of India and Ceylon may be hoped for by the reduction or abolition of the existing import duties ; and that it will be secured, with almost boundless additions, by the establishment of preferential trading within the Empire, with the retention (for revenue purposes) of the existing duties on China, Java, Japanese, and other foreign teas. The returns show what advantages have already been obtained from the generous preferences spontaneously accorded by New Zealand to British-grown teas, by Canada to British productions in general. The virile common-sense and the sympathetic loyalty of all our Colonies are already manifesting themselves in these spontaneous preferences, not only mutually towards each other, where their infinite value is well understood, but also towards India and the United Kingdom, a silent and dignified reproach for our selfish and short-sighted " insular " prejudices.

The practical question I have asked, then, becomes narrowed to this further question, What hope is there of the adoption by the United Kingdom of a more reasonable fiscal system, adapted to the commercial and industrial conditions, not of the " hungry forties " of our grandmothers' time, but of the twentieth century ?

I think that Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour have brought us within sight of this great deliverance from fanaticism. From the point of view of the tea industry, quite the most hopeful words that have yet been uttered were those of Mr. Bonar Law at Aberdeen in October last. The Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade is, by common consent one of the ablest, most popular, and most trusted, of the members of Mr. Balfour's Government. Himself a level-headed, sagacious, and successful man of business, he speaks to business men with an authority that belongs to hardly any other of our front-rank politicians. His words are clear and to the point, and even the dullest and most prejudiced Free Fooder is compelled to admit that he knows what he is talking about. With some of his sensible and logical words, addressed to shrewd and long-headed brither Scots at Aberdeen, I will conclude this article with a real gleam of hope for the planters of India and Ceylon :

"What," he asked, "were our chief sources of indirect taxation now?" Alcohol, tea, tobacco. He did not suggest that any change should be made in regard to alcohol, because he would approve of deriving as large a revenue from that trade as the trade could pay; but what about the other two? Tobacco was largely used by the working classes. Of course there were people who said that they should not smoke. He noticed, for instance, that Mr. Carnegie made that statement strongly the other day. He would himself rather any day go with a meal less than go without his tobacco; and did they wish really that workmen should cease to use tobacco? Had they so many pleasures that we grudged them this one? Tea was still more important. It was not, of course, absolutely a necessary of life; but, as a matter of fact, statistics and experience showed that tea was largely used by the working classes, and that the poorer they were the more they used of it, so that in reality it was just as much as corn the food of the people, and the food of the poorest of the people.

If, therefore, the working man's wife had to pay a little more in a week for her bread, and if she got her tea at exactly the same amount less, how much worse off was she at the end of the week? Lord Rosebery, in one of those utterances which he was fond of making and leaving there, suggested that the Government departments of this country ought to be entrusted to business men. How would a business man look at this? He would say: 'Our foreign corn comes from Russia and America, both of which buy nothing from us which they can possibly produce at home. Our tea comes largely from India, which is one of our best customers. Would it not, therefore, be simple common-sense to so adjust the taxation as to improve the buying power of the country which is our customer, and not to benefit the countries which are not our customers?'"

P.S.—As I have been considering this question mainly from the Indian point of view, I have not ventured to deal with the revenue aspect, which, of course, must be adequately considered both in England and in India. In England, it is quite clear that the abolition, or at least the considerable reduction, of the tea duties is most likely to be undertaken as part of a general scheme for the readjustment of duties in general, such as that proposed by Mr. Chamberlain. And Indian preference for British manufactures will richly compensate the Mother Country for any loss of revenue from tea. In India, no time could be more opportune for reciprocal concessions to British industries, for the flourishing condition of the Indian finances is admittedly due very largely to the indirect burdens on Indian production to which I have alluded, which might be equitably compensated by British preference.

FACTS OF INTEREST AND CURIOUS POINTS IN MOHAMMEDAN LAW.

BY C. D. STEEL, JUDGE U.P. AGRA AND OUDH.

A HOLIDAY task of Mohammedan law may not appear at first sight to be a very attractive one ; but a perusal of Syed Amir Ali's " Mohammedan Law " * gives to a holiday that little extra zest which arises from the conviction that it has not only resulted in health and refreshment, but has also yielded something more of permanent use and interest. The distinction attained by the author is a guarantee of his trustworthiness. He is a Mutazala, one of those " Protestants of the Mussulmans " whose doctrines are spreading rapidly amongst the younger minds.

The book is quite remarkable for the amount of information it gives on matters of almost everyday mention among Europeans in India, concerning which the ideas of the great majority are, to say the least of it, extremely hazy. The author, for instance, quotes Mr. Justice Arnold's judgment in the Khoja case :

Struggle for the Caliphate.—" The general expectation of Islam had been that Ali, the first disciple, the beloved companion of the Apostle of God, the husband of his only surviving child Fatima, would be the first Caliph. It was not so to be. The influence of Ayesha, the young and favourite wife of Mahomet, a rancorous enemy of Fatima and of Ali, procured the election of her own father, Abubekr ; to Abubekr succeeded Omar, and to him Osman, upon whose death, in the year 665 of our era, Ali was at last raised to the Caliphate.

Death of Ali.—" He was not even then unopposed ; aided by Ayesha, Muawiyah, of the family of the Ommeiades,

* " Mohammedan Law, compiled from the Authorities in the Original Arabic," vol. i., third edition, by Syed Amir Ali, M.A., etc., barrister-at-law, Judge of H.M. High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

contested the caliphate with him, and while the strife was still doubtful, in the year 660 A.D., Ali was slain by a Kharejite, or Mussulman fanatic, in the mosque of Cufa, at that time the principal Mohammedan city on the right or west bank of the Euphrates, itself long since a ruin, at no great distance from the ruins of Babylon.

"This assassination of Ali caused a profound sensation in the Mohammedan world. He was, and deserved to be, deeply beloved, being clearly and beyond comparison the most heroic of that time fertile in heroes—a man brave and wise, and magnanimous and just, and self-denying in a degree hardly exceeded by any character in history. He was, besides, the husband of the only and beloved child of the apostle of God, and their two sons, Hassan and Hussain, had been the darlings of their grandfather, who had publicly given them the title of 'the foremost among the youth of Paradise.'

Hassan.—"Of these sons, Hassan, the elder, a saint and a recluse, on the death of his father, sold his birthright of empire to Muawiyah for a large annual revenue, which, during the remainder of his life, he expended in works of charity and religion at Medina. In the year 669 A.D. this devout and blameless grandson of the Apostle of God was poisoned by one of his wives, who had been bribed to that wickedness by Yezid, the son of Muawiyah, and the second of the Ommeiade Caliphs of Damascus.

Hussain.—"There thus remained, as head of the direct lineage of the Apostle of God, Hussain, the younger son of Fatima and Ali, a brave and noble man in whom dwelt much of the spirit of his father.

Battle of Kerbela, 680 A.D.—"Eleven years after his brother's murder, in the year 680 of our era, yielding to the repeated entreaties of the chief of the people of Irak Arabi (or Mesopotamia), who promised to meet him with a host of armed supporters, Hussain set forth from Medina to Cufa to assert his right to the caliphate against the hated Ommeiades. He crossed the desert with only a feeble

train—his wife, his sister Fatima, two of his sons, and a few armed horsemen—when, on reaching Kerbela, then a desert station about a day's journey from the west bank of the Euphrates, and in the near neighbourhood of Cufa, he found drawn up to meet him a host, not of retainers but of foes. The narrative of what follows is among the most pathetic in all history. The noble son of Ali and Fatima, the favourite grandson of the Apostle of God, after deeds of valour, romantic even in an Arab of that age, fell pierced through and through with the arrows and javelins of the cowardly assailants who did not dare to come within the sweep of his arm. One of his sons and nephew had already been slain in his sight. His other son, his wife, and his sister, were carried away captive to Damascus. They smote off the head of the son of Ali and paraded it in triumph in the streets of Cufa. As it passed along, the brutal Obeidullah, the Governor of the city, struck the mouth of the dead man with his staff. 'Ah!' cried an aged Mussulman whom horror and just wrath made bold, 'what foul deed is that? On those lips I have seen the lips of the Apostle of God.' This tragic event stirred the heart of Islam to its very depth."

Sources of Mohammedan Law.—The author states that "the grand superstructure of Islamic jurisprudence is founded on the Koranic laws and the traditional sayings of the Prophet; but much of the coping-stone was supplied at Baghdad, in Bokhara, in Syria, in Andalusia, and Persia. The fundamental bases (for Sunnis) are (1) the Koran; (2) the Hadis or Sunnāt (traditions handed down from the Prophet); (3) the Ijmāa-ul-Ummat (concordance among the followers); and (4) the Kiyas (private judgment).

Shiahs.—"The Shiahs do not admit the genuineness of any tradition not received from the Ahl-ul-Bait (the 'People of the House') consisting of Ali and Fatima and their children, and repudiate entirely the validity of all decisions not passed by their own spiritual leaders and Imams. In the application of private or analytical judgment and in

drawing conclusions from the ancient precedents, they also differ widely from the Sunnis." It is pointed out how the schism between Sunnis and Shiahhs originated with dynastic questions, and grew into a separation on doctrinal and legal points ; and the bitterness between the two is attributed to the reception which the two accorded to the doctrine of the *Imamate* or "spiritual headship of the Mussulman Commonwealth." The Shiahhs repudiate entirely the authority of the Jama'at (or the universality of the people) to elect a spiritual chief, who should supersede the rightful claims of the persons indicated by the Founder of the Faith ; whilst the Sunnis regard the decisions of the assemblies, however obtained, as of œcumenical importance. Ali, when offered the caliphate on the death of Omar, on condition that he should govern in accordance with the precedents established by the two former Caliphs, declined it, declaring that in all cases respecting which he found no positive law or decision of the Prophet, he would rely upon his own judgment.

At first known simply as the Banu-Hashim, the partisans of Ali under Muawiyah began to be called "Shiahhs" or "adherents" ; whilst the partisans of Muawiyah were called Amawis. When the Abbasides acquired the dominion, the faction which advocated the principle of election in preference to hereditary succession adopted the name of Ahl-us-Sunnat wa'l Jama'at ("People of the Traditions and Assembly"). According to the Shiah doctrine, the oral precepts of the Prophet are in their nature supplementary to the Koranic ordinances, and their binding effect depends on the degree of harmony existing between them and the laws of the Koran.

Sunnis.—The Sunnis, on the other hand, base their doctrines on the entirety of the traditions. They regard the concordant decisions of successive Caliphs, and of the general assemblies (Ijmâa-ul-Ummat) as supplementing the Koranic rules and regulations and as almost equal in authority to them.

Four Schools of Sunnis.—The four distinctive juridical

schools among the Sunnis are those of (1) Abu Hanifa (whose doctrines are in force among the major portion of Indian Mussulmans, the Afghans, Turkomans, almost all Central Asian Mohammedans, and the Turks and Egyptians); (2) of Malik-ibn-Ans, whose tenets hold good in Northern Africa, especially in Morocco and Algeria; (3) of Shafei of Ghizeh in Syria, whose doctrines prevail in Northern Africa, in Egypt, in Southern Arabia, in Java, in the Malayan Peninsula, and in Ceylon; and (4) of Ibn Hanbal.

The "Disciples."—Abu Hanifa had two celebrated followers—Abu Yusuf and Mahomed—who are so greatly venerated that when they both dissent from their master, the Mussulman judge is at liberty to adopt either of the two decisions which seems to him to be more consonant with reason. Abu Hanifa's dicta should be followed only in religious matters. In judicial decrees in all matters relating to disposition of property, a preference is given to the doctrine of Abu Yusuf, who was an eminent judge. The views of Mohammed should be followed in questions of inheritance.

Legal Works of the Mussulmans.—The legal works of the Hanafis are text-books and digests of decisions (Fatāwa). One of the most celebrated of the former is the *Hedaya*, which took Burhan-ud-din of Marghinan in Ferghāna (who died A.D. 1196) thirteen years to write. The glosses on the *Hedaya*, of most repute in India, are the "Nihaya," the "Inaya," the "Ghait-ul-bayan," the "Kifaya," and the "Fath-ul-Kadir." The *Nihaya* is important as supplying the omission of the law of inheritance in the *Hedaya*; but a far better book on this subject is the "Faraiz-us-Sirajiya." The *Hedaya* was translated into Persian and subsequently into English by Mr. Hamilton, under the auspices of Warren Hastings. The chief work in Turkey is the "Multaka-ul-Abhar," by Shaikh Ibrahim, of Aleppo, who flourished under Solyman the magnificent.

Of the Fatāwa, the most important are the Fatāwai Kazi

Khan and the Fatawāi Alamgiri. Kazi Khan was a contemporary of Burhan-ud-din, and his work is received in the courts as of equal authority with the Hedaya. The "Fatāwai Alamgiri" were compiled by the orders of the Emperor Aurangzib Alamgir, and are referred to in Western works as *the Hindieh*. In the original the names of the authorities from which the decisions are collected are invariably given with many of the reasons and often with comments by the compilers, the learned mufti's of the courts. The most practical and well-reasoned work of this class is the "Radd-ul-Mukhtar," by Md. Amin (the Syrian), which contains a critical résumé of previous decisions, the opinions of the most important earlier legists, with a full account of the recognised and accepted principles in modern times. The best-known writer of the Maliki sect is Sidi Khalil, whose encyclopædic work has been translated into French by M. Perron, under the patronage of the French Government. The chief works of the Shiahs would seem to be the "Istibsar," the "Nihaya," and the "Mabsut of Md. al Hasan" surnamed the "Shaikh," the *Kitab-ul-Intizar* Murtaza, surnamed "Al Huda" (the guide) of Saiyid, the *Sharaza-ul-Islam*. As to the last, our author says: "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the baleful influence of this legist among the Shiah communities, which have adopted his views. His literal views have paralyzed all movements of the intellects." The "Jamaa-us-Shittat," a grand collection of decisions and dicta, was published within the last century in Persia by the leading mujtahids of Teheran.

Causes of the Present Stationary Condition of Mohammedan Nations.—The present stationary condition of the Mohammedan nations as compared with their rapid progress in the early centuries of Islam is due, according to Syed Amir Ali, to the general view that no one who had not obtained to the factitious or empirical stage of judicial knowledge possessed by the mujtahids of the first three centuries can aspire to freedom of legislation or liberty of

judgment. He points out that the same blight has fallen over Shiah ideas by the introduction among the common folk of the Akbari rather than the Usuli doctrine. "The freedom of judgment, he says, "allowed by the latter school gave ample scope to social progress and moral development."

Rafaa ed Dainism.—Shafeism now stands forth in the presence of the Sunnis as the embodiment of those aspirations for moral regeneration and legal reform which are agitating so many minds in Islam. In India, under the name of Rafaa ed Dainism, it is measuring strength with Hanafism in its very strongholds. The word Rafaa ed dain means "The raising of the hands." The Shafeis, Malikis, and Hanbalis all do this when uttering the words "Allahu-akbar," (the takbir). The Hanafis raise theirs no higher than their ears and recite the word "Amen" very softly. The right of the non-conformists ("Ghair-mukallids") to say their prayers according to their own ritual in the mosques frequented by Sunnis have formed the subject of much litigation, but it has now been decided that they may do so *so long as they do not interrupt or disturb the worship of others.*

Curiosities.—The following are a few curiosities of Mohammedan law. The definition of a "fakir" by Kazi Khan is quoted. He says: "A person is called *fakir*," (indigent) "who has only a lodging" (and nothing more), "and he would be entitled to zakāt" (poor rate or religious alms) "as well as the benefit of a wakf for the poor. Similarly, a person who has only a lodging but no where-withal for a subsistence, though he may have an attendant, is a fakir. A person who has only a few necessary raiments and nothing else is a fakir."

A special legacy of a drum for amusement is null and void, unless it can at the same time be used for warlike purposes and for pilgrimages.

Mohammedan law does not seem to hold that "A pound of feathers is heavier than a pound of lead," for we read

that a person who has hired an animal to carry a certain quantity of cotton would not be at liberty to load the animal with "a similar quantity of iron," since the carriage of the latter would probably be more prejudicial to the animal.

District officers in India will be interested in the following : " Trees planted in a mosque become the property of the mosque, as they are on the same footing as a building erected within the mosque (premises). But trees planted by the side of a public canal or a village reservoir remain the property of the owner, and *he can transplant them.*"

The worn out mats and the broken beams of a mosque may be sold, but this is only lawful on the condition that these articles should serve as fuel.

Shrewd Sayings.—The shrewdness of the Prophet and his followers often takes amusing turns. We are told that when a wakf is made for students, and the wakf is small, only poor students will be supported. But generally the word "student" implies want, and when a wakf is made for students in general, it is confined to indigent students alone "for students are almost all in straitened circumstances." The (modern) jurists hold that in these times it is not necessary to apply to the Kazi for the appointment of a mutawali, "as the Kazis of our times have proved themselves not trustworthy." If of two sons one is very pious, and the other is best acquainted with the affairs of the wakf and its management, "the towliat should be given to the latter if he is trustworthy."

Female Testimony.—*Pace* the ladies! "In cases where property only is concerned, the testimony of one witness on oath may be received, *or of one male and two females*, and the testimony of even a single female witness may be received as establishing the right of a legatee *to a fourth part of what she testifies to*; of two women as supporting his claim to a half, of three as to three-fourths, and of four as to the whole." As to the appointment of executors or guardians, the Mohammedan law will not admit of female testimony.

Lastly, the fifth tradition of the Prophet is to be noted. It runs : "The thing with which a man maintains himself is a charity."

Interesting Law Points.—To turn now from these lighter matters to interesting points of Mohammedan law, it is noticeable that, "as a matter of fact, no analogy drawn from English law with regard to trusts and settlements can assist in the comprehension of the Mohammedan law relating to wakfs. Under the English law a perpetuity is bad ; under the Mussulman law, without any difference, perpetuity is an essential element in the constitution of a wakf." Neither the *ces-tui qui* trust nor the manager can grant a lease of wakf property for a long period. The mutawali is a mere manager ; he has no power of mortgage, sale, or lease over the wakf property, even for a necessity, save and except so far as is provided in the wakfnameh.

Wakf.—Wakf is the subject treated of at most length in this book. The institution of wakf seems to have been a device to save property from the rapacity of Sovereigns. A wakf, besides being inalienable and non-hereditary, is imprescriptible—that is, it cannot be subject to the rights of the Sovereign as private property.

Wills.—M. Sautayra is quoted as follows : "A will from the Mussulman's point of view is a divine institution, since its exercise is regulated by the Koran. It offers to the testator the means of correcting to a certain extent the law of succession, and of enabling some of those relatives who are excluded from inheritance to obtain a share in his goods, and of recognising the services of a stranger, or the devotion to him in his last moments."

The position of an executor differs much from that assigned to him by English law. The legal estate does not rest in him. Abu Yusuf is reported to have said : "To enter upon an executorship for the first time is a mistake, for the second a fraud, and for the third a theft."

Temporary Marriages.—Many persons will be interested in the following : "Among the Akhbari Shiahs, or a certain

section of them, temporary contracts of marriage (*mutāa*) are recognised as valid. In such cases the husband has no power of divorcing his wife ; the contract being for a stipulated period, fixed by mutual consent, comes to an end by the efflux of the time so fixed, or by the death of either of the parties. They may, however, dissolve the convenient arrangement by mutual consent."

Mosques, Churches, and Synagogues.—The law imposes but one limitation over the liberality of those who do not follow the Islamic faith ; it forbids their constituting a mosque as beneficiary of their *wakf*. According to the Shafei doctrine a *wakf* for the construction of Christian churches or synagogues is void ; but a *wakf* in favour of a hospital for Christians or Jews, made as it is with a pious motive, is lawful. Abu Hanifa, more liberal than his two disciples, allows a Jew or Christian to bequeath his house as a church or synagogue, arguing that the founding of churches or synagogues is held by these persons to be an act of piety, and as we are enjoined to leave them to the exercise of whatever may be agreeable to their faith, the bequest is lawful in conformity with their belief.

The volume now under notice contains the law as to gifts, *wakfs*, wills, pre-emption, and bailment. The third edition of Vol. II. relating to the personal law of the Mohammedans has not yet been brought out. If it does appear, it will doubtless be of great interest. The general index at the end of the volume now under review seems to want revising. For instance, the word "*Mutazala*" does not appear on p. 12 to which the index refers us.

YARKAND.

BY E. H. PARKER.

As I explained in the short account which I gave of Kashgar (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1905), the first Chinese mission to the West in B.C. 130 kept well to the north, and did not go near Kashgar or Yarkand, neither of which places is mentioned in the first real Chinese history, written by Sz-ma Ts'ien, and published about B.C. 90. In B.C. 76 it was that the Kashgar-Khoten region was conquered by China from the Hiung-nu (*i.e.*, the Huns of Europe, the Turks of China), and the name So-kü (the modern official name for the *hien* of Yarkand), appears about then for the first time. Of the two known roads to the West, the more southerly lay from Lob Nor to the north of the range still known as the Nan Shan or "Southern Hills," and thence "along the River"—*i.e.*, the Tarim, then erroneously supposed to be the upper course of the Yellow River—westwards to Yarkand.

Previous to the Chinese conquest of B.C. 76, the whole of the Tarim Valley States were a kind of semi-independent foreign preserve, the most westerly of them, at least, under the rule of princes of the Säk or Saca race—that is, we must suppose, under Persians from Sacasthene or Seistan. At the present day the population is stated to consist chiefly of Turkish-speaking Persians and Turkish Sarts; which fact, if correct, thus accords with the Chinese historical data of 2,000 years ago, and with what we know of the Turkish conquests. The Hiung-nu sub-khan, or prince, who ruled the western frontiers of the nomad empire, had a permanent military governor or commissioner stationed at the modern Harashar, then called Yen-k'i, or at one of the affiliated towns within a short radius of that centre; it was the duty of this military commissioner or inspector to keep an eye on the settled regions of what we now call Turkestan, and

to see that full supplies, drafts, tributes, and taxes were duly collected and forwarded by these vassal States for the use of the nomad government.

After the Chinese conquest of B.C. 76, the nomad commissioners at Harashar were naturally discontinued, and as the Chinese soon still further weakened the Hiung-nu power, these horse-riding rovers by degrees found themselves quite unable to get near to the Tarim Valley at all. The first Chinese proconsul in charge of the West was appointed about B.C. 60, and his residence or citadel lay a little to the west of Harashar, on the Yarkand road, in the neighbourhood of the Bukur and Kuché* of to-day. Chinese colonists were hurried up from the east, "and the So-kü land was divided up"—apparently into several minor principalities.

Yarkand, as it will now be more convenient to style it, is thus described : It is 3,000 miles (9,950 *li*) from the metropolis—*i.e.*, from the Si-ngan Fu of modern times, and lies 4,746 *li* to the south-west of the Chinese proconsul's headquarters (near Kuché), 560 *li* to the east of Kashgar, 740 *li* to the north-east of Sairlik (then called P'u-li), and 380 *li* north-west of P'i-shan (somewhere north of Shahidula). The King of the territory ruled at a city also called So-kü, from which we gather that his whole domain practically consisted of one central town and a circlet of villages and gardens ; just as the modern oasis included or includes Tashkurgan, Yanghi-hissar, Posgam, Kargalik, Sanju, Tagarchi, Karchum, Guma, Beshtarik, etc. There were 2,339 households, 16,373 souls, and 3,049 effective troops. After the Chinese conquest, the administrative staff consisted of one lord of the marches—probably the ex-King himself—two generals, two cavalry generals, two military inspectors, and four chief interpreters or translators. Iron and jade are mentioned amongst the trade productions ; but it is not made quite clear whether they

* Even 2,000 years ago the modern Kuché was known by an almost exactly similar name.

came from Yarkand itself or from its immediate neighbourhood.

In my account of the Ephthalite Turks (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1902) it was explained that, between their newly-founded Oxus-Indus empire and the nomad dominions of the Hiung-nu, lay a third Tartar kingdom called by the Chinese Wu-sun. It had been imperialist policy to link this people by marriage to the Chinese interest, and we are told that the young son of a Chinese princess, who had lived through two successive kings for forty years (B.C. 95-91) in Wu-sun land, was a close personal friend of the Yarkand king. When this Yarkand King died without heirs, it so happened that the young Wu-sun prince in question, who bore the purely Chinese name of Wan-nien ("myriad years") was at the Chinese imperial Court, probably doing duty as a page-hostage. The leading men of Yarkand, anxious to ingratiate themselves with China on the one hand, and with the Wu-sun nomads on the other, submitted a request to the Emperor that Wan-nien might be made the next King of Yarkand. This request was granted, and a special ambassador was accordingly appointed to escort the young man back to his native land and new post. However, his temper proved so vicious that the late King's younger brother soon got up a revolution, murdered both Wan-nien and the Chinese ambassador, and endeavoured to induce the neighbouring states—corresponding to Yanghi-hissar, Kargalik, Kugiar, etc.—to rise against China. It so happened that just then another special Chinese envoy was escorting a Kokand (then called Ta-wan) mission either from or back to the West: this energetic officer secured for himself the co-operation of the neighbouring States, put the usurper to death, and appointed another brother as King of Yarkand. All this took place in the year B.C. 65, and the Emperor heartily approved of it.

Nothing more is heard of Yarkand till A.D. 16, when in China a usurping dynasty intervened for about thirty years between the Early Han (B.C. 200 to B.C. 5) and Later

Han (A.D. 25-220) imperial houses. The usurper sent a general "at the head of 7,000 Yarkand and Kuché troops" to take possession of Harashar. This the general did, but he soon lost his life in the struggles which went on there; and the Chinese usurper himself died in A.D. 23, after which the western regions were totally isolated from China for some little time, and nomad Hiung-nu overpower was re-established. There was one exception, however, in the case of Yarkand, whose King was sufficiently strong in his own resources to resist all nomad dictation. This King had, during the reign period B.C. 49-33, also been a page at the Chinese Court, and had in consequence conceived a liking for civilized ways, besides gaining some insight into the workings of law and of Court functions. He was, therefore, always careful to impress upon his sons the wisdom and importance of faithfully serving the interests of the imperial Chinese house. This ruler died in A.D. 18, and was rewarded for his loyalty to China with the posthumous title of *Fidus Martins*. His son not only resisted nomad encroachments, but, on the accession of the Later Han dynasty at Loh-yang (Ho-nan Fu) in A.D. 25, he succeeded in safely convoying the Chinese proconsul, with his staff escort and camp following, safely back, after many years of helpless isolation, to the Chinese frontier (near Marco Polo's "Erguiul"). For this service the Yarkand ruler in question was created in A.D. 29 "Meritorious and Grateful King, under Han,* of Yarkand," and was also appointed Military Inspector over the fifty-five Turkestan States. The reign of this semi-independent monarch closed in A.D. 33, when he also received a posthumous title of honour. His younger brother and successor extended his conquests south and east to the modern Yularik and Kerya, setting two of his own nephews up in place of the native sub-kings of those places, and carrying his hegemony

* Later on, in A.D. 229, Vasudéva, the Kushan or Indo-Scythian king, was in the same way created "king, under Wei," etc.—i.e., when the Han dynasty had been replaced by that of Wei (see *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1902).

even so far as Lob Nor,* along with whose King he sent tribute to China in A.D. 38. This was the zenith of Yarkand's power, which has never been equalled since, even under the ephemeral empire of Yakub Beg in our own times.

In the year 41 the ambitious satrap of Yarkand sent an envoy to solicit the appointment of Chinese Proconsul of the West in his own person. The Emperor himself was a little doubtful about the wisdom of entrusting so much power to a foreigner; however, after some deliberation in council, a special envoy was sent to confer the imperial title, and to carry suitable presents, along with the necessary insignia of rank. The Chinese frontier governor of Tun-hwang (Marco Polo's Sacchiou) remonstrated against the imprudence of confiding in a "Tartar barbarian" to this unprecedented extent, in consequence of which the proconsular seal was suddenly recalled whilst on its way, and a military seal as Chinese generalissimo was conferred instead. As the Yarkand envoy, who seems to have carried with him on his return the original full-powers, declined to exchange them for the inferior dignity, the Governor of Sacchiou effected the transfer by force, in consequence of which the irate King of Yarkand not only made unauthorized use of the full proconsular title, but even conceived a hatred for China, and adopted besides the nomad title of *jenuyeh*,† or "Supreme Khan," to show his independence of the Hiung-nu. Abusing his power to overtax the neighbouring sub-states, he carried his victorious arms from time to time into Kuché and elsewhere. The result was that, in A.D. 45, the eighteen more easterly kingdoms corresponding to the regions of modern Turfan, Harashar, Lob Nor, etc., sent special envoys with presents and page-hostages to China, expressing a prayer that a genuine proconsul might be once

* See *Anglo-Russian Society Journal* for 1902, "Dr. Sven Hedin and Lob Nor," pp. 24-41.

† The *shen-yü* (Deguignes' and Gibbon's "*Tan''-jou*") of the Hiung-nu, the title still used in A.D. 1000 by the Ghuz Turks (see *Asiatic Quarterly* w, January, 1904, "Some New Facts about Marco Polo").

more established. But the new Emperor of China had not even yet sufficiently established the "restoration" dynasty of Han on a strong basis, and was unwilling to risk his military power so far west; the result was that Yarkand's pretensions became more aggressive than ever, and the other discontented States were obliged to satisfy themselves with a private understanding (approved by the Emperor), under which their hostages to China were kept "on show" at Sacchiou "until such time as the Chinese proconsul should arrive," hoping by this piece of "bluff" at least to frighten Yarkand into moderation. This plan succeeded until the year 46, when the King, finding that the oft-threatened wolf did not come, ordered the King of Lob Nor to close the road leading to China. This arrogant demand was met by the instant decapitation of the envoy who brought it. War, of course, ensued; Yarkand was victorious; and the King of Lob Nor had to fly to the hills with a loss of 1,000 prisoners. The triumphant King of Yarkand now proceeded to annex Kuché and to murder its ruler. The hostages at Sacchiou, hearing of these untoward events, fled back in all haste to their respective native countries. An urgent appeal to the Emperor from Lob Nor explained that, unless China sent immediate help, there would be nothing for it but to ask protection from the Hiung-nu once more. As the Emperor was still not prepared to act, this political move actually took place, both Turfan and Lob Nor throwing themselves humbly upon the nomad mercy. Such action only made Yarkand the more overbearing: one of its westernmost sub-states in the Pamir region revolted, and was crushed; Kuché was divided into two kingdoms; and the puppets whom Yarkand set up to rule these refractory regions proved so unsatisfactory that their populations were also driven into seeking Hiung-nu protection, in consequence of which the nomad power set up a Kuché king of their own. Yarkand's suzerainty seems to have extended westwards as far as Kokand, for we find an army made up of the troops of the various sub-states

marching under Yarkand in order to enforce payment of Kokand's taxes. It appears to have been part of Yarkand's fixed policy* to transfer one king to another's kingdom, and *vice versa*; and in this way we next hear of Samarcand (then called K'ang-kü) attacking the King of Kerya, whom Yarkand had set upon the Kokand throne, and of the Khoten king being moved to a neighbouring throne, whilst a Yarkand prince was appointed to Khoten. So insecure, however, did the Supreme King of Yarkand feel under this system of manipulation, that he ended by summoning to a durbar, and then assassinating, the Kings of Kerya, Khoten, Yaka-aryk, and Kugiar (or perhaps Yularik), and decided to appoint military governors of his own instead of native kings in future. This new arrangement did not work well in Khoten; war soon broke out, and a native Khoten pretender, after various plots and counterplots, succeeded in inflicting two very serious defeats upon the Yarkand forces (A.D. 60). Kuché, under Hiung-nu guidance, made an ineffectual attempt to crush Yarkand altogether, and at last the new King of Khoten managed to obtain recognition from, and to conclude a peace with, Yarkand. Next year, however, the treacherous King of Khoten, although connected with the Yarkand family by several family ties, once more made war; captured by a ruse the King of Yarkand; and, after keeping him in confinement for a year or more, killed him. Meanwhile the Hiung-nu, hearing that Khoten had taken the place of Yarkand as the leading settled state, despatched five generals to raise 30,000 troops in Harashar, Kuché, and thirteen other of the easterly group of states. Khoten was besieged, surrendered, and gave hostages to the nomads, undertaking to pay tribute in carpets and silk floss. The son of the late King of Yarkand, who had meanwhile been a hostage with the Hiung-nu, was appointed by them to be King of Yarkand: but the Khoten king would not tolerate this, made war upon him, and killed

* It will be seen later on that the modern Manchus acted in the same way.

him, setting a brother of his own on the Yarkand throne instead. This was in the year 86, and some years after China had decided to intervene actively once more in western affairs, in the effective manner about to be explained.

In A.D. 73 the celebrated soldier-diplomat, Pan Ch'ao (brother of Pan Ku, the author of the Early Han History), by a *coup d'état* at Lob Nor at one blow decapitated the Hiung-nu resident ambassadors there, and secured the place for China once more. Khoten, Kashgar, and Yarkand followed suit; their troops, reinforced by Indo-Scythians, Samarcandians, and Wu-sun, supported Pan Ch'ao in his attack upon the refractory State of Kuché, whose power included modern Aksu and Yaka-aryk further west. It was not until the year 87, however, that Yarkand, which from time to time coquetted with, or was constrained by Kuché when Chinese support was not at hand, was finally conquered by Pan Ch'ao. After thirty-one years' service in Turkestan, Pan Ch'ao went home to die in A.D. 102. Yarkand repeatedly attempted to throw off the Khoten yoke, and at last, subsequently to 119, fell under the supremacy of Kashgar. In 130 the King of Kashgar (appointed by the Indo-Scythians)* sent a page-hostage to China in company with the envoys of Kokand and Yarkand. During the short existence (220-265) of the Wei dynasty, the "south road" was considered to run *viâ* Khoten, which was the predominant power. On the central road there were three great states, Harashar, Kuché, and Kashgar; and Yarkand still belonged to the last named.

For three centuries† Chinese influence now disappeared from Turkestan. During the fifth century, when the Toba Tartars ruled the northern half of China, So-kü is barely mentioned; it is stated that, after going west from the place to the Ts'ung-ling Mountains, you continued west for

* See "Dr. Sved Hedin and Lob Nor," p. 31, and "The Ephthalite Turks" as cited above.

† See "Kashgar" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1905).

another 400 miles (1,300 *li*) to a place called K'a-peï, identified with some part of modern Wakhan, or the old Kapiça ; whilst, after going south-west to the same mountains, a second road continued south-west 1,300 *li* to Po-lu (the Buruts of Baltistan). So far as the city itself was concerned, the old name had entirely disappeared, and another town, either on or near the old site, had sprung up under the name K'ü-so, by which, according to such Chinese etymological rules as are known, we must suppose some such sound as "Gusa" is meant.

During the whole period of Turkish (550-670) and Tibetan (670-692) domination in the Tarim Valley, So-kü is not once mentioned, nor is K'ü-so ; nor is it at all clear whether the old city still existed, and, if so, under what name, belonging to which preponderant state. Just as had been the case at the beginning of our era, the Chinese proconsuls in charge of the West still had their headquarters at Kuché ; or at Turfan alternately. The Arabs, after their long struggle with the Turks in the Bokhara regions, are known to have influenced Khoten ;* but, though Kashgar resisted the Arabs, not a word is said of Yarkand, which, indeed, only at last re-appears after a long sleep of 1,000 years, and under its new and present name. It appears that when the Nüchêns (early Manchus) turned the Kitans out of North China (1120), and the branch of the Kitans known as Kara-Kitans went west to found an empire in Kerman,† then it was that Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khoten soon fell under Kara-Kitan sway, which was ultimately established centrally at Ghūz Ordo (between Tashkend and Issyk-Kul). After that the Naiman Tartars imposed their yoke for a short time. In 1218 Genghis Khan's general, Chebé, assisted by a Kara-Kitan renegade, took possession of the above cities, and by degrees broke up the whole Kara-Kitan empire. In this connection the Chinese historians who recount the events spell the word *Ya-r-k'ien*, and this

* See "Kashgar," above cited.

† See Colonel Sykes' "Persia" (John Murray), pp. 60, 304.

seems to be absolutely the first appearance of the new word in Chinese history. During the war of 1262 between Kublai Khan and his brother Arik-buka, the place is called *Ye-li-k'ien*. In 1274 thirteen post-stations—apparently established on the rivers crossed *en route*—were organized by Kublai between Khoten and *Ya-r-k'an*; the same year imperial relief was granted to the needy populations of Kashgar, Khoten, and Yarkand. This brings us down almost to the year of Marco Polo's arrival there on his way to China; he describes the provinces of Cascar, Yarcán, and Cotan—all Muhammadan in religion, but the former two containing Nestorians also. Kashgar was then (as we see the Chinese assert) under the dominion of Kublai; but Marco Polo says Yarkand formed part of Kublai's nephew Kaidu's dominions; which is not unlikely, as Kublai was alternately "off" and "on" in his relations with Kaidu. During the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) Yarkand is only once mentioned, and then under the name of *Ya-r-kan*; it figures among the petty *ti-mien*, or "localities," sending tribute, but not ranking as a "State." No doubt, like Kashgar, it was under the influence of Shah Rukh, with whom the Chinese had relations, as they had long had with his grandfather Tamerlane. In 1603 Bernard Goes found Yarkand to be the chief town of Kashgar province. Possibly the "Tanghetar" which he visited is a misprint or misapprehension for "Yanghi-hissar," or possibly Yenghi-shar, or the "new city" of Yarkand. In his time the old Mongol Khans still reigned at Hami, Turfan, and Yarkand, the last being more or less a suzerain. But in 1644-1645 Mahmud (the twenty-sixth *beighember* in direct descent from Muhammad), coming from Bagdad, took possession of at least some of the Kashgarian cities. It appears, however, that so late as 1686, Suliman, direct in descent from Genghis Khan, was still reigning at Yarkand, and that other branches of Mahmud's family took possession of Wakhan and Afghanistan, and possibly of Kokand.

During the Manchu wars with Galdan the Eleuth in 1696 (half a century after the Manchu conquest of China), *Ye-r-k'in* is stated to possess "20,000 of our Mussulman troops, sufficient to prevent Galdan from seeking to reach Kokonor *viâ* that route." The ruler of Yarkand was then Abdul Schid (or Seyid?), who appears to have been taken prisoner by the Emperor, and subsequently to have been sent back honourably to his country, which had, together with Samarcand, Bokhara, the Pamirs, Issyk-Kul, Kashgar, etc., some time before been subdued by the Eleuths. In 1712 *Ye-r-kên* is mentioned with Bokhara as one of the cotton-producing regions, a point of importance to China in the manufacture of wadded armour. In 1719 *Ye-r-kên* and Kerya (near Khoten) are mentioned as being on the route of the Eleuth armies from Ili to Tibet. In 1745 a trade is mentioned between Yarkand (*Ye-r-k'iang*) and Ladakh. In 1755 Bulad Khodjo of Kashgar was employed by China to endeavour to obtain the surrender of Yarkand, to which place the To-lun* (? Taranchi) Mussulmans were moved in 1758 by Borhan-Uddin, grandson of Abdul. Both Kashgar and Yarkand surrendered to the victorious Chinese in 1759, and a commemorative stone—probably still there—was set up in Yarkand. The Yarkand oasis was then found to contain 27 towns, 30,000 houses, and over 100,000 souls. Its annual tribute, when subject to the domination of the Eleuths of Ili, was 100,000 *denge*,† besides taxes or drafts on gold (from the Zerafshan, or "gold-bestowing" river), on cotton, piece-goods, leather, women, and animals. It now became the chief Manchu political centre, whence political negotiations were conducted with Kokand, Badakshan, and other places beyond the mountains. Ultimately the *amban* took

* According to Lord Dunmore, at the time of the Arab conquests Kashgaria was styled by them "Turan," or "Mulki Tartar."

† One *denge* counted as 50 "cash" of red Yarkand copper. The Eleuths used to demand annually from Kashgar 40,898 *padma* (about 10,000 tons) of grain. The native coin called *pur* was one-fifth of a *denge*, and in it poll-taxes were paid.

up his residence at Kashgar, with *akim-begs* over the chief eleven cities, each city with from six to a dozen townships under it. The four western oases are Kashgar, Yarkand, Yanghi-hissar, and Khoten; the four eastern are Ush, Aksu, Kuché, and Pidjan; making up, with Hami, Hara-shar, and Turfan, the total of eleven. China now contented herself, at least nominally, with a general 5 per cent. tax on both Yarkand and Kashgar, the chief centres of Hindoo and Persian trade; the other towns were not taxed imperially. Among the private perquisites of the Manchu Residents was trade in jade from the Mirdai Mountains, 400 *li* distant from Yarkand. In 1764 the Manchu-appointed Resident at Yarkand seems to have been one Yü-su-p'u (? Joseph), described as being a descendant of a former King of Hami. To this man fell the duty of arranging certain diplomatic difficulties with Badakshan, whose ruler appears to have been related to Emin Khodjo, the previous sub-King of Yarkand. In 1770 Narbad succeeded his father Erdeni as ruler of Kokand, and was instructed by the Emperor to "go on obeying the directions he should receive from Kashgar and Yarkand." In 1775 certain allotments of land were made to the Yarkand population. In the summer of 1778 one Osman was appointed by the Emperor to succeed his deceased father Otei as *akim-beg* of Yarkand; but before long Otei was transferred to Kashgar, and Setiparti of Kashgar was ordered to Yarkand. Soon there were complaints of tyranny and corruption, more especially in connection with the Mirdai jade quarries. According to rule, the Khoten and Yarkand jade* had to be sent every spring and autumn to Peking. In 1788 the Yarkand "duke" Setiparti died; his eldest son, Maimut-Abdulla, succeeded to the Manchu *pei-tsz*, or "dukedom," of Yarkand, and to the *akim-beg* duties of Kashgar; whilst one Iskandar was nominated from Yarkand to the vacant *akim-beg* post of Kashgar. Thus it appears to have been Manchu policy to "keep the

* This fact corresponds with what was stated nearly 2,000 years earlier.

ball rolling " between these two centres, and to prevent too much political root being taken by their nominees at either place. Both centres had to send annual tribute of horses, along with Ili, until the Emperor's abdication in 1796, when, on account of the distance and difficulty of communication, Kashgar and Yarkand were freed from this impost. In 1799 steps were taken to lighten the burden of having to send enormous blocks of jade, which often failed to reach the Emperor at all; and the Yarkand Mussulmans engaged in forced irrigation labours were exempt from half their poll-tax. In 1803 it was found possible to withdraw certain Manchu guard-posts at the out-stations.

The Chinese had in 1761 mercifully spared Borhan-Uddin's son, Samsak, then at Yarkand, and aged only seven years. When he grew up to manhood, he promptly began intriguing with Kokand; and in 1797 Narbad, acting under orders from Peking, just prevented Samsak from actually attacking Kashgar. In 1811 Samsak is spoken of as being dead, and his son Yü-su-p'u (? Joseph) seems to be carrying on a persistent intrigue for the recovery of Yarkand and Kashgar to the *beighember* interest. In 1814 the Yarkand *akim-beg* is one Maihamut (? Muhammad) Osan; and in 1821 the English barbarians are found corresponding, through one Connell, with the same *akim-beg* of Yarkand, with a view to trade in horses, etc., and to getting through to Bokhara. The correspondence discloses that " England has now held Wëntustan for fifty or sixty years, Cashmir and ' Indi ' alongside of it also accepting her sovereignty." " As a matter of fact," says the Emperor in reply, " no notice need be taken of obscure barbarians, whose proper trading-place is Canton; still, precautions must be taken, and the Cashmir Mussulman traders at Yarkand might be instructed to make further inquiry."

Meanwhile Jehangir, another son of Samsak, who seems to have been connected by blood with the ruling house

of Kokand, was slowly but surely gathering round him a formidable Mussulman following. By 1826 both Kashgar and Yarkand had fallen into his hands, and the Manchus were compelled to undertake a very serious campaign, in which Isaac, *akim-beg* of Aksu, did good service. Kashgar and Yarkand were retaken in 1827, and in 1828 Jehangir was captured and sent to Peking, where he was put to death under circumstances of great barbarity. The Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khoten oases were now re-organized, and trading arrangements with Badakshan and Kokand were placed on a new footing; but in 1831 it was thought best to make Yarkand the chief administrative centre.

During the next twenty years the complicated history of these parts chiefly centres around the intrigues connected with Kokand and Andijan trade. In 1852 Aimad, the *akim-beg* of Yarkand, son of Isaac above-mentioned, laid before the Emperor a formal complaint about the corruption of the Manchu Resident; but in 1853 we find Aimad himself being subjected to punishment for black-mailing the local trade; he endeavoured to redeem his offences by offering assistance against the T'ai-p'ing rebels. In 1862 the *akim-beg* Maimad Hassem died, and the Manchu Resident proposed his son as successor. In 1864 Yarkand fell, and Yenghishar with Kashgar was also a prey to military revolt. Then comes the substitution of Yakub Beg for Buzurg Khan (the heir to Jehangir), and finally the reconquest by China from Yakub's son in 1877 of the Atalik Ghazi's ephemeral empire.

JAPAN AND THE PEACE.

BY R. G. CORBET.

WHEN the representatives of the Mikado at Portsmouth agreed to terms which filled the world with amazement, the newspapers, as was to be expected, burst forth into a chorus of eulogy of the humanitarian motives that had prompted all concerned, especially lavishing praise upon President Roosevelt as a benefactor of mankind. But it at once struck those not content to look at the surface that there must be something else beneath it. As a rule, "business is business"—at any rate, in this commercial age—in the case of nations no less than of individuals. It is only Britain who makes presents to people that give her no thanks for them. It accordingly seemed perfectly incredible that Japan, who had the game in her own hands both by sea and land, should spontaneously acquiesce in what the Russians openly boasted of as a brilliant diplomatic victory.

Signs soon began to appear in confirmation of the doubt that she had acted of her own free will in the matter. The Government behaved as though ashamed of what it had done, and afraid to let the people hear news certain to prove unwelcome. It took every precaution to break this very gently to those in the islands, whilst, as regards the troops in the field, it went so far as to stipulate that they should not be informed of the cessation of hostilities until the treaty had actually been signed and the national honour pledged. But the best proof that the Japanese had not at a stroke been turned into disciples of Mr. Gladstone was furnished the moment some idea of what had happened filtered through. The conditions of which they were told caused them the same pang of pained surprise that all friends of Japan had experienced before them, and in so marked a degree that they actually cast aside their usual

impenetrable veil of reserve, and entered a violent protest, in the shape of public disturbances, against the agreement come to with the enemy. And in this the followers of every party were at one.

Their indignation is easy to understand, but the reason of its intensity and of the form taken by it is not so obvious ; hence, as much light has been thrown upon this by one of the very few persons competent to do so, it may not be amiss to introduce him to the reader. To this end it must be explained that Italian journalism, which had, as a rule, been highly unsatisfactory up to the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war, was moved to sudden activity by it. Previously the most meagre and inaccurate telegrams had been considered quite sufficient where all foreign news was concerned ; now one paper after another began to announce that it had made arrangements to procure a full account of events abroad, particularly in the Far East. Among the journals that most distinguished themselves in this connection was the rather sleepy *Corriere della Sera* of Milan. This appeared to have been electrified into new life by the conflict, since which it has become the best paper for news in North Italy, not to say in the whole Peninsula. Hence, the *Corriere* sent out a correspondent of its own, Signor Luigi Barzini, to the seat of war, and his letters thence were every whit as interesting and authentic as those of the best Anglo-Saxon correspondents—a phenomenon observed for perhaps the first time in the history of Italian journalism. The reason is that Signor Barzini is a cosmopolitan, whose sympathy with those among whom he was thrown enabled him to put himself completely in their place. One of the consequences was that he, who appreciated the difficulties of the Japanese at Liaoyang, remained in their midst when several of his colleagues marched off in a huff, because their hosts did not carry on the war with a special view to providing copy for the papers ; and a further result was that he alone, with two men belonging to news agencies, represented the

Fourth Estate on the Japanese side at the Battle of Mukden, with regard to which he was presented with a number of secret documents and plans that give his coming book on the subject a unique value.

This digression has proved somewhat longer than was intended, but it had better remain unaltered, as a knowledge of Signor Barzini's qualifications adds point to his remarks.

What struck him especially in the riots was the departure they showed from the customary attitude. There are two things which the Japanese treat as if they were the most sacred duties: an unquestioning conformity to the Imperial will, and the complete suppression in public of his own feelings. Tale after tale has come from the Far East of the heroic degree to which these observances were carried—how, for instance, men and even women would smile, and maintain every outward appearance of cheerfulness, while their heart was oppressed with the loss of those nearest and dearest to them. “The grievance must be very bitter indeed,” said Signor Barzini, “that could cause such a people to abandon its traditional impassibleness even for a moment”; and he went on to explain in what this grievance consisted.

To the outsider it would appear that Japan, having been granted practically all that she asked for before the war, ought to have reconciled herself to the position, the more so as the Muscovite no longer threatened her in the Far East, where her ascendancy seemed assured, and the whole world had been compelled to give her unqualified recognition as a first-rate Power. She had not received the indemnity claimed, it is true, which had loomed large in the discussion; but this, after all, was not an item the people's heart was set upon. What, then, was the cause of her fury?

Signor Barzini traces it back to old wrongs, of which the Treaty of Portsmouth was deemed a perpetuation. They began when, as a matter of course, Japan was robbed

of Karafto, an island which she has never ceased to regard as part of the national territory, whilst for years afterwards her moral qualities, like her mental and material progress, were ignored, and she had to put up with the contemptuous treatment meted out to inferiors. Among the insults that hurt her more than even the loss of Karafto was the obligation imposed upon her to open her ports, under humiliating conditions, to the foreigner ; the hated consular jurisdiction within her borders lasting until she defeated China. A fresh injury then took the place of that just at an end : several of the Powers combined to deprive her of the fruits of her victory, the rest placidly consenting. The series of tyrannical acts which to us was understood seemed, indeed, to tell of a conspiracy against all her efforts to assume the position in the world for which she felt herself fitted, and it was in constant fear of the usual interference that she nervously watched every phase of the recent war.

The people never ceased to expect occult pressure, open threats, or oppression in some other shape, naked or disguised, to step once more between them and their due. In their feverish anxiety to ward off this calamity, they kept their desires steadfastly before the authorities ; the terms of peace were discussed on all hands, resolutions on the subject were passed at meetings of every political colour, the Press devoted frequent articles to the conditions, and, as each Russian reverse helped to bring them within the range of practical politics, Statesmen like Baron Okuma interpreted the general aspiration by giving them concrete form. On the other hand, the Government, by means of the official organs, tranquillized all and sundry, assuring them that the time had at last come when Japan would receive complete satisfaction for all the wrongs she had suffered, and would triumphantly take her seat as an equal in the council of the nations. Then, all at once, instead of this happy consummation, the darkest popular forebodings were realized by the news from Portsmouth.

Elsewhere this had been received with hesitation, and

believed to be merely a cloak for secret clauses which really gave Japan what was ostensibly denied her; for people could not persuade themselves that she had so extensively gone back from her demands. But no confirmation of this sanguine surmise was forthcoming; only the bare fact proved true that the Japanese had acted as if they felt unable to carry on the war—an implicit confession that could not but lessen the esteem in which they had been held. And they naturally asked themselves why their emissaries had stated the premises that led to this conclusion. Russia insisted that her honour would not allow her to give up an inch of her territory. What had induced Japan to give up half of Karafto, that part of the national inheritance which she had just recovered from the despoiler? Was Dai Nippon vanquished, that she had given way almost all along the line?

Two explanations had been offered abroad: that her army in Manchuria was not equal to defeating the enemy when the expected great battle took place, and that her financial position was such that she must stop the war at any cost. In the course of a conversation with him—which, with an article of his in the *Corriere*, has furnished the bulk of the materials for this paper—Signor Barzini declared that the former hypothesis was untenable: a Japanese victory was as certain as such things ever can be. The people knew this perfectly well, and paid no attention to the theory of their military impotence; but the other found an echo in their own thoughts.

They saw the secret methods of diplomacy neutralize their victories once more, and when they asked themselves how this had been done, the most plausible conclusion they could come to was that, beneath the veil of the usual honeyed phraseology, Japan must have been threatened with the refusal of foreign financial assistance if she carried hostilities any further. She was to consent to the terms the Russian representatives were pleased to grant her, which were, in the main, but the fulfilment of the promises their country had

repeatedly made before the war to the whole world, and therefore served other purposes besides hers; she should not insist upon more, under pain of the displeasure of the American plutocracy. The motive for this ultimatum, again, was not difficult to guess. The United States, whose sympathies were at first on the side of Japan, had latterly begun to view the prospects of her unchecked expansion with no little uneasiness; and in this her people had the key to President Roosevelt's humanitarianism. What must have exasperated them most of all was the part played by us. They had entered willingly into the first alliance with Great Britain, whose undertaking to prevent hostile intervention they foresaw would prove invaluable in a conflict with Russia; but they were by no means equally enthusiastic with regard to the second, which, it was commonly said in Tokio, gave them nothing and England everything. The Battle of Tsushima, indeed, had made the assistance of the British fleet practically superfluous, while that of Japan's army would probably be of no little advantage if Russia attacked India; for, even supposing our troops there to be the finest in the world, there were very few of them when compared to the enormous host which the Russians had shown they could bring into the field, and to which Japan's hundreds of thousands, in the plural number, bore a far more just proportion.

Sir Thomas Holditch, by the way, concludes, in the October *Fortnightly Review*, that Britain's master-stroke in securing them on her side will, on the whole, be appreciated by people like the Afghans; and this is good news. It is not equally satisfactory to hear that they think Russia to be a Mohammedan power, whereas she is emphatically the reverse. If we have thus far allowed them to believe anything so mischievous, we should lose no further time in opening their eyes to the fact that, even with Bokhara and Khiva, she has less than 12 millions of Mohammedans in a population of nearly 130 millions. That she is more Asiatic than European in her methods, on the other hand, is

undeniable ; and there is no reason to find fault with this impression.

But to return to the Japanese. They have seen us hurry on the conclusion of the second alliance before the end of the negotiations at Portsmouth, apparently to forestall one between them and Russia ; and then, after getting all we wanted for ourselves, we seem to have drawn back and left Japan unsupported in her diplomatic fight, instead of offering her the capital which would have enabled her to defeat the Russo-American combination.

If the Japanese thus accounted for what had taken place, as may be gathered from Signor Barzini's remarks, it becomes easier to understand the riots and the attack made upon the British Legation, of all others, as well as upon the missionaries identified with us in the minds of all Asiatics.

Japan has now returned to her Sphinx-like attitude, so we need expect nothing more from her, save polite praise of the advantages which she has gained through her alliance with us, and through the Portsmouth treaty. But in the riots she has given us a momentary insight into her real feelings, all the more worthy of study because such revelations are rare.

SOME HINDUSTANI PROVERBS.

COLLECTED BY THE LATE WILLIAM YOUNG, C.S.I., JUDICIAL
COMMISSIONER OF OUDH.

WHAT manner of man is the average Hindu or the average Muhammadan of India? The physical peculiarities of our Indian fellow-citizens are tolerably familiar nowadays to the British public. But how much is known of their intellectual and moral calibre, of their social instincts, their civil and political aptitudes? Is not all this nearly a sealed book to most of us who live in Britain?

Yet British influence upon Indian affairs is now a vastly different thing from what it was fifty or even thirty years ago. Someone has said that if ever we lose India we shall lose her in the House of Commons. Certain it is that schemes of the gravest import are commonly initiated there for the supposed benefit of India, and British statesmen are more and more venturesome and comprehensive in their dealing with Indian problems.

We are far from pronouncing this fact to be an unmixed evil. But this much at least is clear—namely, that only the fullest knowledge, the most patient inquiry, and the calmest judgment, can properly qualify our rulers for the new and arduous duties they now assume. The necessity devolves upon us of acquiring more extensive and more intimate acquaintance with the life-habits of our Indian fellow-subjects, with their modes of thought and feeling, their ruling fears and passions, their commonest aspirations. Such knowledge is hard of acquirement. Men may live all their lives in India and never gain it. The outward facts lie patent to all, but their hidden meanings can only be read by him who has the divine gift of sympathy. Very slowly and painfully, bit by bit, the portions of the puzzle must be gathered, and at last pieced together into a well-fitting whole.

Political life is almost unknown in India. Corporate institutions, as we know them, exist only in the Presidency towns ; and almost the only purely native examples of large associations are the still surviving village communities. Religious co-operation among the Hindus is feeble ; but its place is more than filled by the powerful and universally prevalent system of caste. Individual life is (within certain limits, chiefly prescribed by caste) extraordinarily free. Provided caste rules be obeyed, there is scarcely any length to which the Hindustani may not go, both in word and deed, without any fear of the ban of his society.

Perhaps no clearer landmarks of common thought and sentiment are to be found—at least, are easily to be found—than in the proverbs prevalent among a people. Whatever intrinsically their worth, they show at least what such people esteems to be wisdom. In India the use of proverbs, adages, sententious distichs, or quatrains, is extremely frequent. High and low alike love them, and the judicious introduction of an old favourite will at once put the stranger in touch with a native interlocutor. The stolid face will brighten, the formal manner be laid aside, and sympathy and interest be at once awakened. No one can claim to know India well who has not some acquaintance with its proverbs, while the proficient student of Indian maxims will often be better able to comprehend the workings of the native mind than many a man who has spent a life in Calcutta or Bombay untinged by native lore.

The task of conveying to an English reader an adequate idea of Indian proverbs is by no means easy. The genius of Eastern language differs very widely from that of English, while the excessive conciseness of many Hindu adages often makes a literal translation simply unintelligible. In the effort of the translator to be perspicuous, too often the charm of equipoise, the sparkle, are inevitably lost.

The Hindustani place-hunter is perhaps the most assiduous in the world. The sweet simplicity of a monthly salary, paid by a paymaster who never fails, has something

ineffably attractive to the Eastern mind. No more buffeting with the winds and waves of Fortune! "Stick to your patron's skirt, and take care it is a strong one," says one proverb, which at least is believed in without faltering faith. The patron is to the *umēdwār* (place-hunter) the *punctum stans* in a very shaky world.

Get *sifārish* (good recommendations) above all, for, says the proverb :

"Sifārish-i-kutta bih az asp-i-tāzi"

(Better than Arab horse, a dog well recommended).

It is, alas ! but too true that many a *sifārish-i-kutta* (dog strongly recommended) owes his post at this moment (and in some cases a high post) mainly to the fact that he had *sifārish*. "Remember Dowb" is as much a household word in India as in England. Of course the man must not be an impossible person. He must be decently presentable for his post, for, says the Persian :

"Halwa khurdan ra rui bāyad"

(To eat sweetmeats, one must have a mouth).

While the place-seeker should never neglect his lord's levée, should be ever humble, strenuous and ready to stick at nothing, there is in native opinion a correlative duty owed to him by the patron.

"Jo jāke sarau basse
Wāki wāko laj"

(The hero shames to yield
The wretch beneath his shield).

A native master feels his own honour impugned when his servant is attacked, and to the utmost of his ability will aid and screen even the humblest follower should the latter get into any scrape. Should a retainer find himself at odds with the myrmidons of justice about some trespass, little or big, the master would instantly furnish the accused with legal assistance to defend himself, and not improbably would cause bribes to be distributed right and left on the man's behalf—in fact, would do all for him that he would wish done for himself in like case.

Nevertheless, the general verdict is that service is a hard life, and that agriculture is the only really worthy occupation.

“Ootim khéti
Maddam Bau
Nikasht chákari
Bhik Nidau ”

(Farming is the best trade ;
Commerce pretty fair ;
Service was by Devil made ;
Better beg, I swear).

No wonder the Hindu praises the kind earth which provides so abundantly for all his wants. The fertility of the soil (despite overcropping and waste of manure for fuel) is marvellous, and in ordinary seasons provides all men with ample food in return for a moderate expenditure of labour. For nine months out of twelve a thatch suffices for shelter, a waistcloth and turban for garments. The “boon air” is itself a garment. The halt, maimed, blind, receive a sustenance freely yielded (without Poor Laws) by public charity. The obverse of the medal is seen, no doubt, in those dreadful times when famine year comes round. The agony of such a time those only know who have lived through it. The hot, breathless, brazen skies ; the dusty, whitened land ; the burnt-up herbage ; the leafless trees ; the dumb suffering of the cattle, and the human agony—all these sear into the brain the picture of famine in colours that last the lifetime. Yet, even in such dire straits, it is the peasantry who can endure the longest. The subsisters on charity suffer first ; next, the old men (like our hedgers and ditchers) ; then the petty village artificers and the servants of the poorer sort ; and, lastly, the small shopkeepers and the peasantry themselves.

The happiness of a Hindu *chuprassi* (orderly) is perfect when he can get three clear hours from the solid day for his dinner. He will squat down, unclothe, wash his hands, knead and bake his damper, cook his pease-porridge, and then proceed slowly to eat through the huge pile of moist

crumpets that he has prepared and calls his "bread." If peremptorily summoned from his repast, he will slowly and reluctantly obey, but, as a truly orthodox man, he cannot return afterwards to complete his meal. Sadly he flings the rest of his dinner to the expectant pariah dog, who has been watching him under the adjacent tree, and resignedly he mutters :

" Kya chákari o khála ji ka ghar "

(Service is not aunty's house).

The Hindu aunty—that is, the maternal aunt—always spoils her sister's children. (N.B.—Supporters of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill may note this fact.) Aunty's house is an earthly paradise, where, if nowhere else, sugar and *ghi* and fried-cakes and curds and flummery and chopped sugar-cane are to be had for the mere asking. In such affection is aunty held by her nephews and nieces that another Hindi proverb goes so far as to say :

" Ma mare mousie jie "

(Let mother leave, so aunty live).

Humbug of all sorts is a favourite topic of badinage. Show without reality is particularly offensive to the native mind.

" Dhol par dhol phoote,
Roti ki kor na tootte "

(Drums, many a drum to beat !
But not a blessed crumb to eat).

To collect a huge procession of his friends and with them to circumambulate his quarter, preceded by native music (falsely so called), and finally to feed his guests to repletion on the very plain but abundant farinaceous food that they love, is the pride and glory of the Hindu, the pleasant proof of his orthodoxy. If he cannot afford to feast the whole brotherhood, he would think shame were he not now and then to get a score or so of Brahmans to dine at his expense. In short, to dispense this curious hospitality and to provide liberally for the cost of the weddings of his children are the main objects in life of

the average Hindu. Weddings are ruinously expensive, and the evil is that public opinion demands that they shall be so.

“ Kouri na paisa
Yih biab hai kaisa !”

(Without cowries and pice,
What wedding is nice ?)

This proverb would be used metaphorically whenever any utterly absurd conjunction of things occurs. Something to a similar effect is the following :

“ Khwàn barra, khwànpoch barra
Kolke dekho—to ádhá barra !”

(The tray is big, the traycloth, too :
Peep ! half a muffin comes to view !)

The trays, on which the *nuzzurs* (complimentary offerings) are brought, are usually covered with scarlet cloths ; and the offerings consist of a varied assortment of fruits, flowers, spices, sweets, and confectionery.

So, too, in contempt of empty display :

“ Unchi dukán
Phika pakwán ”

(A pie-shop, high and wide !
But mouldy stuff inside) ;

and—

“ Nam barra
Dorshan thora ”

(A great name—
Nothing more)

—both of which proverbs are in every Hindu's mouth. Another popular adage to the same effect is :

“ Ghar na chhán na chaffar
O bahar miasi Muzaffar !”

(With ne'er a shed nor thatch at home,
As Lord Muzaffar here we roam).

The contrast between the actual poor surroundings and the infinite grandeur of imaginary ones always delights the Oriental mind, and is expressed in the following familiar phrase :

“ Rabe jhouprosi mesi o khneàh dekke
Mahallosi ki ”

(Dwells in a pigstye,
Dreams of a palace).

And, to like effect :

“ Dhor sirýáne kinggari so gaie kanggal
Sapne mesi Rajah bhaie—jagat waki hawwál ”

(The beggar for a pillow put his fiddle 'neath his head,
Dreamt that a Rajah he became, woke, and the dream was fled).

There is no harsh reproof here—rather a half-amused pity that the poor fellow's bubble so soon burst. But for vulgar pretence no pity is shown. Thus :

“ Khounrihai kuttia
O makhmal ki jhool ”

(A mangy little pup,
In velvet coat dressed up).

Of all pretenders, the low upstart is the most unbearable.

“ Barre !—to barre !
Chhote !—Subhanullah ! ”

(A big man ! Well, he *is* big ;
But a little one—good gracious ! [lit., “ Gott in Himmel ! ”])

—*i.e.*, tyranny from him is indeed intolerable.

The merciless rapacity of the lower officials is referred to in the following distich :

“ Chhota musih
Barra niwala ”

(Small mouth,
Mighty swallow).

How widespread and insatiable that rapacity is only those know whose lives are led in India. Few native officials save the highest will refuse a bribe, and not a few will extort from their wretched victims every pice possible. The difficulty is that the custom of the country is with the offenders. They do not greatly offend the public conscience—at least, so long as they do not add cruelty to mere extortion. A native official of rank once told the writer that he could count on his fingers the natives of his

acquaintance who never took bribes. Questioned as to his own practice, he frankly replied : " Not now ! Formerly, when I was young, and my pay was very small and I had a horse to keep—yes, I used to take a rupee per village at festivals, as had always been the custom. It doubled my income and more. Now, of course, my pay is too good, and I see the error (and the danger) of such a course. Sahib, *all* take bribes." This man was one of the best officers in our service, a thoroughly capable man, generally esteemed by the people and much liked by all his European superiors. Was he to be believed ? Well, *cuique in sua arte credendum est* is generally reckoned sound sense.

The Hindu is pre-eminently conservative. He approves of obedience to ancient custom—admires the suitable, the proper. A new departure rarely takes his fancy.

" Báp na máre méndki
Béta—tirandaz "

(The sire ne'er slew a frog, they say ;
The son, a warrior brave and gay).

The incongruous is ever displeasing.

" Khák na dhool
Aur bibi baithi phool !"

(Bare house, nor inch of ground ;
Within a flower-like bride is found.)

The contrast is between the utter beggary of the proprietor and his possession of so fair a flower for wife. Notice the chattel-like trade-mark which the proverb affixes to the bride.

The English proverb—one should cut one's coat according to the cloth—takes in Hindi the following form :

" Jetna chádár dekke
Wetna pair phailáwe "

(Measure first your sheet,
Then stretch out your feet).

A native can sleep quite comfortably on the bare ground without a pillow ; but a sheet of some sort is indispensable to protect his skin from the mosquitoes and other insect

torments that else would murder repose. In some thin quilt or other he invariably rolls himself up mummywise—head, feet, and all—ere betaking himself to slumber. Now, if the sheet be short, he must obviously tuck up his legs; if the sheet be long enough, then he can stretch out.

Too many proverbs bear sad testimony to the terror that has sunk deep into the popular mind from the cruel oppression of tyranny during past ages. The lessons they impart are that it is vain to strive with the strong man, above all, with constituted authority; that one should bend to the blast; that humility befits the majority of men, especially the poor; that the battle *is* to the strong and that the strong man armed alone is safe; for the rest there remains submission.

“Jáke lathi—wáki bhains”

(Who can deal the heaviest blow,
He shall have the buffalo).

“Zabbardast ka thenga-ri par”

(The strong man's thumb presses your head).

“Hákim háre

Musih mési máre”

(The lord, himself belaboured,
Smites his servant's face).

“Hukm-i-hákim margi mufáját”

(The lord's law is as sudden death).

Similarly—

“Hakim máre

Rone na dé”

(Though blows the master ply,
The servant dare not cry).

The why and the wherefore of the acts of the ruler must not be questioned. He is a law unto himself.

“Pasa parke—so dose

Rajah kare—so niose”

(As the dice fall, play you must;
What the king does, that is just).

The poor man must not expect consideration.

“Latte ki joi sabki sarhaj”

(The poor man's wife is everybody's sister-in-law).

The sister-in-law receives but scanty deference, notwithstanding her kindness to her sister's children. So the proverb means that a poor man must not give himself airs nor expect his wife to be treated with much respect by anybody.

If you say to a native : " Surely such degradation must be due to your own pusillanimity ; you have yourself only to blame for the fact "—if fact it be—he will answer mournfully that " the heart knoweth his own bitterness."

" Jecore gorwa jáe na bewái
Oo ká jáne píraí "

(Only he whose heel has split,
Fully knows the pain of it).

Natives often travel barefoot, and are, in consequence, subject to a peculiarly obstinate and most painful splitting of the sole of the heel, often resulting in a deep ulcer.

As may well be imagined, the home life in such a society as that portrayed in the proverbial expressions given above is tinged with a somewhat gloomy colouring. Optimistic views find little favour. The teaching of Indian proverbial philosophy, so far as native domestic life is concerned, amounts to this : " Do not endeavour to effect by kindness what can better be secured by severity."

" Lakri ki dar, bandari náche "

("Tis fear of the stick
Makes the monkey so quick).

" Bin bhau, pirit nahisi "

(No fear, no love).

" Khanah' murúwat kharáb "

(The house of kindness is the house of blindness).

Right or wrong, the weak must go to the wall. It is on the weak that men vent the anger they feel against the strong, but dare not show.

" Tragi par zor na chale
Gadhe ká kán uméthe "

(The big horse made him quail,
So he twisted the donkey's tail).

A horse's tail (for obvious reasons) is never twisted ; but a donkey is less difficult to handle. The natives, it may be remarked by the way, are often cruel to animals. Many a poor bullock's tail is actually twisted until it is broken by the brutal driver.

As exhibiting the difficulty of choosing the right course of action in doubtful circumstances, a typical dilemma is set forth in the following lines, the wide popularity of which must excuse their insertion here :

" Bolusi—to má mári jáe
Nalusi to—báp kutta khæ "

(If I tell, mother will be beaten ;
If I don't, dog's flesh will be eaten).

The reference is to a popular story about a woman who was ordered by her husband to provide him a meal of meat, and who, being unable to procure any other flesh, killed a puppy and prepared a dish for her lord. Meantime, her cookery had been watched by her juvenile son, whose dilemma the proverb sets forth.

" Hoolie and fairlie," says the Scotch proverb—that is, proportion effort to requirement. The Indian puts it thus :

" Yih to bail cholbe na kare
Ya chale to mendh udháre "

(This bullock does not move at all,
Or, if it moves, knocks down a wall).

The same idea, that effort should be in proportion to the work to be done, is expressed in the short distich :

" Sāmp mare
Latthi na tootte "

(To scotch a snake
Don't break a stake).

A stroke of a light cane will break a snake's back. No need, therefore, to deliver such a blow as to break your quarterstaff.

We say : " If you want a thing done well, do it yourself." The corresponding Hindi proverb is :

"Jabtak—Pootta ! Pootta !

Tabtak—apán bootta "

(Instead of crying, "Help me, son !"

Set to yourself—the job is done).

And our common proverb, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," appears in Persian dress as follows :

"Sag-i-huzúr

Bih az barádari dúr "

(Better a dog at hand

Than brother in far-off land).

The money-lender or banker has not many friends. He is often hard in his dealings, and consequently does not get much sympathy even from his own immediate family.

"Sosi mare—ghar larka bhou

Jáko lēkho barnen you "

(The banker died—his son was born ;

So loss and gain were squared that morn)

—*i.e.*, everything is matter of arithmetic. Sentiment or affection is out of place in a money-lender's family. If the banker's death is placed on the debit side of the account, the son's birth will balance it on the creditor side.

The controversy about methods of education—classical *versus* commercial—has its faint echo even in the Far East.

"Parrhiye poōtā soi

Jāmen hauria bhud-bhud hoi "

(My son, to get such knowledge toil,

As helps to keep the pot a-boil).

Spiteful people are plentiful. Luckily, they are often as impotent as they are malevolent. So the Hindi :

"Bakri ki lát ghooṣit ták "

(A goat can kick only as high as the knee)

—*i.e.*, ineffectually.

In misery men seek companionship.

"Kori mari saughati cháhe "

(A leper grim on death is bent ;

He seeks out one of like intent).

This proverb refers to the custom which used to prevail in Hindustan whereby a leper, tired of his miserable life, would commit suicide by being buried alive. This self-immolation the old Hindu religious books declared to be highly meritorious, earning immense benefits to the victim and perpetual exemption from leprosy for his family. When such an act was about to be performed, the whole village would assist in the ceremony with pleasure and with demonstrations of great respect to the wretched chief actor in the scene. The latter, after his intention had been duly proclaimed, would walk with a flower-garland round his neck, attended by all his fellow-villagers, to a ready-dug grave, in which he sat down. The earth would then be slowly filled in until it reached the head, when the work would be rapidly finished, the nearest relative first stamping upon the earth. It once fell to the writer's duty to stop such an intended "sainād," as it is called. The leper, when called on to answer, boldly declared that God had filled his mind with the idea, and that he would certainly commit suicide, if not in that way then in some other. Much against its will, the court had no alternative but to send the poor wretch to gaol.

Another lesson taught in the proverbial philosophy of India is that of the old Greek fable of "The Dog and the Shadow." Thus :

"Adhe chor ekko dhāwe
Aisa dube patta na lage"

(Ruin will overwhelm his soul
Who leaves the half to grasp the whole).

The next proverb contains a sneer at pilgrims and pilgrimages, which one would sooner have expected to hear in the neighbourhood of Exeter Hall than in the pilgrimage-loving East :

"Satthar chuhe khake
Billi Haj ko chale"

(Threescore rats and ten
Puss devoured, and then—
Set out for Holy Mecca).

À propos of an unsympathetic listener, we have the following very picturesque adage :

“ Bhains ki samne kinggari bajai
Bhains—rounchail ”

(Fiddler scrapes,
Buffalo gapes).

The village cows are coming home. Among them stands one of those hideous creatures—the Indian buffalo—with its hairless black skin and goggle eyes. Meanwhile up comes a fiddler, fiddling for dear life, with his dirty white garments fluttering in the wind. The lumpish animal gazes at him till its eyes start, then slowly raises its head and utters its fearful bellow! Often will the disappointed suitor of some great man solace his wounded feelings by quoting this proverb, likening to the ungainly buffalo the unresponsive dignitary whom he has failed to cajole and charm.

It has been said by some that the Hindu character is not strongly marked by a sense of gratitude, and this is, perhaps, true in abstract matters. To him, however, who supplies to them the means of subsistence, the natives seem to entertain feelings of something bordering upon affection.

“ Jiska khasýe
Us ka gáiyé ”

(His praise repeat
Whose bread you eat).

What we call “cupboard love” is very well appreciated in the East.

“ Jiska hath doi
Usika sab koi ”

(Who deals the food
Is always good).

The Indian is fully alive to the danger of an unbridled tongue. Words are to him far from idle things :

“ Bátaisi háthi páige
Bátaisi háthi páosi ”

(By words we get—an elephant ;
By words we get—his kick).

The allusion here is to the horrible mode of execution sometimes practised by native rulers, when a trained elephant takes up the criminal, flings him on the ground, and tramples him to death. But mere talk is empty breath.

“Jo garji—so barsi ka ?
Jo poonwaisi—so kare ka ?”
(Much thunder, little rain ;
Much talk, little done.)

The author of the next adage plainly had no belief in either ghosts or words of exorcism :

“Lát ká bhut bát nahisi mántá”
(Kicks avail most
To lay a ghost).

Any sketch, however slight, of Hindu proverbial philosophy that entirely omitted reference to the prevalent Oriental estimate of women would be very defective. That estimate is highly unfavourable ; whether justly so or not, is hard to say. Most Europeans believe it to be most unjust ; but certainly their experience of any, save the women of the lower orders, is very limited. It is possible enough that the barbarous and life-long incarceration to which the upper classes (Hindu and Muhammadan alike) subject their women has really deteriorated female character ; for it is as true in the East as in the West that “Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do.” But if this be so, who is to blame for the fact ? The male Oriental, like Adam, has not the faintest shadow of scruple in laying the whole burden on the woman.

“Zan, zámin, zar
Yih tino fasád ka ghar”
(In woman, land or gold,
The cause of every ill is told).

So says the Persian proverb. The Hindi is still more brutal and ruthless :

“Káli bhalk na sét
Máro donosi eki khét”
(Bad are women, black and white ;
In one field kill both outright).

According to another popular sentence, they are murderous, deceitful, and incomprehensible.

“Tina charitz na jane koi
Khapam ka galla katke satti howe”
(A treacherous wife will take thy life,
And then desire to share thy pyre).

A bitter sneer at the moral frailty, coupled with the religious tendency of women and also at the hypocrisy of the priests, is contained in the following quatrain, which is very popular :

“Patthal pujan maisi cholisi
O pi apne ki laj
Patthal puja pi mile
Ek pautti—do kaj”

(A wife *loquitur*):

(To cure my husband I set out,
And visited a shrine;
Both cure and husband there I found,
And double joy was mine).

The Hindu wife has gone to pray *Mahaded* for her husband's recovery from sickness, and, while at her devotions, meets a Brahman, who supplants the absent spouse.

If smoke presupposes fire, some gleams of truth must be behind these dark pictures. But if there be faults, surely their existence may be largely explained by the cramped, self-centred lives which our Hindu and Muhammadan fellow-citizens compel their women to lead. They, in fact, deal out to women the same harsh meed that is awarded to the very worst malefactors—viz., life-long incarceration. May we not justly quote to Indian detractors of women a very homely Hindu proverb—

“Cholisi mesi cludh dohe
Aur nasib ko dosh de”
(You milk into a sieve, and yet
Are vexed so little milk to get) ?

Our Indian brethren who clamour for admission to the chief seats in the offices of State and demand what they consider their rights, may well be asked to reflect whether

the attitude they assume towards a large portion of the population does not bar their approach to high positions of trust under a civilized Government. It is passing strange that men who are so keenly alive to what they esteem as their own due, have no regard whatever for the duty they themselves owe to their own wives and daughters. That the poor victims do not desire freedom is no answer and no excuse, for it only proves that women have not only been defrauded of their commonest rights by the men of Hindustan, but have been furthermore so degraded as not to know their degradation. Not till the Oriental has so far stepped out of his barbarism as to recognise woman as the free and equal companion of man will the average European accept him as on the same level of civilization, and accord to him the equality he seeks?

Even the faint light shed by such few specimens of proverbial wisdom as we have collected in the foregoing pages will have revealed to the reader something of Indian family and social life, with its passions and prejudices, its hopes and its fears.

National life, indeed, exists not; it is not so much dead as uncreate. A French writer, M. Gabriel Charmes, very truly and profoundly says: "En Orient il n'y a jamais eu réellement de nation; la famille, la tribu, la religion constituent les seuls liens sociaux et politiques."* There never yet was a Hindu Empire. Kingdoms and Principalities and States (more or less ephemeral) there have been, but no entity corresponding to the "India for the Indians" of blind British philosophy has ever existed.

Are the natives of India contented under our rule? So far as the administration of justice is concerned, there can be little doubt that they are absolutely satisfied with the fairness and impartiality with which the laws are applied and enforced. While the Muhammadan, in nine cases out of ten, has no confidence in the impartiality of a Hindu judge—and a Hindu of a Muhammadan—both believe

* *Revue des deux Mondes*, August, 1883.

implicitly in our honour and good faith. Viewing the question from the political side, we may safely say that the attitude of the great mass of the population is one of indifference. Some agitation and clamour are raised now and again, it is true, by certain native cliques in Bengal. It must be remembered, however, that very small creatures have often very loud voices. The Bengali coteries in question are, compared to the mass of the people of India, infinitesimally small, and wholly unrepresentative. With all its many excellencies the gentle and timid Bengali race is the very last that would rise to supreme power were the British driven into the sea "bag and baggage."

What, then, does the ordinary Indian really want? If my readers could be behind the purdah (curtain) when the Hindu thus interrogated gave his answer, they would hear some such words as these (the speaker's hands being joined palm to palm, and touching the down-bent forehead): "Protector of the poor! you are my father and my mother! Whatever you say is right. Still, my lord, the income tikkus (tax) is very bad. Your Honour knows, also, that we pay 66 per cent. for our land, and cesses and license and octroi. If your Honour would save us from being bullied by your underlings, especially by the police, you would be an Avátar of Vishnu; and, my lord, the British Raj is 1,400 kos long and very glorious, but we don't require any female schools, because the less women are taught the less evil they will do; and if your Honour would order all robbers' hands to be chopped off, it would be much better than feeding the villains up in gaol; and if the Sirdar Bahadur would kindly oblige by ordering a little money to be spent on the village roads which we principally use, it would be very kind. Finally, the British have made the railroad and the telegraph, and they are gods, and you are my father and my mother. Sab ko salaam (peace be to all)."

A PLEA FOR COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN CEYLON.

BY A. G. WISE.

THE Commission on Elementary Education in Ceylon, appointed in January, 1905, has presented its Report, which contains recommendations of a novel and important character. This Commission was appointed to inquire into and report on the Education Question, with a view to propose practical steps to give effect to the suggestions contained in the Report of the Committee appointed in 1901, and was also directed to report on the education of Tamil coolies employed on estates, and other matters connected with education in general. After an exhaustive description of the existing system of elementary education in Ceylon, the Commissioners discuss the question whether the time is ripe for the introduction of a general system of compulsory education for boys. They sum up strongly in favour of compulsory education for boys, pointing out that in most parts of the Colony boys who are not sent to school are not set to any regular work, that they are not acquiring habits of industry, but are for the most part of their time running wild, or in many cases grow up without the most rudimentary sense of self-control. They rightly contend that a population of this kind is especially dangerous in a country like Ceylon, in which wealth is rapidly on the increase, even among the labouring classes; while, as in India, "the cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world, and has been involved in transactions in which the illiterate man is at a great disadvantage." It is pointed out that the Dutch had an extensive and successful system of vernacular schools throughout the conquered districts of the island, at which attendance was enforced by fines, and the Commissioners strongly recommend compulsory education for boys (and in certain districts for

girls), with a conscience clause. At this proposal the various religious bodies are already up in arms, and are offering such strenuous opposition that there would seem to be grave danger lest the whole scheme may fall to the ground. As all the existing agencies at work since the colony became a British possession have succeeded in providing education for only 204,889 children out of 534,970 children, it is time that the Government took this matter seriously in hand. The new proposals will be the means of giving instruction to over 330,000 children, who are now running wild and helping to swell the criminal classes. Crime is on the increase in Ceylon, and the direct connection of illiteracy with criminality is proved by valuable statistics collected by Mr. S. M. Burrows, a former Director of Public Instruction. If the religious missions insist on closing their schools, the Government should face the problem boldly, and take over the whole educational system, charging the cost to the general revenue. Of course, no attempts at proselytization should be countenanced. The native priests, Buddhists, Mohammedans, and Sivites naturally favour the proposed conscience clause.

Turning now to the vexed question of estate schools on plantations, I would first of all express my regret that a passage in Mr. Burrows' report has been reprinted without comment. He voices the opinions of some planters, that if the children were made to attend school it would "deal a serious blow at the labour-supply, and would *certainly* reintroduce infanticide." Referring to this objection, Sir Lepel Griffin says he has "never heard education put in so terrible a form, that a mother is prepared to kill her child rather than allow it to go to school. This seems to add to education a new and additional terror." The "infanticide argument" appears to Sir Lepel an argument of "an astonishing character," and "an absurd and exaggerated view." Mr. H. Mitchell Taylor writes: "I feel sure that the opposition on the part of the planters in Ceylon and

India will vanish in the face of public opinion. As to the spectre of possible infanticide as a result of a *mild* form of compulsory attendance at school, surely such conjuring cannot be serious. I never heard of such a thing, and, after thirty years' intimate association with coolies in the Western Colonies, I could not conceive of any such possibility. Of course, it goes without saying that the persons responsible for enforcement of regulations must be endowed with some amount of tact. In the Western Colonies the planters are legally required to provide schooling for the children of indentured emigrants only, but it has been found from experience that this provision has been very largely taken advantage of *voluntarily* by the unindentured immigrants, who, after a short residence in the Colonies, very soon recognise the benefits of education for their own offspring, and, curious to relate, those who have most prominently come to the front are the children of the Madrassis."

The Commissioners appear to take a similar view of the benefits likely to arise. They recommend that the planters shall furnish quarterly returns, showing how many children attend school, with inspection of all "line" and other schools, and, finally, that the ordinance which provides for compulsory education in other parts of the island shall contain provision that the estate superintendent should, before a date specified by the Governor, satisfy the Director that he has made adequate provision for the instruction of the children. The same ordinance should contain a provision empowering the Government to establish a school on any estate which, after clear warning, neglects to make proper provision for the schooling of the children, and to levy a rate on the estate to defray the cost of construction and maintenance of such school.

It now only remains to hope that the Government of Ceylon will delay no longer in dealing with this important question of education, which Sir Henry Blake himself has admitted to be one of four questions requiring special and

immediate attention. For my own part, I consider that a system of free compulsory *vernacular* education for all Sinhalese and Tamil boys should be established throughout this flourishing colony, and it is to be trusted that the authorities will carry out the recommendations of the Commissioners as speedily as possible.

EAST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE.*

It is about ten years since the Foreign Office assumed practical control of the administration of the territory now known as the East African Protectorate. During that time great progress has been made. The country was in every way undeveloped. It was inhabited by tribes whose everyday occupation had been for generations one of raiding and killing one another, and in slaying and selling women and youths, who for some time resented any attempt on the part of Britain to bring peace and order into the country. The language and customs were strange, and required mastering. There were no roads, and our only base was hundreds of miles from the principal stations. Our staff to carry out the work was small, but from the belief in the future civilization of the country the work of the staff was continuous and energetic. The British East African Company having surrendered its charter, the Foreign Office did not commence its control until October, 1895. This Company had effected a certain amount of local influence at certain stations, Ndü, Machakos, and Fort Smith. The Government, in taking over the territory, took over the existing officers, which was the means of maintaining the continuity of the policy which had been carried on in the country to that date. The territory was then divided into a number of districts, with a headquarter station in each district, and was under an officer styled the District Superintendent, each of whom was directly responsible to the chief administrator at Mombasa. On the Foreign Office assuming control, all the up-country districts then included in the East Africa Protectorate were placed within the limits of one province named Ukamba, and the district officers were responsible to His Majesty's Sub-Commissioner, who in turn was responsible to the Com-

* Collated from the recent Parliamentary reports relating to administration. "Africa," No. 6, October, 1905.

missioner-in-Chief. At that time trade goods consisted principally of cloth, beads, and wire, the only medium of exchange with the natives. Stern justice and speedy retribution were of necessity the ruling features of any effective policy; thus our administration rose and progressed, and when the Company's flag went down, the Protectorate found a sort of basis upon which to work.

In 1895 there was very little communication between the different tribes except raids and counter-raids; hence our first main efforts were to keep the various districts quiet and bring them to a state of order. There was a state of slavery which we had to meet, and for this purpose, in July, 1895, police posts were established. These posts were attacked in considerable force by the natives, and destroyed the greater part of the garrison. We had then to make a punitive expedition, which succeeded in punishing the offenders. About May, 1896, Soudanese troops under Colonel Harrison arrived from the coast, and proceeded at once to the unsettled areas. No punitive measures were, however, undertaken, as all the elders came in, submitted, and paid a fine, and the women who had escaped from their captors to our camp were handed over to their own people. After a time the troops withdrew, and the vacated temporary buildings were almost at once let to the Africa Inland Mission, and the locality has since ceased to cause any trouble. As the result of our endeavours to prevent and stop raiding, three other military and police expeditions were necessary in the Ulu district, the last of which was in 1897; since then the natives have caused, generally, no further trouble, and are now assisting in making roads. European settlers began, in 1903, to come into the country in appreciable numbers.

The Ukamba province, as originally constituted, contained, as estimated, thirty-eight square miles. This area included Teita and Taveta, Kikumbului, Ulu, Kitui, Mumoni, Kikuyu and Kenya, and Southern Masailand. In 1902 Teita and Taveta were placed under the Seyidie

(Mombasa) province, while the Kikuyu country north of the Chania River—and including Mount Kenya—was constituted a new province called “Kenya.” The area of the province as it is now is about 21,500 square miles. The boundaries in relation to that of the German boundary is as follows: On the south the Tsavo—from its source—and Sabaki Rivers to a point on the latter near Loga Hill; thence the boundary proceeds on the east to Dokhat, keeping at an equal distance from the Tana, which river it joins east of the Mumoni range; taking in Mumoni, it strikes the Thika, and follows that river to the point where the Chania River enters it. The Chania to its source forms the northern boundary; the western boundary is a line drawn from the source of the Chania along the Mianzini to Kijabi, and then in a south-westerly line to the Gwazo Nyiro River, thence along the course of that river to the Anglo-German boundary. The population of this province, as estimated, is 214,000, composed of the following tribes: Wakamba, Wakikuyu, and Masai. In addition, the resident populations, including officials, number about 5,700. The province forms one of the administrative divisions of the Protectorate, and is divided for administrative purposes into districts, whose officers are responsible for law and order. They collect the revenue, and are the general advisers to the natives in abnormal matters.

For generations in the past the different tribes resident in the province were hostile to one another. The Wakamba and Wakikuyu, who are a part of the Bantu race, are agricultural tribes; while the Masai, who are of Hamitic descent, are purely pastoral. Amongst the Bantu tribes of the province there is no record of a paramount chief; they have no form of government other than that of a patriarchal one. Amongst the Masai, however, there exists, and has always existed, a system of chieftainship. The chief in the old days, when the Masai were all-powerful, held practically absolute power. The Masai were, during their day, the lords of the interior of East Africa. All

native tribes lived in fear of them, and contributed, through the medium of forced raids, a regular tribute to this once powerful tribe. For years raids and counter-raids kept the country in a state of unrest. By our persistent efforts from 1895 these raids in 1900 ceased. Organized tribal raids are now unknown.

The ordinary law of the province is that applied to the whole of the Protectorate, which consists in that laid down in the Indian Criminal and Civil Codes, supplemented by a number of ordinances under the Orders in Council. The natives are becoming to realize the advantages of bringing their cases before these courts for settlement, and they appreciate a civilized mode of dealing with their claims. In this circumstance alone we have a very striking illustration of the advance made by the natives. From a state of raiding and killing for any little personal difference that may have existed formerly between people, we have now an application for a summons and an appearance in court. The progress in this connection is not confined to localities just round stations: it extends amongst tens of thousands of the people. In 1890 slavery was declared illegal, and included dealing with slaves in any form. The several regulations and ordinances from 1897 to 1903 have all tended to simplify the administration of justice, and to make it more easily understood amongst the natives. All the Provincial Courts are subordinate to the High Court of East Africa. The police of the Protectorate is divided into three classes: (1) The District; (2) The Nairobi Township; and (3) Watchmen and Guards.

The introduction of the Uganda Railway has had a most wonderful and civilizing effect on the country through which it passes, and to it the province owes a great deal of its present progressive condition. The number of passengers during the year 1903 was: First class, 468; second class, 660; third class, 16,325; the total being 17,453. In the year 1904: First class, 844; second class, 1,382; and third class, 24,303; making in all 26,529. The produce

carried by the railway during those years has much increased ; for instance, beans, more than 222 tons, while in 1904 it was increased to more than 535 tons ; potatoes, in 1903, 937 tons ; in 1904, 1,162 tons. There was no timber carried in 1903, but in 1904 it amounted to more than 479 tons. It is satisfactory to find that the railway is generally paying its own way. The construction of it has been not only justified from a financial point of view, but also a blessing to the country by opening it up to civilization, and proving to the Empire at large that East Africa is a land of fruitful promise. A comparison of travelling by the old caravan method and that of the railway from Bombasa is : one hour by railway, one day by caravan. By the old system there were no proper roads, but by degrees great improvement has been made in this respect. Post and telegraphs are being rapidly erected. There is also much progress in the surveying of land. In 1892 shops or business houses of any description were unknown, but now all this has changed. Hotels are being erected and banks established. The climate of the highlands is good, the soil is fertile, but the question has yet to be settled, "What will the soil produce that will pay a white man to cultivate it?" Coffee and fibres will grow, but these require time and money to produce. The question of native labour and that of the settlers require organization, and the Chief Commissioner for this purpose is forming "a Labour Commission." The revenue in 1897-1898 was Rs. 13,637, while in 1904-1905 it rose to Rs. 2,03,310. The expenditure for the latter year is estimated at Rs. 1,25,704. The natives of the province are pagans, but the introduction of missionary and educational efforts is being gradually established by various societies and churches.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL WORKS.

THE first portion of which we shall speak is devoted to the Proceedings of the Second International Congress of the History of Religions, which took place at Bâle from August 30 to September 2, 1904.* We have given before an account of this Congress,† and will therefore treat the Proceedings now published very briefly. This interesting volume is divided into three parts: (1) A daily report of the Congress and of its arrangements with respect to committees and members; (2) papers read at the general sittings; (3) proceedings of the sections. Several works presented to the Congress are printed *in extenso*, but only a very few. The majority are given in summaries, and are often very short—half or a third of a page—the volume itself only containing 382 pages. This system of publishing the Proceedings is much to be deplored, and should be absolutely condemned. Who is judge of the works which ought to be published *in extenso*? Some very important papers are given abridged, which detracts much from their value, hence the publication of the Proceedings loses much of its usefulness, especially to those members of the Congress who could not be present. The sad experience, then, as regards the summarized Proceedings of the Congress of Orientalists in Hamburg, should have been a lesson to the Bâle committee. It would have been far better to have published nothing than to have prepared a volume of summaries both dry and inadequate. This

* "Verhandlungen des II. internationalen Kongresses für allgemeine Religionsgeschichte in Basel." Basel: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1905.

† *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904 ("Proceedings of the Second International Congress of the History of Religions," a short daily report).

was recognised at the last Congress of Orientalists at Algiers, which decided to publish all its proceedings in full. At the Algiers Congress, of which we gave an abridged account in these pages,* the Professors of the École Supérieure des Lettres d'Alger et des Médersas d'Algérie presented a very interesting collection of essays and texts.† As Mr. R. Basset says in the preface to this volume, "with their apparent diversity, the essays forming this volume have a common utility—viz., the scientific exploration of Northern Africa." This work deserves a short analysis. It contains :

1. "Bibliographical Researches on the Origin of the Salouat-al-Anfas of Muhammad bin Jafar, bin Idris al-Kettani"; this is a modern work, valuable on account of its acquaintance with the Maghreb, and is lithographed at Fez. This first work is by Mr. R. Basset.

2. "Certain Rites for obtaining Rain at the Time of Drought amongst the Musulmans of the Maghreb," by A. Bel. The author points out that the intercessions for obtaining rain in the Maghreb belong to the popular harvest festivals, which have preserved the ancient rites which existed anterior to Islam. It is known how reluctantly the Berbers adopted the religion of Muhammad.

3. "On the Transmission of the Traditions of Bokhari to the Inhabitants of Algiers," by Muhammad bin Sheneb.

4. "The Capitals of Barbary," by A. Bernard.

5. "The Qānun of Adni," by Sayyid Boulifa. Adni is a conglomeration of five Kabyle villages. This Qānun, which forms the law and local customs, was communicated to the author of the article by "the village elders."

6. "The Son and Daughter of the King: A Story in the Berber dialect of Kef" (Beni-Snous), text and translation, by E. Doutté.

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1905 ("The Congress of Orientalists at Algiers").

† "Recueil de mémoires et de textes du XIV. Congrès des Orientalistes." Alger: P. Fontana, 1905.

7. "The Khotba (burlesque of the Feast of Tolbas-students) in Marocco," a very curious article, by E. Doutté.

8. "An Arabic-Malgash Text in the Dialect of South-Eastern Madagascar," text and translation by G. Ferrand.

9. "The Character of Micipsa, King of Numidia," in Sallust, by A. Fournier.

10. "A Record of Religion and Philosophy"; treatise by Ibn Rashid (Averroes), translated by L. Gauthier.

11. "Saharan Oases," by E. F. Gauthier.

12. "Extent of the Carthaginian Rule in Africa," by S. Gsell. An essay of the greatest interest.

13. "Apparently Semitic or Indigenous Names in the Egyptian Pantheon," by E. Lefébure.

14. "Some Observations on the Practical Arabic-French Dictionary of Beaussier," by W. Marçais; an important lexicographic study.

15. "L'Aqida of the Abadhites," by A. de C. Motylinski. The author of this very interesting work gives the text and translation of the 'Aqida, or symbol of faith, summarizing the doctrine followed in Mzâb and Jerba. Abadhite heresy has, in reality, survived to this day in the midst of the Musulman orthodoxy of North Africa; in Mzâb, and in the Island of Jerba and mountains of Nefusa, three Berber groups.

16. "The African Commission" (July 7-December 12, 1833), by G. Yver.

This rapid survey will show the richness of the large volume (612 pages) published by the Algerian professors.

The third collection of Oriental texts and studies, of which we will now say something, is the magnificent volume published in honour of D. Francisco Codera, on the occasion of the jubilee of his professorship. We have already drawn attention to the advance proofs of this work in our Report of April, 1905: *Several* reprints of "The Memoirs of R. Basset and M. Asin," of which we have pointed out the merits. One can say that all the works of this vast collection (xxxviii and 656 pages, 8vo.) deserve to be read. We

cannot here give even a simple analysis, the contents being so numerous. But it is well and useful to enumerate the richness of the volume, not according to its alphabetical index, but leaf by leaf.

The collection, which contains as a frontispiece a fine portrait of Codera, begins with an introduction, by Edward Saavedra, on the life, career, and the eminent merits of Codera, and the author of this notice applies rightly to the learned professor and distinguished citizen the maxim of Algazel: "He who knows, and works well and instructs, merits the title of great." A catalogue of the publications of Codera follows.

The essays which compose the collection are as follows:

- (1) "Origin of the Nizami College of Baghdad," by J. Ribera;
- (2) "Who was King Esmar of the Battle of Ourique?" by D. Lopes;
- (3) "Surrender of the Chateau de Chivert to the Templars," by M. Ferrandis;
- (4) "The Account of Almicdad and Almayesa," by M. de Pano;
- (5) "The Parallel between the Defective Arabic Verbs and their Hebrew, Chaldean, Syrian, and Ethiopian Correspondents," by M. Viscasillas y Urriza;
- (6) "On Al Kitâb al Bayân of the Jurist Ibn Rashid," by Nallino;
- (7) "Christians and Moors, Arragon and Navarre Documents," by E. Ibarra;
- (8) "Some Observations on Greek Fire," by De Goeje;
- (9) "African Numismatics (the Fatimites at Fez)," by A. Prieto y Vives;
- (10) "The Malekiten Tabaqat," by E. Fagnan;
- (11) "Otobesá=Abíxa=Oropesa y Aníxa=El Puig of Cebolla=Onusa (?)," by C. F. Seybold;
- (12) "Protest by the Inhabitants of Kano against the Attacks of Sultan Muhammad-Bello, King of Sokoto," by O. Houdas;
- (13) "Christian Soldiers in the Service of the Sultans of the Maghreb," by J. Alemany;
- (14) "Arabic Documents of the Archives of 'Ntra. Sra. del Pilar' of Saragossa," by R. Garcia de Linares;
- (15) "The Letter of Franchises granted by the Comte de Barcelone to the Jews of Tortosa," by J. Miret y Sans;
- (16) "Relations of the Viscounts of Barcelona with the Arabs," by F. Carreras y Candi;
- (17) "Cordovan

Musulmans in Alexandria and Crete," by M. Gaspar ; (18) "Opinion of Avicenna on Astrology and on the Relation of Human Responsibility with Destiny," by A. F. Mehren ; (19) "The Benimajlad of Cordova, a Family of Lawyers," by R. de Ureña y Smenjaud ; (20) "Christian Art among the Moors of Grenada," by M. Gomez-Moreno ; (21) "The Theological Averroism of St. Thomas d'Aquin," by M. Asin ; (22) "Origin of the Cities of Garnata É Illiberri and of the Alhambra," by L. Eguilaz Yanguas ; (23) "The Syriac MS., No. 196, in the Vatican," by I. Guidi ; (24) "Note on some Musulmans of Madrid," by L. Gonzalvo ; (25) "A Note on the Historic Doctrine of Abenjaldun (Ibn Khaldun)," by R. Altamira ; (26) "Ibn Al-'Assāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels," by Duncan B. Macdonald ; (27) "On Aluacaxi and the Arabic Elegy of Valence," by R. Menendez Pidal ; (28) "Moshehid bin Yusuf and Ali bin Moshehid," by R. Chabás ; (29) "The Arabic Root *حكم* and its Derivatives," by L. Gauthier ; (30) "Relations of Egypt with Spain during the Musulman Occupations," by Ahmad Zaki ; (31) "Doncella Teodor" (a story of "The 1,001 Nights," a book by Cordel and a comedy of Lope de Vega), by M. Menendez y Pelayo ; (32) "Indication of their Value on the Arabo-Spanish Coins," by A. Vives ; (33) "Mezquinos y Exaricos" (for the story of slavery in Navarre and Arragon), by E. de Hinojosa ; (34) "Questions of Prosody," by E. Saavedra ; (35) "The MSS. 'Aljamiados' from my Collection," by P. Gil y Gil ; (36) "Contribution to the Criticism of Conde," by L. Barrau-Dihigo ; (37) "Our Criticism on the Arabic MSS. of the National Library of Madrid," by H. Derenbourg ; (38) "Extract from the Description of Spain," taken from the work of the anonymous geographer of Almeria, by R. Basset.

Since our last Report, "Three Fascicules of the Talmud of Babylon," published by Lazarus Goldschmidt, have appeared. They include the treatises, "Baba Qamma" (Part II.) and "Baba Meçiá" (Parts I. and II.).*

* Berlin : Calvary und Co., 1905.

Volume V. of the Polyglot Bible, published by the Abbé Vigouroux, has appeared.* It includes: The Ecclesiasticus, or *Σοφία Σειραχ* (Greek, Hebrew, Latin, French), Esau, Jeremiah, the Lamentations, and Baruch. Interesting illustrations taken of the monuments accompany the text.

OLD-TESTAMENT HISTORY OF ISRAEL, SAMARIA, AND
ASSYRIA.

Amongst the commentaries which have appeared on the Old Testament, we have to point out that of Strack on Genesis.† In the preface the author declares to have revised with much care his first edition (1896), without omitting the different discoveries, especially in the domain of Assyriology. The following interesting statement characterizes the point of view of his work: "I am satisfied that many of the results deduced from the information of the analysis by *critics* are false. They assert that, in many biblical passages, there are contradictions, whilst there are none. On the contrary, biblical accounts gain, in an unanticipated spirit, credibility, because they declare that two or three narrators of the same event in the Bible, in relating it, essentially agree." The translation, printed in different characters, according to the several sources of which Genesis is composed, has been made with much care. As to the sources of the Pentateuch, the author distinguishes, like Dillmann, P (*Priesterschrift*, the sacerdotal writing), H (*Heiligkeitgesetz*, the Sacred Law), J (Jahvist), E (Elohism), and D (Deuteronomy). The commentary, of 178 pages, with translation and notes, is moderate and clear. We must particularly draw attention, as being extremely interesting, to the notes on Bibel and Babel; the first ten kings (Urkönige) of Babylonia; Ur (Kasdim), which the author places north of Kharran; the kings of chap-

* Paris: Roger et Chernoviz, 1904.

† "Die Genesis" (2^{te} neu durchgearbeitete Auflage). Munich: C. H. Beck, 1905.

ter xiv. ; the creditableness of the history of the Patriarchs ; the Song of Jacob (chapter xlix.), etc.

The Rabbi L. G. Lévy has published, in order to acquire the degree of Doctor of Letters at the Sorbonne, a work of high interest on the family in the Israelitic ancient times.* The author examines the family, which forms the pivot and axle of Israelitic life, from its origin up to the Exile. The book is divided into five parts : I. Family and Religion (totemism, worship of the dead, the ancient religion of the Hebrews) ; II. The Family in General (primitive family, slave and *ghêr*, life of a clan family) ; III. The Solidarity of the Family (vendetta and *gheoullah*, genealogy of name, property) ; IV. Marriage and Conjugal Society (matrimony, matrimonial rights, etc.) ; V. Relations of Members of the Family between Themselves (paternal authority, funeral rites, successions, etc.). The contents of the Rabbi's book are much too copious for us to analyze here—in fact, they go beyond the family circle. Its erudition is great and sound, its general views judicious and expansive, and the method is essentially scientific—that is to say, the book deserves to be read and recommended. It will certainly contribute to make known to the general public the ancient Israelitic family in its real light.

I myself have published a second edition of my "*Grammaire minima de l'Hébreu et de l'Araméen bibliques.*"†

In the *Revue des Études Juives* (Paris, 1905), F. Macler has published an interesting work on a new manuscript of a Samaritan chronicle, "*El Tôlideh*," which was edited in 1869 by Neubauer, after a manuscript of the year 1212 of the Hejira. This manuscript, compared by Macler, was written strictly after the accession of Abd-ul-Hamid. This work, like other Samaritan histories, established a Hebrew computation for fixing dates, which go back to Adam.

In the *Revue Sémitique* of July last (Paris) was inserted, under the title of "*Sumerological Correspondence*," a series of letters which Mr. R. Brunnow and J. Halevy wrote to

* Paris : F. Alcan, 1905.

† Paris : E. Guilmoto, 1905.

one another on the Sumerian question. We recommend their perusal, as they will make clear the much-disputed question of the Sumerian language.

ISLAM-ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

A most interesting book on Islam has been published. It is not the work of an Arabist or of a specialist; but its interest arises from the object that the author, Madame Hyacinthe Loyson, pursues. Her book is entitled "To Jerusalem through the Lands of Islam, among Jews, Christians, and Moslems."* It is an account of some journeys undertaken by Mr. and Mrs. H. Lyson in 1894-1896 across Algeria, Tunis, Egypt, and Palestine, but it is above all a collection of religious impressions regarding Islam, which the author rehabilitates, and which she defends. Islam is so little understood, and so often decried, by the general European public, it is as well that, from time to time, a sympathetic voice is raised in its favour. Mr. and Mrs. Loyson dream of the approachment of the Christian West and the Musulman East—an ideal the realization of which is difficult, but in pursuit of which we must endeavour to strive, as it is a humanizing power.

V. Chauvin has devoted, in the *Revue des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique* (vol. ii.; part 4, Brussels, 1905), an article of very great interest on the translation of "The 1,001 Nights," by Mardrus. In this article he shows the very numerous additions made in the Arabic text by the translator, additions culled from the most diverse collections of Oriental stories, etc. (Artin Pasha, Spitta Bey, Garcin de Tassy, Dr. Perron, Decourdemanche, etc.). This is really a very suggestive article.

In the *Revue Africaine* (No. 257, Algiers, 1905), A. Bel, custodian of the Tlemcen Museum, has pointed out, in an article entitled "Trouvailles archéologiques à Tlemcen,"

* Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1905 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.).

several interesting curiosities. An ancient Arabic solar dial, coming from old Mansoura, near Tlemcen ; a *modd en-nabi*, *modd du prophète*, a bronze vase or measure of 8 decalitres, having an interesting inscription, on which we read that this *modd* was made in A.H. 1049 (A.D. 1639), after the *modd habous* of the town of Fez.

Lastly, in the *Revue Africaine* (the same) we read a really captivating story of M. van Berchem on Musulman epigraphy in Algeria, with respect to "Corpus des inscriptions arabes et turques de l'Algérie" (first fascicule by Mr. G. Colin on the Algiers Department, second fascicule by Mr. G. Mercier on the Constantine Department).

When about to terminate this article, we have received the last fascicule of "Der islamische Orient," by Mr. Hartmann.* The same includes a long and interesting contribution entitled "Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam: das Ende der Caghataiden und die Herrschaft der Chogas in Kasgarien."

* Berlin: Wolf Peiser, 1905.

THE EMPEROR BABAR* IN THE HABIBU-S-SIYAR.

By H. BEVERIDGE.

THE *Habibu-s-siyar* of Ghiyasu-d-din Khwand Amir is a valuable help towards the understanding of Babar and his *Memoirs*. The author was a Persian and a native of Herat, and though a great admirer of Babar, there were two men whom he regarded as greater than he—namely, Sultan Husain of Khurasan and Shah Ismail Safavi, the King of Persia; hence his account of Babar is not conceived in a strain of unmixed panegyric. He records his mistakes, and he is explicit about his vassalage to Shah Ismail, and his issuing coins bearing the names of his suzerain and of the Imams. His book also fills up the blanks for several years of which Babar has given no account. The *Habib* was known to Mr. Erskine, the translator of Babar's *Memoirs*, and Rieu's Persian catalogue shows that he had in his possession a manuscript of part of the second volume. But apparently Erskine did not notice the references to Babar which occur in the life of Shah Ismail, and he failed to draw any inference from the singular resemblance between Babar's *Memoirs* and the accounts of Babar's early years in Khwand Amir's life of Sultan Husain. He, however, made use in his history of Babar of the seventh volume of the *Rauzatu-s-safa*, which, though ascribed to Muhammad Mir Khwand, is identical with the portion of the *Habib* which deals with the life of Sultan Husain, and is no doubt the work of the grandson Ghiyasu-d-din. The circumstance that the latter, in accordance with Muhammadan custom, took his

* It has been remarked by Dr. Rieu that the proper pronunciation of this name is "Babur." This is corroborated by a distich at ii. 291, line 7, of the *Habib*, where Babur seems to rhyme with *tahur*. Dr. Rieu's remark is quoted by Poole in the introduction to his "Coins of the Shahs of Persia," p. xxv, note.

grandfather's name, seems to have led to the confusion between the two writers. Another confusion which, as Dr. Rieu has pointed out, is confined to European writers, and which makes Ghiyasu-d-din the son, instead of the grandson, of the author of the *Rausatu-s-safa*, has perhaps arisen from the passage in the *Habib*, Bombay lithograph, ii. 339, in which Khwand Amir says he stands in the relation of son (*farzand*) to Muhammad Mir Khwand. The true relationship, as Dr. Rieu has said, is given at p. 198 of the same volume.

The *Habib* is a general history from the time of the patriarchs to near the end of Shah Ismail's reign—that is, to near the middle of 1524. It was begun early in 927—that is, in the beginning of 1521—but the author had not worked at it many months when his progress was stopped by the death of his patron Ghiyasu-d-din al Husaini, who was put to death by Amir Khan, the guardian of Shah Tahmasp, on suspicion that he was plotting with Babar to surrender to him the city of Herat. The circumstances under which Ghiyasu-d-din was put to death are detailed at great length in the *Habib* in the account of the reign of Shah Ismail, pp. 93 *et seq.* He was put to death on 7 Rajab, 927 (June 13, 1521), shortly after the Uzbeks under Ubaid Ullah Khan had retired from an unsuccessful attempt to take Herat. Though the plotting with Babar appears, from pp. 93 and 100, to have been the ostensible cause of the murder, the real reason apparently was because Ghiyasu-d-din disapproved of Amir Khan's administration, and was preparing to complain to Shah Ismail about it. At this part of the history we incidentally (see p. 96) learn that Babar was in the end of 926 and beginning of 927 actively engaged in besieging Shuja' Beg in Qandahar. Both Amir Khan and Ghiyasu-d-din expostulated with him, but Babar replied that no confidence could be placed in Shuja' Beg, and that he hoped soon to send him as prisoner to Shah Ismail, and that he would surrender the keys of Qandahar and the Garmsir to whom-

soever the Shah chose to appoint. We also learn that Khan Mirza Babar's cousin died in 926 or 927, and not in 917, as stated by Haidar Mirza, or the copyist, and that Babar appointed Humayun to take charge of Badakhshan.

After the death of Ghiyasu-d-din, Khwand Amir found a new patron in Khwajah Habib Ullah, whose name he inserted into the title of his work. The *Habib* was substantially completed in the end of 929, or in 930 (1524), and before he left Herat, though it appears from a statement at the end of the first volume, or *jild* (p. 84 of vol. i.), that the finishing touches were given at a Tirmohana, or river junction, in Bihar in 935 (1529). On this point Elliot (iv., pp. 143, 155), and Rieu's Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts (iii., 1079, col. 2), may be consulted. Sir Henry Elliot suggests, with, as it appears to me, much probability, that what Khwand Amir did in India was to re-copy for the third time the work which he had already completed. He certainly could not have access to many books either in Qandahar or on the way from there to India. The *Habib* was lithographed at Bombay in 1857, and it is from this edition that my quotations are made. The passages which deal with Babar are embedded in the biographies of Sultan Husain and Shah Ismail in the second volume. There is also an account of Babar's father, Umar Shaikh, in the section dealing with the sons of Sultan Abu Sa'id. This is at pp. 194 and 195 of vol. ii., and closely agrees with the account in Babar's *Memoirs* (pp. 7-10). Babar's name seems to be first mentioned at p. 195, but his biography begins at p. 271, and extends from his birth to his first conquest of Samarqand—that is, it commences with the first month of 888 (February, 1483), and ends with the last days of November or December, 1497. I mention the two months because, according to Babar's *Memoirs*, he entered Samarqand in the end of Rabi-al-awwal, whereas according to the *Habib* lithograph the entry was at the close of Rabi-al-akhir, 903. This portion of the biography occupies about six pages of the

lithograph, which is a folio containing thirty-one lines to the page, and closely resembles the account of this period in Babar's Memoirs (Leyden and Erskine's translation, pp. 17-48). Immediately before this passage there is, on pp. 270 and 271, an account of the rebellion of the Tarkhans and of the escape of Baisanghar Mirza, which is almost word for word the same as that in the Memoirs, pp. 39, 40. There can be no question, I think, of the practical identity between the account of Babar's early years in the Memoirs and that in the Habib. One of them must have been copied from the other, unless, indeed, both of them have a common source. But for this alternative there is no evidence, and the fact is unlikely. The real point is, "Which is the original?" and for reasons to be given hereafter I am of opinion, though with some doubt, that the Habib is the original, and that Babar has copied and amplified the account there given. As instances of close correspondence of the two accounts, I may refer to Babar's narrative in the Memoirs of what happened on the arrival of the news of his father's death (Erskine, pp. 17-56), where Babar gives the reasons why he could not give up Andijan to his brother Jahangir. In the first instance, the story of Shiram Taghai's taking off the young prince towards the hills, and of their being stopped by an emissary of Maulana Qazi, is told in the same way in the Habib (p. 272), except that the latter represents Shiram as putting his boy-sovereign on horseback, while Babar, naturally enough, represents himself as taking the initiative and mounting his horse, and then having his bridle seized by Shiram. In the second, Babar gives two reasons why he could not comply with Uzun Hasan and Tambol's wishes. One was that he had in a manner promised Andijan to his uncle, and the other was that he could not act under compulsion. Both these reasons, and in the same order, are given in the Habib (p. 291). Throughout the two accounts also we find that the incidents and the names of the persons concerned are given in the same order and with similar

particulars. It seems unnecessary to labour this point further, as the coincidences are too remarkable to be accidental, or to be the result of a common use of the same materials. At p. 277 of the *Habib* the account of Babar is interrupted in order to carry on the narrative of Sultan Husain and his sons, but it is resumed at p. 291, and is continued, with short digressions, to near the bottom of p. 310. The account closely agrees with Babar's accounts of the transactions of 903-908 (pp. 56-98 of Erskine). Further on in the *Habib*, at pp. 317, 318, 323, etc., we have accounts of Babar and his uncles' defeat by Shaibani, near Akhsi, and of his conquest of Kabul. Sultan Husain died in the end of 911 (1506), so there is not much more of Babar in the account of the former's reign, but he is often referred to in the account of Sultan Husain's sons, and especially that of Muhammad Zaman Mirza, who eventually became Babar's son-in-law. These references end with 924 or 925 at p. 373, and were written, it appears, about the end of 929. For the events of Babar's career in Persia and Transoxiana during the years 916-919* (1510-1514), we must refer to the fourth section of the third volume of the *Habib*, which contains the life of Shah Ismail.

The *Habib* is not only valuable because it gives accounts of the years which have been left blank in Babar's *Memoirs*; it also helps us to understand and to correct statements in the *Memoirs*. For instance, it would seem from p. 182 of the *Memoirs* as if Mas'ud Mirza had been married to Sultan Husain's daughter after he had been blinded by Khusru Shah. It appears, however, from the *Habib* that the marriage took place in 904 on Sunday, 3 Zi-al-qada, and that it was after this that Masaud went off to Khusru Shah at Qunduz, and was blinded by him in 905. Eventually he returned to Herat, and it is evidently to this

* From the *Tarkhan-nama* (Elliot, i. 307) it appears that Babar had returned to Afghanistan, and was besieging Qandahar in 919. But the dates in this work are not trustworthy.

period that Babar refers when he speaks of Mas'ud's wife having been made over to him. Again, Babar (Erskine, p. 224) is severe upon his rival Shaibani for seizing upon one Khanim, the wife of Mozaffar Husain, and marrying her, although she was in an impure state, by which is meant, apparently, that a sufficient time had not elapsed from her divorce from her first husband. But the Habib puts quite a different complexion on the affair. According to it Shaibani admired her and proposed marriage, and the lady told him that Mozaffar Husain had divorced her two years ago. A number of respectable people confirmed her statement, and so, there being no legal objection, Shaibani married her (see Habib ii. 359).

The Habib does not give the details of Babar's escape from Karnan, when Yusuf darogha came to him and he expected to be put to death. As is well known, the Persian translation breaks off here at the most exciting point (Erskine, p. 122), though the Turki versions of Ilminsky and Haidarabad continue the narrative, and conclude with Babar's departure from Farghana (see Pavet de Courteille's translation, i. 255-259). The fact that the Habib does not describe the incidents goes to show that Khwand Amir had not Babar's Memoirs before him when he was writing, for it could only be the Turki that was in existence then. The inference, however, is not certain, for the incidents were not in all the Turki copies—*e.g.*, they were not in the Elphinstone manuscript. But though the Habib does not give these details, it furnishes, at p. 317, an important supplement to the Memoirs by describing how Babar and his maternal uncles were defeated by Shaibani near Akhsi. It is evident from this passage that Babar, as Erskine had conjectured (p. 124), succeeded in joining his uncles after the adventure of Karnan, but that this did not much better his position, for all three of them were eventually defeated by Shaibani. The exact date when this occurred does not seem to be known, but it was in the end of 908 or beginning of 909, and according to Babar (see P. de Courteille's

translation, i. 259) four months after his escape from Karnan. Shaibani on this occasion behaved generously towards the two uncles, and set them at liberty after he had captured them. But he sent a message to the people of Tashkand to the effect that if they wished to save their princes' lives they must stop Babar, who had fled towards Mogulistan, and must imprison Khwaja Abul Mukaram. The people of Tashkand carried out the latter order, but they did not succeed in catching Babar, as he came to know that they were holding the mouth of the defile he was in, and so turned aside and went off to Hisar Shadman, and finally to Tarmiz. Of the year 909 Babar gives no account, his reticence, I think, being explained by the fact that it was a year of great hardship and misery. His only allusion to it is at p. 4 of Erskine, where he says, "I spent nearly a year in Sukh and Hushiar among the hills in great distress." The passage in the *Habib* just referred to seems to me to prove that the gap in Babar's *Memoirs* for 909 always existed, and that the omission is not due to any accident to the original manuscript, or to the mistake of copyists. For if Babar had written an account of his and his uncles' defeat by Shaibani and of his subsequent adventures, he never would have written, as he has done (see P. de Courteille, i. 259): "I remained with my uncles for four months. . . . Then it came into my mind that it would be better to leave Farghana." This period of four months must have been before the battle of Akhsi, for after their capture and release they went off to Mogulistan, and Babar had to fly for his life, so that the expression "It came into my mind that it would be better to leave Farghana" is inappropriate, and also insufficient for the description of nearly a twelvemonth of wandering.

Here it may be permitted to me to make a short digression about Babar's *Memoirs*, which Abul Fazl carelessly or ignorantly describes as covering the period from the beginning of his reign to the time of his death.

As is well known, there are several gaps in Babar's

Memoirs. One of them extends over eleven years of his reign in Kabul. Various explanations of the causes of the gaps may be given, but it seems to me that the most probable is that Babar did not like to record his humiliations. We know that he slurs over the facts of his surrender of Samarqand and of his sister to Shaibani, and it is natural that he should evade describing his unsuccessful campaigns against Shaibani's representatives, and still more his humiliating submissions to Shah Ismail and to the Shia religion. The objection to this explanation, and it is a solid one, is that Babar has omitted to describe one of his greatest exploits—viz., his battle with the Moghuls in 914, in which he is said to have been victorious in five single combats. Haidar Mirza speaks of this as one of his greatest achievements. Perhaps, however, Babar left it out because he would be obliged to state that eventually he put to death his cousin Abdu-r-razzaq. The latter was undoubtedly the true heir to the throne of Kabul after the death of his father, Ulugh Beg, who was Babar's father's brother. He may have been unfit to rule, and Babar—who pardoned him once—may have been justified in at last putting him to death, but still it would be an unpleasant circumstance, which Babar would be unwilling to dwell upon, as he had strong family feelings. Perhaps, also, it would not be too far-fetched to suggest that a *rusé* chronicler like Babar purposely left out the account of his brilliant victory in order that his admirers might urge—as they do—that the gaps were not caused by Babar's desire to conceal his misfortunes. However this may be, it seems certain that the blanks have always existed, and I cannot but think that one cause of them has been Babar's reluctance to exhibit himself as a fugitive and as a truckler to Muhammadan nonconformists. If we believe, as I do, that Babar copied from the *Habib*, another reason for some of the blanks would be that he had no original to work upon; for the *Habib* tells us little about Babar's career in Kabul, and there does not seem to be any other source.

I now come to the important question of "Which is the original, the *Habib* or Babar's *Memoirs*?" The *Habib* was begun early in 927 (1521), and is generally considered to have been completed in 930 (1524). At the very end of the chapter—viz., the third part of the third *jild* or volume—in which the events of Babar's life are recorded down to his conquests of Kabul, the end of 929 (1523) is mentioned as the time of writing (see p. 378 of Bombay edition), and there is a similar statement at p. 367. If this chapter was finished then, and not greatly altered afterwards, the question might probably be decided at once in favour of the *Habib*, for it seems certain, and is held both by Erskine and Pavet de Courteille (see Erskine's preface, p. vi, and P. de Courteille's fuller discussion of the subject in his preface, pp. vi-viii), that Babar began to write his *Memoirs* after his conquest of India—*i.e.*, after 932 or 1526. And if he did not begin his *Memoirs* till then, it seems almost certain that he must have had some materials* to assist his memory, such as the accounts of his early years in the *Habib*. But the discussion is complicated by the fact that at the end of his first volume (*Habib*, i., p. 82) Khwand Amir speaks of having completed it (that is, the first volume) "after it had been for a long time in the state of a rough draught," at a Tirmohana,† or river junction, in Bihar. This must have been in April or May, 1529, for we know from the same passage, and also from Babar's *Memoirs* (Erskine, p. 382), that Khwand Amir did not reach Agra till September, 1528 (Muharram, 4, 935), and it was after this that he accompanied Babar to Bihar. See also Babar's *Memoirs*, pp. 411 *et seq.* There is also the fact that Khwand Amir on more than one occasion gives Babar the title of Ghazi (see *Habib*, i., pp. 195, 291), which,

* We know from Badayuni, iii. 180, that Babar had a *Waqā-navis*, or historiographer, who came with him to India. His name—or, at least, his *takhallus*—was Atishi Qandahari, for he was also a poet. He was with Humayun in Badakhshan, and died in 973 (1566).

† See the quotations in Elliot (iv., pp. 143, 155), and the Bombay edition (i. 82-84).

Babar tells us (Erskine, p. 367), he assumed in the Imperial titles after the victory over Rana Sanka in 933 (1527). This is startling, but it is not conclusive against the priority of Khwand Amir; for flatterers may have given Babar the title before he publicly assumed it, and they may have thought his exploits against the Kafirs or the inhabitants of Bajour entitled him to the appellation. The title, too, may have been added by Khwand Amir in his final revision. On the other hand, the following facts make for the priority of Khwand Amir. First, it is evident that though he touched up his book three times, it was substantially completed in 929. Secondly, if he had greatly altered or added to his book afterwards, he surely would have made some reference to Babar's conquest of India, and have even given some account of this. But he does not refer to Babar's connection with India except in the preface at the end of the first volume already referred to. Thirdly, he writes of persons being alive whom Babar mentions as having died. Thus at p. 253 we have the statement that Sultanam Begam, the mother of Mirza Muhammad Sultan, and eldest daughter of Sultan Husain, was still alive, whereas Babar (Erskine, p. 181) tells us that she died at Nilab on her way to India. Similarly, we are told at p. 327 that Afaq Begam, the wife of Sultan Husain, was still alive, though all her co-wives were dead; but Babar tells us (p. 183) that he got news in January, 1528 (934), that she had died at Kabul. Fourthly, there are occasionally indications that Khwand Amir could not have had Babar's Memoirs before him when he was writing. One of them is that in Khwand Amir's account of one of Babar's dreams there is no reference to the much more remarkable dream he had at Karnan. Another is that Khwand Amir, in speaking of the quatrains made by Binai and Babar after his conquest of Samarqand, says (p. 307) that Khwaja Abu-l-barka Farāqi also made a quatrain, and that he remembers two lines of it. He then gives these two lines, which are in Turki. Now, if he had had Babar's Memoirs before him, he could have given the

whole four, for Babar gives the complete quatrain (see Erskine, p. 91, and Ilminsky, p. 107). At p. 306 Khwand Amir describes the taking of Samarqand by Babar the second time, and compares it with Timur's capture of Qarshi, both heroes having had only 240 soldiers.* But Babar in his Memoirs (p. 88) takes no notice of Timur, and makes an elaborate comparison between his own exploit and that of Sultan Husain in taking Herat, to the disadvantage of the latter. Surely if Khwand Amir, who was then writing the life of Sultan Husain, had come across this passage in the Memoirs, he would have had something to say about the comparison. Again, Babar, in his account of what led to the Battle of Khwajah Kardzan, ascribes his precipitation to astrological reasons and takes all the blame upon himself (Erskine, p. 92), whereas Khwand Amir says nothing about the aspects of the stars, and softens Babar's rashness by ascribing it in part to the influence of Qambar Ali, whom Babar does not mention, except to say that he assisted him in his preparations. Finally, Khwand Amir gives a somewhat different and less favourable account of Babar's transactions with Khusru Shah, and describes the latter as arriving in a state of destitution at Badiu-z-Zaman's camp, and as complaining of his treatment (p. 320); and apparently this is the foundation of Ferishta's remarks on the subject. Khwand Amir also (p. 318) ascribes to Amir Muhammad Baqar, otherwise Baqi Cheghaniani, the ruler of Tarmiz, the merit of having persuaded Babar to attempt Kabul, whereas Babar (Erskine, p. 128), though he mentions Baqi Cheghaniani, and speaks of going to Tarmiz, says nothing about his persuasions. For these reasons I am inclined to think that Khwand Amir wrote his account of Babar before seeing the Memoirs, and before they were written, and that Babar afterwards used the Habib as the groundwork of the

* According to the *Zafar-nama*, Bib. Ind. ed., i. 129, and the Habib, i. 11 of the third portion of the third *jild*, the exact number of Timur's followers was 243. Babar (Erskine, p. 86) says that when he proceeded against Samarqand he had only 240 men, good and bad.

first part of his autobiography. This does not deprive Babar of the merit of writing his Memoirs, for the graphic touches and the personal details are all his own, and the Habib does not go beyond the time when Babar was only lord of Kabul.

If it be objected that the statement of Khwand Amir at the end of his first volume shows that it was not finished till 1529, and that the rest of the book may have been written even later, for the author lived into Humayun's reign and died at Burhanpur in 1535-1536, the answer is that not only does he in several places speak of 929 and 930 as the time of writing, but also at the very end of his book he gives two chronograms expressive of the fact that the work was finished in 930 A.H. The Habib consists of three volumes divided into twelve sections (see Elliot, iv. 157), and a Khatima, or conclusion, descriptive of the wonders of the world. At the end of this conclusion the author says that the world is full of wonders, and that it is impossible to describe them all. The greatest marvel of all, however, he says, is that a feeble soul like himself should have been able in a short space of time to write this great history of kings, saints, and philosophers. He then gives two chronograms, both of which yield 930 or 1524.

The remarks at the end of the first volume (i. 82), already referred to, are lengthy, and were perhaps not all written at the same time; or if they were, they seem to me to cover a long space of time, and to refer to disparate events. The heading of the remarks is, "Thanks to God for completion of the first volume, and prayers for the preservation of the glorious minister"—that is, his patron, Khwajah Habib Ullah, who is designated Asaf, after the name of Solomon's vizier. The panegyric on Habib Ullah refers to his having read his book and corrected it, and goes down to the twelfth line of p. 84. This part ends with a distich, announcing that his words are finished. Then comes the statement, "Be it known that this work was completed for the third time on the way to India."

Then the author goes on to say that he left Herat in the middle of Shawwal, 933 (middle of July, 1527), and came to Qandahar. There he began to write these pages (*in sawad*), but before he had finished the first chapter (*juz*) fate seized his collar and dragged him to India. He set off on Jamadi-as-sani 10, 934—*i.e.*, on March 31, 1528—and on account of the heat and the rain, etc., was seven months on the journey, and did not arrive at Agra till Muharram 4, 935—*i.e.*, September 18, 1528. He fell ill shortly after his arrival, and remained in a dangerous state for several months. Afterwards he accompanied the Emperor Babar to Bihar, and wherever there was a halt he worked at his book, finally completing it at the junction of the Sarju and Ganges (about May, 1529). The remarks conclude with a panegyric of Babar and of his secretary, Zainu-d-din Khwafi. The latter wrote an account of Babar's conquest of India, if he did not translate the whole Memoirs, and he certainly could have given Khwand Amir full information about Babar's career, and perhaps have shown him a copy of the Memoirs. It is possible, then, that Khwand Amir inserted in his history his details about Babar after his arrival in India, and that he and not Babar is the copyist. But this does not seem likely. The subject of Babar was germane to his life of Sultan Husain, and would naturally fall to be written at the time he was writing that part of his work—*viz.*, 927-930. There are also indications, I think, that Khwand Amir could not have had the Memoirs before him when he was writing the account of Babar's early years. Surely, too, if he had written that account after seeing the Memoirs, he would have taken pride in mentioning the fact, and would have dilated on Babar's most splendid achievement, his conquest of India.*

* At p. 196, vol. ii., it is stated in the account of Ulugh Beg and his son that Babar is seated on the throne of Kabul, and rules over the territories once possessed by Mahmud of Ghazni. This, the author says, is the case at the present time, which is the end of Ramazan, 929 (August, 1523). In this passage the author calls him only Babar Mirza, and says that Babar continues to behave loyally towards Ismail Shah.

On the contrary, he never refers to it, unless his occasional use of the title Ghazi be an allusion to it. It should also be noted that according to a statement at the end of the Bombay edition (p. 50), the lithograph was made from a manuscript in the author's own handwriting, dated 932. If this statement could be relied upon, it settles the question by showing that Khwand Amir could not have seen the Memoirs, as they were not written then. I find a difficulty, however, in accepting it, on account of the remarks at the end of the first volume, which certainly were not finished before 935. The above statement is contained in the biography of Khwand Amir, with which the edition ends, and on the page immediately preceding it is said that Khwand Amir is described in the *Waqiat Babari*, which Babar wrote in Turki and Zainu-d-din translated, to have been received by Babar in the *Hasht Bihisht* garden (at Agra) on Rabi-al-awwal 8, 935 (December, 1528). This second interview, for that in September is mentioned both by Babar and Khwand Amir, is not mentioned in the Memoirs nor in the copy of Zainu-d-din accessible to me.

I have not space to dwell upon the numerous references to Babar which are contained in the life of Shah Ismail. They supplement Babar's Memoirs, which are a blank for this period, and they are earlier in date and fuller in parts than the descriptions in the *Tarikh Rashidi* of M. Haidar. One of the most important passages occurs at pp. 65 *et seq.* There it is said that Babar sent petitions and presents to Shah Ismail in Herat, and that, the latter having agreed to his taking possession of Transoxiana, Babar advanced to Samarqand in company with his Persian auxiliaries. We are also told the contents of a letter written by Babar, and how he issued at Samarqand coins bearing the names of the Imams and of Shah Ismail, and how the proclamation was made in the name of the latter. The two subsequent defeats of Babar are also described, and we read at p. 74 of Babar's having taken refuge at

Kishm in Badakhshan in 919. At p. 81 there is a detailed account of a dreadful famine which prevailed in Herat and other parts of Khurasan in that year. It lasted for more than two years (1513-1514), and was marked by the horrors of cannibalism.* Apparently it was not so much caused by natural causes as by the interruption to husbandry produced by the war.

* Khwand Amir says that not only did bands of ruffians waylay solitary passengers in the lanes, etc., and kill and eat them, but that many persons made a trade of selling *ghee*, which was the produce of human flesh (*roghan-i-adami*). The famine lasted from 919 to 921. Khwand Amir's account is valuable, as it is that of an eye-witness. It may be noted here that a life of Khwand Amir and some account of the Habib will be found in an article by Quatremère in the July number of the *Journal des Savants* for 1843, pp. 386-393.

"THE RING FROM JAIPUR."*

BY R. E. FORREST.

A, B, and C sat together. A and C had retired ; B was home from India on furlough.

A. The author says : " There are bazaars in India where the eternal mystery of the East seems to gather and fill the place." What is the mystery of the East ?

C. Never found it in any of the Districts I was in : only hard and horrid facts.

B. It is always somewhere else. Perhaps it is to be found in Siberia or Siam. India does not seem the place for it. It is the land of glare ; of vast openness ; of the uncovered. In it a strip of cloth forms a suit of clothes for a man, a string a garment for a child ; there you have not even the mystery of decency, as one saw when riding by a village at dawn.

C. And when one continued one's ride over the huge open stretches of cultivated or barren land, how one's heart cried aloud for the mystery of a shaded sun, the mystery of clouds, of their shadows, of the hedgerow, and the coppice, and the wood !

B. Yes ; for mysteries you must go to lands of cloud and mist. I believe a resident of Glasgow can see as much of the mysteries of sky and earth, and of human life, as a resident of Cawnpore.

A. There is a feeling of mystery as you ride across one of those wide, level, open Indian plains, where nature seems reduced to its elements of earth and sky.

C. Certainly : the same mystery that attaches to everything in the land—its thought, its literature, its science, its sacred books—the mystery of vacuity.

A. But you would find it on the mountain heights, in the midst of the Himalayas.

B. It is curious to think that when we first took Northern

* By Frances M. Peard. Smith, Elder and Company, London.

India the sources of the Ganges and the Jumna were as mysterious as those of the Nile.

C. Now they are mapped. The mysterious means the unknown. The mystery we talk about is within ourselves; it is a condition of the feelings, a state of the mind. It is excitement. It is born of ignorance and fear.

A. Nay, of the poetic faculty, too.

C. In its childish condition.

B. I have found in the Himalayas scenes exceeding in grandeur those of any European mountain-chain; but the feeling of mystery might possibly attach oftener to the latter. The Himalayan landscapes—though so vast, so sublime—were so open, so distinct, so clear spread.

C. For mystery you want plenty of darkness, within and without.

A. You said, B, that the mystery was always somewhere else. The author goes on to say: "The strange Eastern glamour which hangs about the Peshawar streets is not so subtle as that found farther south." The glamour, like the mystery, is always further off.

B. 'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view.

C. Certainly of an Indian bazaar. The glamour of an Indian bazaar. Good Lord! There is about as much of it in most bazaars as there is of the brilliancy of Paris in a rude Breton hamlet. The glamour of the ordinary bazaar, with its one main street, with the inconceivably poor shops on either side; the butcher's shop, with its pieces of goat's flesh and its flies; the confectioner's, with its boiling oil and flies, its fat, three-quarters naked, profusely perspiring confectioner: the main street, with its pariah dogs and dust and flies, the bleary-eyed old women, the pot-bellied children, the spindle-shanked men, it may be the leper and the man with elephantiasis; its narrow, filthy side-alleys, the border of poor huts, its encircling open latrine. There is no mystery, none at all, only horrid facts.

A. The mystery may lie in the great cities.

C. Not more than in the great cities elsewhere. We

have read such books as "The Mysteries of Paris," "The Mysteries of London." The scene of the "City of Dreadful Night" should be laid in New York rather than in Calcutta. I do not remember which enjoys the vile supremacy—the Christian or the heathen city—but of all the great cities of the world, of which the statistics are available, New York and Calcutta are the two in which the prostitutes are in largest proportion to the population.

B. They are not wanting among ourselves.

C. No ; but they are condemned by public opinion, their haunts held vile, they slink, do not vaunt themselves.

B. Not in Regent Street ?

C. That is a public disgrace. But mark the difference. They have not their upper chambers in Regent Street ; do not sit out in their balconies in the scarlet robes, and with the bare head and face, of shamelessness, advertising their abodes. What mystery, what shamefacedness, there is, is here, among us. In India the vile calling is a part—a recognised, not unhonoured part—of the social and religious system. They do not form here a part of our religious establishments. In India the courtesans do form a part of the resident population of the great Hindu temples. In London men of the highest position would not have a concourse of prostitutes as a part of a public entertainment : they do in India.

A. But there has been the secretiveness of other crimes. Climatic influences have made the people weak in mind and body, and therefore secretive. There was the secret murder system of the Thugs, there was a mystery in that.

C. There have been, and are, secret murder and assassination societies in Europe, and in America, too.

B. None so wide-spread, so long-continued, so ruthless, so careful to guard against all personal risk, whose ends were so low and mean, in which one's own gain was set so preposterously above the loss of others—a whole family, father, mother, children, babe in arms, massacred for the sake of its miserable belongings.

C. The bomb-throwers of Europe do not seem to mind about the killing of innocent people, the slaying of women and children.

B. They do not desire to slay the little child, do not strangle it with their own fingers. There was something peculiarly cunning, cruel, ruthless, unmanly, reptilian about the murders of the Thugs.

A. The difference between the proceedings of these men and those of our highwaymen may, perhaps, indicate a difference of national characteristics.

B. The Thugs gave to their wholesale murder and their wholesale theft a religious character.

C. Being Hindus it would be so ; with them everything, good or bad, high or low, is religious. But the Sicilian brigand, too, makes offerings to his patron saint or the Madonna. There has been more mystery of every kind in Italy than in India.

A. There is the mystery of the Hindu religion, with its myriads of worshippers, its strange gods (C. Very strange), and their extraordinary representations (C. Most extraordinary), Krishna and Kali and Mahadéo, and their often terrible images.

C. Placed in the gloomy dusk of the innermost shrine, through which the stones of enormous value which constitute the images two eyes gleam. One of them is carried off by a hidden Englishman ; the trackers are set to work ; they turn up in Piccadilly. The image I have seen oftenest is the lingam, out in the open. Carlyle refers to what it represents as the open secret ; there is no secrecy here, all openness. The lingams and the women in the precincts of the villages at dawn ; there really is no mystery in India. This image certainly only represents facts. But I never could see the play of imagination in any of the images ; they are a mere jumble of facts ; the multiplication of arms and legs, the clapping on of wings, does not display imagination, but the lack of it ; if there is any fancy about it, it is a childish one. The noble faculty of imagination does not

display itself in giving a human figure four arms and four legs and the head of a beast.

A. There is the mystery of the Sacred Books of the Hindus.

C. There was ; acquaintance with them dispels it. I do not know Sanscrit, and so I plunged eagerly into Max Müller's translations in the India Office Library. I was horrified. Page after page of foolish, childish, disgusting rubbish ; the bare-faced, preposterous regulations of the Brahmins for their own benefit ; the heavy, cruel, nauseous penalties they enjoined for the slightest injury to themselves. It was like expecting an auriferous deposit and finding a collection of potsherds, a filth-map. It was a great work of Max Müller's ; it laid open to us a page in the history of the human mind ; but he must often have been depressed in the midst of his long and arduous labours to find himself translating the unworthy sentences by the thousand, the worthy, those of any intrinsic use or value or beauty, by the five, the two, the one.

A. It is a mark of the new time in India, of the change wrought by our system of education, that men who still cling passionately to their own—the Hindu—religion, yet lament the ignorance, the want of any real knowledge, the low level of morality, of the priesthood.

C. There are men of high intelligence, lofty thinkers, leaders of very pure and simple lives, among the Brahmins ; but, as a class, they are greedy, ignorant, immoral, domineering, cunning, combative, oppressive, wholly given up to self-seeking.

A. I heard one of the great Zemindars of Oudh, a man of large possessions, deliver an address in London, in the English language, upon the Brahmin priesthood. In it he dwelt in quaint but passionate language on the tyranny exercised by the Brahmins in Indian households ; on their everlasting exactions.

B. The exactions seem to go the length of usurpation of the husband's special rights and privileges.

C. The Brahmin leaves his slippers at the doors of women's bedchambers to give notice of his temporary ownership. That is quite open. There is no mystery there.

A. A native gentleman reading a paper in London very lately said in it that English people often talked about the mystery of India, but that if they would learn the native languages and cultivate intercourse with the people, they would find there was no mystery.

B. There was a mystery when India was remote and little visited, and the feeling has continued on to this day.

A. It is kept up because of its usefulness in the romantic literature about India. The British public demands it; the publishers insist on it; it is the mystery and the magic that make the book sell. The English reader does not care about a delineation of the real, ordinary life of the people of India; it is unfamiliar and unknown to him.

B. An honest critic declared the other day that it was irksome to him to have to review such a book, from his want of knowledge of the mode of life portrayed; that is, if it was confined to such portrayal; when mystery and magic were thrown in he could have something to say; about them he knew as much——

C. Or as little.

A. Or as little, as the writer.

B. As Dr. Johnson said, the object of a book is to be read; if the mystery and the magic cause it to be read, that is full justification.

A. Quite so.

C. I should say perhaps so.

A. Quite so; but it seems unfortunate, as misdirecting effort, that the critics should hold that any description of the ordinary life of the people of the land is superficial, represents only its superficial aspects, while the mysterious and the magical represent "the soul of the land," "the heart of the people." Surely "the soul of the land" is represented in its arts and sciences, its literature, its handicrafts, its banking and its commerce; by its social and

domestic laws and organizations, and not merely in its superstitions. The landowner and the tiller of the soil represent the heart of the people, of whom they form the bulk, as much as the solitary in the forest, the mad fakir, and the wandering visionary. Yes, the realities of India are its wonders. The problems of the future are its mysteries. We need not the sham occult, or the childish mystery and magic, to stir our sensibilities. India appeals to our sense of wonder by its extent, by its vast stretch of hills and forest and desert, and cultivation ; by its lofty mountains and great rivers, its animal and vegetable world, its varied tillage, its enormous population, forming a main section of the human race ; by its varied nationalities, tribes, and races, its different grades of civilization, its manners and customs, its domestic and social systems, its handicrafts, its buildings, its ancient literature, its systems of religion, its past in the present. It awakens our deepest interest in connection with the past, the present, the future ; here, alive and in being, and to be observed, are institutions, modes of life, stages in the process of evolution of human society, primary grades of civilization which have passed away elsewhere ; and on this ancient and long-stationary civilization now, in the present, have been brought to work the thought, the sentiment, the mechanical appliances of the most advanced civilization in the world. With what results in the future ? The deeply interesting question can be asked with reference to a hundred different matters : What change will there be in home and social life ? in thought and in feeling ? in agriculture, manufacture, commerce ? in the great caste principle, with its good to millions and its harm to millions ; with its elevating, supporting, guarding, steadying influence ; its evil, unjust, cruel, degrading disabilities ? in the Hindu religion, whose strong grip has been one main cause of the retardation of progress, the prevention of change, the long stoppage of the process of evolution ? One observer has said that nothing has been done by any indigenous race long settled in the land, only by foreigners

and new-comers such as ourselves, whose justification for being in the land is that we are doing the work which the people cannot and will not do. Another has said that, owing to the adverse climatic influences, the level of thinking and writing must always be low, as it always has been. Then, to what extent will the possession of the appliances of civilization, continued good government and security, works of public utility, the accumulation of wealth, better housing and clothing, better food, dispensaries, hospitals, have in counteracting the adverse climatic conditions, in raising up a stronger, healthier race, one on a higher physical, intellectual, moral plane, a new man? And how are the changes which are being brought about through our own endeavours and agency likely to effect ourselves and our rule, England?

C. It is obvious that the mystical business has been introduced into this book merely to meet the public demand, and to obtain a taking title. It is not in accord with the writer's turn of thought or qualifications. She is more concerned with the play of the emotions in ordinary daily life. She cannot produce the mystical atmosphere, make her mystery tell. It is very small magic. Her dealing with it is perfunctory. It has no real concern with the story. It is dealt with only in a few pages. It does not impress the reader. It shows incongruous in the book, which is of the chatty, gossipy order. The situations in which it appears are not strong. The first one, in which it is given to the heroine on the top of the Travellers' Rest House at Jaipur, in the presence of Sir Robert Chester, a Commissioner—Commissioners and Lieutenant-Governors now figure in all Anglo-India novels—is absurd; and the last one, in which the ring is found—you remember the heroine throws the ring away in a fit of anger, not outside, of course, but in her own room, and then she cannot find it, and there is a tremendous search for it by others, and it cannot be found; then when the estranged husband comes into the room, on reconciliation bent, he alludes to the loss, and wonders if he could find it, and she bids him "tackle

the magic"—delightful incongruity!—and he takes out his penknife, and, opening one of the blades, he inserts it into a crevice in the floor, and out comes the ring, and he puts it on her finger, and they are reconciled—is ridiculous: the only amusing thing I found in the book.

A. And yet the writer has a strong central situation, one simple and natural, often occurring, having the strength of reality and fact, giving room for much tragedy and comedy.

B. What is it?

A. You have not read the book?

B. No.

A. It is that of a young girl who, immediately after her marriage, goes out to India with her husband, an officer in an English regiment. She conceives a horror of India, has a desperate longing to get back to England to her old home, and, repulsion and attraction acting together, she declares at the end of ten months of stay that she must go, notwithstanding that it is not agreeable to her husband, who looks on it as rather an uncomplimentary early desertion of himself, the more felt because of her open declaration—she being very honest and frank—that the attraction has more force than the repulsion: that she must go to England in order to see the old home circle and form a part of it once more.

C. In fiction the marriage-tie is held the stronger; but I do not know that in reality the first home-ties and relationships—those of consanguinity and long-continued, close communion, of love pure and simple—are not so; at all events, they are not capable of dissolution like those of marriage.

A. The husband, in his solitude and resentment, turns toward the wife of a Major in the regiment, who had been his first love, who had seemed not unfavourable to him, would probably have been his wife at this moment, but for the appearance of the other, the one that now is.

C. We hear a good deal of the gay grass-widow, but not so much as we might of the gay married bachelor.

A. The two old lovers, the one angry with his wife, the other not loving her husband, a drunken brute, whom she married without loving him—here is a situation for great evolvment and involvement of feeling, for complications and entanglements and considerations of various kinds. He had not really loved her fully before, but now his feelings rise to a dangerous height; she had loved him deeply then and does now, but prevents evil consequences because of her love for him, because she does not love her husband, because she had married him without loving him. In the meanwhile, England reached, the wife finds, the first bubbling up over, that she has dropped out of the family circle, is no longer a member of the household, that her continued occupation of the spare bedroom disturbs the family plan of inviting the eligible young man who is displaying an affection for her youngest sister; that the local social circle is not the same to her as before.

C. Not an uncommon experience.

A. So, she writes to her husband about the pleasure which she will have in going back, but his replies are cold and repellant; and when she writes that she is returning at the time fixed, at the end of the six months, he writes to say that, as she is in England, she had better remain there. So she takes her passage herself at once, and goes out without letting him know. In India the scene has shifted to Delhi, and the drunken Major is there laid on his death bed, and on it he delivers to his wife a small, curiously-shaped metal box, which contains a white amethyst which he has received as a bribe from one Abul Haidar, declaring that he had done so merely to benefit the boy, their only son; but now he wishes it to be restored to Abul Haidar, lest he, not receiving his *quid pro quo*, should make the matter public, and so bring disgrace on the Major's name, to the everlasting injury of the son. There is a great to-do about this matter, which is all incomprehensible and improbable, rumours that disturb the local police officer, also his sister Molly, and also the Government, so that the

before-mentioned Sir Robert Chester, the Commissioner of Peshawar, an able official and nice man, is transferred to Delhi to deal with it. The real object of all this white amethyst business, which occupies an inordinate amount of space in the book, and takes away the interest of the reader from the first central motive, is to cause Mike, or Captain, Hamilton, the deserted husband, to turn away from the widow, the old love, back to Patty, the wife with whom he is angry, by placing the widow in circumstances which make her appear not only deceitful and dishonest but criminal. She has penetrated into the Zenana of Abul Haidar in order to deliver the ring into his own hands, is seen coming out of it by Mike, refuses all explanations, and she had told him before that she had never heard of Abul Haidar—a lie! Such conduct being in glaring contrast to the honesty and frankness of Patty, who, however wilful, is always frank. Then Patty herself arrives and goes to the hotel, and someone tells Mike of the arrival of his wife, and he is furious at being made a laughing-stock from not knowing of her coming, and he won't take a bungalow for her and leaves her at the hotel under charge of the bearer who has come up with her from Bombay.

C. That was not usual in my time.

B. Nor now.

A. Notwithstanding the doubts Mrs. Musgrave, the widow, has raised in his mind, Mike continues to be very attentive and kind to her because she seems to suffer, and has been left in distressed circumstances, and Patty is furiously jealous, and there is much display and discharge of feelings and emotions of various kinds, complications and misunderstandings. Then things begin to clear, the husband turns again toward the wife, there is the scene of the finding of the ring, and the reconciliation and coming together again, and the death of Mrs. Musgrave clinches the matter. There the curtain ought to drop. But if the public demands mystery it also demands a happy ending; so we have the uninteresting episode of the courtship of

the Commissioner and Miss Molly, which has nothing to do with the rest of the book, thrown in.

C. I found the book tedious.

A. You would ; you are a hard-hearted brute. It is a feminine book, and meant for feminine readers. Mike and Patty as the names of the two principal personages shows that.

C. The complications and misunderstandings seem to arise out of nothing, or for no adequate reason. There are no incidents, no action, no scenery, no atmosphere. It is all feelings and talk.

A. The writer knows what she can do best. The considerable list of her former works shows that she has her clientele, and she knows what it—mostly feminine, probably—likes best, and she gives that, and only that. Other things would bore it. She keeps the emotions on the move, and the talk continually flowing.

C. Well, I like people to act sometimes for obvious and not always for unobvious reasons ; and it seems to me that without locality and action you can have no reality.

A. The author's knowledge of India seems first-hand. She is generally right in her local descriptions and allusions, and does not make the monstrous blunders some others have made. But there are some errors. The flat roof of a house at Jaipur would not be covered with lead.

C. No.

A. Nor are Commissioner and Chief Commissioner interchangeable terms ; the Commissioner of Peshawar or Delhi is not a Chief Commissioner.

B. He only wishes he was.

A. Then when Mike marches his men to church at Delhi it is said "the clash of arms as they filed into their seats marked a change since that Mutiny Sunday when, with muskets left in barracks, the troops were practically defenceless." This is a strange error in one whose information and observation is generally so correct. The Mutiny Sunday was at Meerut. There were no English

troops in Delhi when the Mutiny broke out. But the book has given us a good long talk. (C. Long, certainly.) It has given me a good read. It is a lady-like book. There is in it nothing offensive or disagreeable. We have here none of that prurient stuff by means of which under guise of a high regard for art and morality so many of our women, as well as men, novelists seek a good sale for their pernicious wares. It is a nice, pleasant, agreeable, readable book.

THE JAGANNATH CAR FESTIVAL.

BY W. EGERTON, I.C.S.

THE Jagannath Car Festival, which takes place annually in Orissa, is one of the most famous as well as ancient of Indian religious ceremonies. The Province of *Orissa* sprang into momentary fame at the time of the great famine of 1866. Since then it has slumbered in peaceful but prosperous obscurity, like most of the other large provinces that go to make up the Indian Empire. When that great disaster, which swept off two millions of the population, occurred, the search-light glare of publicity was turned on to Orissa in the shape of a special Commission, which had to perform the delicate task of apportioning blame among high officials. Shortly afterwards the late Sir William Hunter wrote the "History of Orissa," by which he first established his reputation as a historian. Since then Orissa has prospered exceedingly as an appendage to the satrapy of Bengal, from which it is no longer cut off, as in former times. Still, the province may be described as a *terra incognita*, except as regards the small handful of officials who administer it on behalf of the Government. It is the object of this article to describe briefly the great Car Festival as the writer saw it not long ago.

The shrine of the god Jagannath in the sacred town of Puri, which is situated between Calcutta and Madras, on the east coast of India, has been for many centuries past one of the most famous in the whole of India. Thousands of foot-sore pilgrims and mendicants annually wended their weary way along the Orissa Trunk Road, coming from north, south, east, and west. It may be doubted if the oracles of *Delphi* and *Dodona*, or even holy Mecca itself, ever claimed a greater or more enthusiastic throng of worshippers than this celebrated seat of Hindu worship. By the construction, a few years ago, of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway from Calcutta to Madras, with a branch-line to

Puri, the road traffic has much decreased, and the ravages of cholera among the pilgrims have been simultaneously checked. For many days prior to the Car Festival special trains, crammed full of passengers, block the line, and on the great day itself the sight is almost indescribable. Hitherto Puri has been unvisited by the globe-trotter, lying off the beaten track and not being easy of access. The Cook's tourist visits Bombay, and from thence he probably proceeds to Jaipur, Agra, Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares, and Calcutta. If he can fit in a short rush up to Darjiling to see the Himalayas, he feels he has seen India, and departs well pleased to write a book thereon. But now there is no longer any reason why the visitor, hard pressed for time though he may be, should not include a visit to Orissa in his itinerary. Although the Car Festival does not take place till July, after the setting in of the rainy season, there are still many things worth seeing in the towns of Orissa, from Balasore, where the first English factory was established about 1635, to Cuttack, with its fortress, and Bhubaneswar, with its well-known carvings and quaint temples. In the south of Orissa lies Puri, with the temple of Jagannath, only a days' journey by rail from Calcutta.

After a life-time spent in India, an Englishman may hope to know but little of the innermost life of the people; but it will be his own fault if he has neglected the many opportunities open to him of coming in contact with them and of gaining their confidence. Nothing is more extraordinary or more worthy of attention than the conduct of the Indian people at the time of their great religious festivals. It was with the object of seeing for myself a unique spectacle and learning at first hand what took place at the dragging of the cars that I visited Puri at the time of the Car Festival. I did not make the visit in any official capacity, though I accepted the hospitality of the resident magistrate, and thereby got better opportunities for seeing what took place.

When a small town is suddenly filled to overflowing with a multitude of enthusiastic mendicants and fanatics, it may well be imagined that the sanitary arrangements require the utmost attention of the authorities. The magistrate and civil surgeon, both British officials, have the charge of these arrangements. Outbreaks of cholera are of common occurrence. Another danger is the possible loss of life from overcrowding at the Temple gates. The great preliminary ceremony, which sometimes takes place in the middle of the night, consists in placing the three gods—Jagannath and his brother and sister—in the three large cars which are kept waiting outside the Temple for this purpose. At about 2 a.m. I received an urgent summons to say that this ceremony, known as the “Pahandi,” was about to take place. The magistrate, Mr. Garret, had been on the scene for some hours previously, working for all he was worth, to get everything ready. At the time of bringing forth the images of the gods the crush of sight-seers is so great that there is much danger of a catastrophe, and on one occasion a number of pilgrims were killed on the very threshold of the Temple. Hastily throwing on my clothes, I drove down through the narrow and badly-lit streets to the great square. There I found that the “Pahandi” had already commenced, and vast crowds were gathered together. By the lurid light of torches the swaying masses could be distinguished, as a special band of priests carried round the image of the god Jagannath for all to see before placing it in the central car. There I found the magistrate well satisfied with the result of his efforts, as were also all the priests themselves. The huge image was brought close opposite and shown to us by a motley crowd of Temple servants. It is an effigy made of wood and painted in white, black, and red. The people seemed half mad with religious excitement, while the horns blew and the torches waved frantically. All this takes place in the square before the Lion Gate (Singh Darwaza) of the Temple, which stands out grimly in the half-dark of the torch-light. Gradually the noise somewhat

subsides, and some steal away for a few hours' sleep before the labours of the morrow, while many keep an all-night vigil about the sacred cars.

On the next morning the greatest and most important ceremony takes place. The cars, with their divine occupants, must be dragged from the Temple Square to the Garden House—a distance of about a mile and a half down the broad main street of the town. At the top of the street stands the Temple, and all around it are the stalls where the blessed rice (known as “*máháprasàd*”) is sold to the people. All who come to Puri must partake of this food. The Temple itself, except for its antiquity, is not particularly imposing. It is in the form of a pagoda. No European may cross its threshold, but there is no embargo upon Hindus; even those who have adopted Western ideas and abandoned their caste are not prevented from entering. Consequently we are in possession of complete information as to the inside of the Temple, and photographs even have been taken of it by educated natives. A full description of the Temple will be found in Sir William Hunter's “*History of Orissa*,” which, though written over thirty years ago, is still the only authoritative work on the subject. In front of the Temple there stands a wonderfully delicate and exquisite sun-pillar, which does not form any part of the Temple building, and was brought from elsewhere. But interesting as the shrine and its precincts are to those who remember their history and their sanctity in the eyes of millions of the natives of India, the crowd that fills the square, the whole broad street, and all the houses and roofs along the way, is still more extraordinary. Fanatical sadhus, devotees from the Golden Temple of Amritsar, Brahman priests from Benares, Fakirs from Hyderabad, thousands upon thousands of devout women, and crowds of sight-seers and pilgrims from all parts of India, added to the vast numbers of Uriyas who come from nearer towns and villages—this is the picturesque and curious sight that meets the eye. The dragging of the

cars, each of which must be drawn separately from the square to its destination at the Garden House (for the god is supposed merely to be upon a journey from the Temple to the Garden House), has to be carefully supervised by the local authorities. Sometimes the huge ropes supplied by the Temple priests are not sound, and break beneath the strain, and an accident is narrowly averted. In the olden days, before British rule had altered such things, a devotee would now and then be run over by the wheels of the car. Hunter has disposed of the fiction that many suicides took place in this way, but enough deaths occurred, no doubt, to justify the well-known allusions to the "Car of Juggernaut" as an engine of destruction. Slowly the heavy ropes are affixed to one of the ugly wooden cars, and the order to start is given by someone in authority. Hundreds rush forward to assist in drawing the car upon its journey, but the energies of the votaries is soon exhausted. Curiously enough, up to a very recent date, when the Temple management was reformed and improved, the actual dragging of the cars to the Garden House, though only a short distance, sometimes took a week to accomplish. For when the first day's excitement was over many of the pilgrims cleared off, and the hard work of dragging the wooden-wheeled chariots through the heavy sand was universally shirked. Finally, hired labour had to do the needful. Such was the case when I witnessed the performance. Still, at the commencement the enthusiasm is enormous, and no apathy is apparent. Each car is provided with a large automatic brake, and the speed is carefully regulated, because as the route lies down-hill the cars might get out of control, and run over the crowd before the people could escape.

Generally the magistrate and superintendent of police accompany the car, walking in the centre of the road, while the two large ropes on each side are thick with natives of all castes and classes, running alongside and tugging the car along. During the transit the priests strike cymbals

and shout, the devotees shriek replies and prayers; and the din is hideous. The women, above all, are most conspicuous—every roof and window is thronged, handkerchiefs and saris are waved furiously, and loud cries of “Jagannath Ji” rend the air. The strained and eager faces of people standing on the verandahs and roofs of the houses while the procession is slowly advancing down the street are most impressive. Numbers of these people have come on foot, by long and wearisome marches, walking day and night continuously for many weeks, and *this is the consummation of their desire*. They return towards their homes *happy in mind though moneyless and destitute*, often to die of disease on the journey. All the savings which they brought with them have been dissipated in offerings to the god, and in fees to the rapacious priests and servants of the Temple, who are past-masters in the art of cheating the unsophisticated villagers who come to the shrine. The festival lasts in all about ten days, and the priests are careful to keep up several minor celebrations throughout the year as an excuse for looting the pilgrims. But the great day ends with the first Car Procession. After that the heterogeneous crowd of sight-seers begins invisibly to melt away, and European non-officials depart, having seen what they came to see.

It is difficult to describe upon paper the varying impressions produced upon the European mind by the Car Festival of Jagannath. The fact that this same ceremony has been repeated yearly for hundreds of years, preserving probably the same essential features, has in itself a certain fascination for most people. In spite of the inroads of Mahrattas and Mughals, and, finally, the British conquest, comparatively no change has occurred in the annual festival. Truly has the poet sung :

“ The East bowed down before the blast
 In patient, deep disdain ;
 She saw the legions thunder past,
 Then plunged in thought again !”

The picturesque blending of colour has its usual effect upon the artistic temperament. Over all, there is the *romantic glamour of the East*. During the coming winter many Englishmen, globe-trotters, and others, will visit India, and perhaps not a few, if they are well informed, will include in their itinerary the towns of Orissa and the Shrine of Jagannath. The holy town of Puri, like Venice, is best approached from the sea. The Temple, which is not far distant from the shore, is seen from a long way off dimly outlined in a vista of haze, and appears to rise from the water itself. The bright golden sand, the white surf, and the ever-present stately palm-trees, form a proper setting for the great pagoda—the ancient tabernacle where Lord Jagannath still reigns supreme, surrounded, as of yore, by his myriads of devoted worshippers, and venerated as the presiding genius of Orissa.

THE YUNAN EXPEDITION OF 1875, AND THE CHEEFOO CONVENTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF COLONEL (NOW GENERAL)
HORACE A. BROWNE.

JULY 31, 1874.—(Notes previous to and after an interview with the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook.)

The discovery of a north-east passage between Burma and China has long been agitating the minds of the Anglo-Burman and English mercantile world.

The merit of first drawing attention to the desirability and feasibility of a short-cut to the rich south-western provinces of China must be ascribed to Captain Sprye, who served in Tenasserim during the first Burmese War, and who, after the annexation of Pegu, constituted himself the apostle of the overland route to China.

Captain Sprye's idea was simplicity itself. Any school-boy with atlas in hand can demonstrate that a straight line drawn from Rangoon to the nearest point of the Chinese Empire, which point is on the Cambodia River, between Kyang Hung in Upper Burma and Sze-mao (or Esmok) in Yunan, has a length of only about 500 miles, half of which lies in British territory and the other half in Kyang Hung, a Shan state tributary to Upper Burma.*

Kyang Hung was visited by Captain (now General) Macleod in 1837, and he found its Shan and Chinese inhabitants, all keen traders, longing for the opening out of a "gold and silver road" to the sea.

To advocate the construction of a railway along this line, Captain Sprye has devoted much time and energy, so much so that the line has come to be known as "Sprye's Route," and he himself imagines that he has acquired a vested interest in any railway that may be constructed along it.

What is more remarkable is that he has succeeded in

* Since the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 the whole of this line is in British territory.

imbuing others with the same idea. Recently the firm of Fox, Halliday and Co., when negotiating a railway concession with the King of Burma, expressly stated that it had so selected a line as not to conflict with Captain Sprye's claims! And this, though Captain Sprye has not explored a single mile of the line himself. From his armchair in London he glorifies himself as the Wagner or Lesseps of Indo-China. He has now been riding his hobby for fifteen years or more, and writes interminable letters to every Government office in any way concerned, so that in many quarters he has come to be looked upon as an intolerable bore. Some officials, however, back him up, and he has got influential Chambers of Commerce to send memorials to ministers and Parliament. Many of these memorials bear a strong family resemblance to Captain Sprye's own elucubrations which are prosy and unattractive, but they are printed as Parliamentary papers. The gist of them all is simply the announcement of the discovery, which Captain Sprye claims as his own—viz., that the Rangoon-Kyan-Hung-Sze-mao line is only 500 miles long, and that a railway along it would bring the commerce of Western China down to Rangoon.

After years of labour Captain Sprye had a partial triumph in 1867, when the Home and Indian Governments were induced to order a survey (at the Indian Government's expense) of that portion of the line which passes through British territory. The survey showed that, though there were no serious engineering difficulties, the line lies in a mountainous and sparsely peopled territory, and that it would be a waste of money to make a railway along it unless such railway were to be carried 250 miles further on, through Burman territory, so as to tap the rich province of Yunan.

The English Chambers of Commerce, backed up in a measure by the Home Government, continued to press for the continuation of the survey to Kyang Hung; but the Indian Government obdurately refused to spend the Indian

tax-payer's money on the survey of a line outside British India, though it admitted "that the project possessed great practical recommendations, and it would gladly further the completion of the survey, if its cost would be met from other sources than the Indian Revenue." Some commercial magnates, Mr. W. S. Steel and others, proposed to construct the line as a private enterprise, in return for certain concessions; but the Government, fearing complications with a native state, would not listen to the offer.

Sprye's route would tap Yunan at its Southern extremity. Some degrees further north, at the other extremity of this extensive province, there has existed since the days of Marco Polo, who mentions it, another trade route, from Tengyue-chow (or Momien) in Yunan to Bhamo, on the Irrawaddy, some 900 miles above Rangoon. The active trade which was formerly carried on here has been almost stopped during the last twenty years, in consequence of the Mohammedan rebellion in Yunan. The rebels, known to us by their Burman name of Panthays or Pan-tsees, entirely shook off the Chinese yoke, and were governed by a Sultan who reigned at Tali-foo.

This route, although it lies entirely outside its own territories, the Indian Government has already attempted to explore and reopen. In 1868, when the Mohammedans were at the height of their power, a mission was sent under Major Sladen to open up communication with them. The route lies through a mountainous country inhabited by wild and turbulent tribes, who by their extortionate demands greatly impeded the progress of the expedition, which, in fact, was extricated from its difficulties and enabled to reach Momien only by the aid sent by the Mohammedan governor of that town.

After establishing friendly relations with the Panthays the mission returned, its only noteworthy result being the acquisition of useful information regarding the narrow tract of wild country which it had taken several months to traverse.

This mission was ill-timed and impolitic, having been accredited to men who were in open rebellion against their liege lord, who at the same time was our friend and ally—viz., the Emperor of China. It made, therefore, a bad impression at Peking, and led to one unexpected result—the extinction of Panthay rule in Yunan.

Rebellions in outlying provinces of the Chinese Empire are of not infrequent occurrence, but, as often as not, the Central Government does not trouble itself much about them, leaving matters to right themselves, as they often do.

But this policy of *vis inertiae* is followed only when no foreign complications are to be feared. In the case of the Panthays, the Chinese Government began to take matters seriously only when it found that the English had sent a mission to its rebellious subjects, and that these rebels were sending a return mission to England.

Then, in 1872-1873, it put forth all its might, sent an army of 200,000 men to Yunan, and wiped the Panthays out of existence, sparing neither man, woman, or child. With horrible cruelty and slaughter they re-established Chinese rule over the whole province, Momien being one of the last places to succumb in 1873.

Now that the poor Panthays, the victims of our friendship, have been annihilated, the idea of sending another mission to explore the Momien-Bhamo route has been revived.

This time, of course, care will be taken to obtain the consent of the Chinese Government, and the mission will not start until the passports, applied for by the Ambassador, have been obtained from Peking.

I have been selected to command the expedition. I have followed with interest the accounts of the progress of the French exploring expedition in Indo-China of late years. I have written articles on the subject in the *Calcutta Review*, etc. Those articles may have had something to do with my appointment. I have not been consulted as to the line of march the expedition should take. If I had

been, I should have given the preference to the "Sprye Route." A railway of 500 miles along that route would bring the trade of Western China direct to Rangoon. By the Bhamo route 900 miles of river navigation and 130 miles of road through a difficult country are required to reach Momien, which by all accounts is at a considerable distance from the more populous part of Yunan. The Yunan mountains, a spur of the great Himalayan Range, have generally a north and south direction, and decrease in altitude towards the south. The further one goes north, therefore, the greater are the difficulties to be surmounted. Moreover, the last mission has already made us acquainted with the Bhamo route, whilst the 250 miles which lie between our frontier and Kyang Hung are a perfect *terra incognita*, and therefore much more interesting to an explorer. The objection which the Indian Government made, when it was urged to explore this latter route, that it lies altogether outside British territory, applies, of course, with still greater force to the Bhamo route. As I have already predicted in the *Calcutta Review*, there seems to be no doubt that the French will soon be complete masters of Tonquin, and it will then be important for us to have a solid footing at Kyang Hung, to prevent their establishing a communication behind our backs with Mandalay. The old King is anxiously looking forward to the moment when he will have free communication with his new French allies without passing through British territory, and be able to obtain from them guns and ammunition and all that his heart desires.

The Indian Government, however, has fixed its affection on the Bhamo route, so it will be no good to proclaim myself a partisan of the other scheme. My impression is that no members of the Indian Government, from the Viceroy downwards, are animated with any burning enthusiasm for a Yunan Expedition. They prefer devoting themselves to Indian affairs, which they understand, to meddling with Indo-Chinese problems, which are a puzzle to them. They have consented to a Yunan Expedition

only because they have been continually egged on to do so from two sides, above and below. The Chief Commissioner of British Burma has been clamouring for it on one hand, and on the other hand Lord Salisbury has all but ordered it. The Home Government, pushed on by the English Chambers of Commerce, is rather in favour of the Kyang Hung route. The selection of the other route by the Indian Government seems to be a kind of compromise.

CALCUTTA, *November 25, 1874.*—Since my arrival here I have been engaged in studying the correspondence about our expedition and in making preparations for a start. The party is to consist of: Myself as leader, Mr. Ney Elias as topographer, and Dr. J. Anderson as doctor and naturalist. Mr. Ney Elias is a gentleman who has distinguished himself by his travels in Central Asia. He is now in Mandalay, where he has been sent to collect carriage and make arrangements for a start. In the event of my being incapacitated, he is to assume the leadership of the expedition. We are not to take more than four servants each. We are to have a guard. This has been decided on only after much discussion. The Viceroy, to avoid the risk of offending Burmese and Chinese susceptibilities, would have preferred our dispensing with the protection of an armed force. But it has been decided that we are to take with us many thousand rupees' worth of presents wherewith to propitiate Chinese officials, etc., and give them a lofty idea of the importance of British Burma, of the very existence of which probably they are unacquainted; and in my opinion it would be the height of folly to pass through the Kakhyeng mountains, inhabited by tribes, whose sole occupations are robbing, blackmailing, and plunder, with a valuable train of pack animals and no armed escort. That we should be attacked and plundered under such circumstances is a certainty. I have maintained, therefore, that if I am to have the responsibility of taking charge of a valuable caravan, I must have an armed guard—at least as far as the Chinese frontier. If the

presents are dispensed with and we can travel light with nothing but our personal baggage, I am willing to run the risk, which even then will be great. My arguments have prevailed, and I am to have a guard of fifteen Sikhs of the 28th Regiment. Mahommedans are to be excluded for fear of exciting the suspicion of the Chinese. The presents we are to take are of a miscellaneous description. I have to buy two Australian horses, the biggest I can find. This is a suggestion of the Chinese merchants of Rangoon, who are of opinion that their countrymen will be much struck by the size of these animals. Some Australian kangaroo dogs, also of enormous size, elephants' tusks, rhinoceros' horns (held in great repute by the Chinese as medicine), edible birds'-nests, musical-boxes, clocks, carpets, cutlery, beads, etc., are some other items. The beads are for the benefit of the wild tribes, as the Chinese must be above such trifles. The whole will be of the value of about 30,000 rupees or £3,000, more than enough to tempt the cupidity of the Kakhyengs and to encourage the whole of this collection of robber clans to turn out to attack us.

A part of my cargo of presents I pick and choose out of the "Toshakhana," or Government Treasure House, an *omnium gatherum* where all the gifts received by Government officers from Kings, Maharajas, Rajas, and potentates of sorts are stored and reissued only to be given away. The Baboo in charge has to look out to see that things are not given back to the original donors.

Mr. Wade, our Minister at Peking, has obtained from the Chinese Government passports for our party to Yunanfu, the capital of Yunan, with permission to return thence to Burma or to go through China to Shanghai. "The expedition," Mr. Wade says, "will do much good, but not so much as is imagined." What does he mean by this qualification? An interpreter, Mr. A. Margary, left Shanghai in September to meet us, with letters to the Chinese authorities and duplicate passports. This sending of an interpreter is a thoughtful act on Mr. Wade's part ;

for we should have been in a rather helpless plight on reaching China if we had only such interpreters as we could pick up in Burma. Mr. Margary is to travel through China to meet us at the frontier, and if he reaches it before we do, he will have the distinction of being the first European in modern times, or since the days of Marco Polo to travel from east to west through the whole breadth of China.

Mr. Wade has given instructions to Mr. Margary as to his conduct whilst travelling, and these instructions are to be a guide for us also. Whilst collecting information as regards trade, we are not to put that forward prominently as the object of our expedition. Pleasure apparently is to be our ostensible object. Nor are we to talk too much about Talifu, the seat of government of the Mahomedan rebels to whom the last mission was accredited. We must not attract attention by anything like surveying operations, measuring heights, etc. In populous localities it will be better not to shoot or hunt, though there is no objection to this elsewhere. We are cautioned against travelling with Roman Catholic missionaries or accepting hospitality from them. The reputation of these gentlemen evidently is not high in the eyes of Mr. Wade, or at any rate in those of the Chinese authorities whom we wish to conciliate.

It seems that these Romish priests, who may be and probably are very worthy personages in their way, do not devote themselves solely to the propagation of their faith and to the performance of their hebdomadal miracle of creating their *Bon Dieu*, but seek also to make their flocks something above and independent of the powers that be. They try to constitute their sanctuaries, as in the dark ages of Europe, houses of refuge for all the scum of the country. The Mandarins, whose degree of civilization is far in advance of that of Mediæval Europe, justly regard the erection of a State within a State as inadmissible, and they resent it when and wherever they have not the fear of a gunboat before their eyes.

These peculiar representatives of Christianity, who ignore the precept about "rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," we are to give a wide berth to, so as to avoid all suspicion on the part of the Chinese as to our being identified with them.

The Indian Government's instructions are that we are to recollect that the principal object of the expedition is to explore trade routes, to ascertain the obstacles that exist in the way of reopening old routes, and how such routes may be improved; to report upon the burdens to which trade is subject, the best means of transport, the measures which it may be practicable to adopt for the protection of traders, and the agency through which it would appear most advisable that trade should be carried on. It will also be our duty to obtain as much information as possible regarding the condition, resources, history, and geography of the territories through which we may pass, and any matters of general or scientific interest which we may have the opportunity of observing.

In all matters of customs and etiquette, and in dealing with the Chinese authorities, I am to be guided by the advice of Mr. Margary, who is peculiarly competent in such matters. I am to be particularly careful to avoid intercourse with any parties in rebellion against the Chinese Government. This seems rather superfluous, as according to all accounts every trace of rebellion has been most effectually stamped out throughout Yunan.

Regarding the route I am to take there have been some contradictory orders. At first it was decided that I should commence my land journey from Mandalay and go from thence due east viâ Thiennee to Yunan, and not go viâ Bhamo and Momien. This would be an approximation to the Rangoon-Kyang Hung route, favoured by Lord Salisbury. This would be an interesting route, as the greater part of it is as yet unexplored. In the maps compiled up to the present time there is a great deal of guess-work hereabouts, and we may hope to furnish more exact

data for the benefit of future geographers. The position of the main points seem to be : Mandalay, 22° north, and Kyang Hung in exactly the same latitude $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to the east, the former being about 96° and the latter $100^{\circ} 45'$ east. Thiennee is a little to the north of a straight line between these two places. The country east of Thiennee is as yet a perfect blank in our maps. We know not whether it is a tableland or a range of high mountains. Journeying due east brings us to Po-urh, the Chinese district which produces the finest tea, so valuable in China that none of it reaches Europe. Or, should the due east line prove impracticable, we should have to turn north-east, and following the valley of the Salween, arrive at Shunning-fu by crossing the range between the Salween and Cambodia Rivers. The nature of the watershed between these two rivers is as yet an unknown quantity.

Unfortunately this forecast has been upset at the last moment by the news that His Majesty of Mandalay objects to our taking this route. The pretext given for this objection is that a certain Shan rebel or Dacoit chief named Tsanhai is in possession of the Thiennee passes and might molest our caravan. The real reason, no doubt, is that the King's hold on these Shan States is always of a very loose description, and he, thinking we do not know this fact, does not wish us to find it out. As long ago as 1837, Macleod, on his visit to Kyang Hung, found that the Shan chiefs were anxious to throw off the Burman yoke, if only they could make sure of British protection. The King now urges that "the Thiennee route being mountainous and jungly is rough and rugged," while that by Bhamo is "smooth and pleasant." He adds that a Burman Mission is about to go to Peking and will travel by the "Ambassador's route"—*i.e.*, by Bhamo. This last bit of information is of ominous import. Why has the King chosen this particular moment to send an Embassy to Peking? He has been profuse in his promises to do all in his power to help us on our way ; but no doubt he does so because he is afraid to

do otherwise. Does he really wish us to succeed in opening out a trade route? I suspect not, and this Burmese Embassy which precedes us is not likely to make the way smoother for us. No doubt it will avail itself of every opportunity for representing our mission in an unfavourable light and poisoning the minds of the Chinese against us. This seems to be an additional reason for selecting the Thiennee route; but the Government seems to think it best to yield to the King's wishes and send me *viâ* Bhamo.

Bhamo is in $24^{\circ} 20'$ or more than 2° north of Mandalay. Momien is in 25° and Talifu is nearly 26° north, Yunanfu being about the same as Momien.

Mr. Wade has sent us a passport countersigned by the Tsung-li-Yamen, or Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is an imposing-looking document, as big as a street poster, on flimsy paper, with various red splotches which indicate its Imperial origin. This is the translation of it:

"Mr. Wade, Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, has received an intimation from the Viceroy of India to the effect that four officers of His Excellency's Government are about to pass from Burma into China with a certain number of followers. The officers in question may return by the way they came, or may proceed by way of the Great River to Shanghai. This is to request the Governor-General of Yunan, and the high authorities of any other provinces through which the officers above-mentioned may have to pass, to give orders to their subordinates in charge of the frontier passes, or elsewhere, to treat them with civility, and to assist them on their way with all speed. Their names and the names of their attendants are given below.

"Dated July 31, 1874.

"Stamped with the seals of Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at Peking and of the Yamen of Foreign Affairs."

The dispatch with which this is forwarded from the Yamen of Foreign Affairs states that it is "a passport issued for travel in accordance with treaties," making no allusion to the purposes for which such travel is undertaken.

Hence, I imagine, Mr. Wade's recommendation to us not to put trade and commerce too much in the foreground.

Mr. Wade has also sent us a letter of introduction from the Tsung-li-Yamen to the Governor-General of Yunan and Kwei-chow, whose name is Tseng-yu-ying. But Mr. Wade is of opinion that this official's proclivities are decidedly anti-foreign.

In any case, Mr. Wade thinks it will not be of much use to discuss business matters, such as trade routes, commercial facilities, etc., with him or any other Governor-General. "These bigwigs have," he says, "really nothing of the character of satraps or minor potentates which some attribute to them. The civilians, even down to the lowest magistrates, are never natives of the province in which they serve, and, from the highest to the lowest, a brief Imperial decree would deprive them of all power in their jurisdictions. Such a decree once issued, they become but helpless units in the midst of an alien population."

Mr. Wade appears somewhat pessimistic, and evidently he has not a high opinion of the good faith of the Central Government, for he goes on to say: "It may turn out that the provincial Governments have been instructed, if not to stop the mission, to put in its way such obstacles as, without appearing to interfere, they will have it easily in their power to devise, the Yamen here knowing that six months elapse ere a complaint from Yunan can reach me."

That a man with such unequalled knowledge as Mr. Wade of the peculiar ways of the Chinamen should indulge in such a prognostication gives matter for reflection. Mr. Wade concludes in more cheerful strain by saying:

"In any case, I cannot suppose that a mission to examine the trade of that province will do anything but good. The province is a vast region full of natural wealth, and the exploration of the commercial routes which will be traversed by intelligent men cannot fail to be of great utility."

As Mr. Margary may fail to meet us at the frontier, we are to be supplied with a second Chinese interpreter—

Mr. Clement Alen, of the Consular Service, has been sent by sea to join us in Burma.

PROME, *December* 17.—Mr. Fforde, Superintendent of Police, who has been appointed to command our Sikh escort, joins us here. He has already done a very good stroke of business for us by discovering in this district the existence of a Yunan Chinaman, Li-kan-sheng, more generally known by his Burmese name of MOUNG-YO, who has been settled in Burma for many years, has a Burman family, and speaks and writes Burmese fluently. Fforde desired to engage him as an interpreter, but found him unwilling to accept the post. He was doubtful about our being received as welcome guests in China, and did not think his countrymen would approve of his bringing foreigners into their land. On his being presented to me, my arguments, or, rather, the exhibition of the Tsung-li-Yamen's passport with the vermilion splotches, effected a complete revolution in his sentiments. He accepted the offer to enter my service as soon as he found we were travelling under such auspices, and he did so the more readily because he was anxious to see and to take money to his mother, who lives at Momien. He represents himself as a distant relative of the famous Li-tshi-tahee, who for many years has occupied a prominent position in Burmo-Chinese frontier politics. It pleased the members of the last mission to describe this Li-tshi-tahee as "a dacoit chief, a truculent and unscrupulous bandit," but he was very differently appreciated on the other side of the frontier. There he was considered to be a capable and patriotic Chinese officer, who gallantly and perseveringly struggled to uphold Chinese authority against the Panthay rebels.

MOUNG-YO states that he was employed as a soldier to fight against the Panthays, but, having had enough of that work, he fled to British Burma, where he has been established for some years and has acquired a respectable competence. He is undoubtedly intelligent, and appears honest.

December 23.—We reach Mandalay this evening, and a Tsa-re-daw-gyee comes down to the steamer at once to take us up to the Residency, where we stay with Major Strover. The royal theatrical troupe is sent in the evening to amuse us.

December 24.—I receive visits from the Myo-tha-won and the Keng-won-men-gyee. The former is the official who usually acts as a go-between for the King and the Residency, and the latter is the Prime Minister. He comes in a carriage and pair, which is a novelty in Mandalay, where elephants or bullock-carts are the usual modes of locomotion. Arrangements are made for my paying formal visits to the different Ministers and the King. I receive a letter from D'Avera, the completely Burmanized Frenchman, who has resided so long at the Burman capital. He is said to have first arrived in Burma as a political spy, sent by Walewski, the French Foreign Minister; but he has long ago severed all connection with the French Government, and lives as a dependent of the King, now in, and now out, of favour. The foreign—*i.e.*, non-British—adventurers who swarm about this petty Oriental Court are always intriguing one against the other. D'Avera, apparently, is just now out of favour, and writes to me as follows: "Let me tell you that the fact of there not being a member of the mercantile community with you has helped some of the local politicians in rousing the suspicions of the King, who has been told that the son of the late Panthay ruler was being brought up by your Government with the view finally of restoring in his favour the power which his father enjoyed, and that the main object of your expedition is to ascertain how and when that could safely be done. The sooner you dispel that idea the better for yourself. Having the honour of not being a paid servant of His Majesty, I can have no scruple of conscience in conveying you this information. As a genuine friend of yours, I earnestly wish you to succeed and win fresh laurels."

I have no doubt of the *bona fides* of D'Avera, and it is

good of him to furnish me with this bit of Court gossip; but I do not think it merits any serious and direct refutation on my part. Such utterly unfounded reports are best left to themselves to wither away like a plant without a root. I may find an occasion to show that I am aware of their existence and laugh at their absurdity; but were I to take pains to contradict them seriously, the effect probably would be just the contrary of what I wish. The contradiction would give fresh life to the rumour, and people would say, "As he is so anxious to deny it, there is some truth in the rumour."

December 30.—I have made several attempts to get the Chief Yunan Chinaman here, one Oo-lat-ton, to visit me; but he has been very shy and appeared only to-day at a very inconvenient moment, when I was preparing for a visit to the palace. He probably chose the time on purpose, for he was evidently unwilling to be "pumped." He says he has been so long in Mandalay that he can give no information about affairs in Yunan. He suggests, however, that the Bhamo route is not the best one for entering China, and in this probably he is not far wrong. The interests of the Mandalay Chinaman and those of Bhamo are not identical. The former prefer the shorter route going due west from Mandalay. For some reason or another the old man is not in a communicative mood, and the parting salute was evidently the most agreeable moment of the interview for him.

We go in State, riding on elephants, to the palace at 11 a.m. The King looked vigorous and in good humour. He commenced the interview by some rather fulsome praise of and compliments to myself. With his mouth encumbered with betel juice, he gave us one of his usual homilies on the advantage of friendship, taking as his text the fact that peace has existed between himself and England for twenty years. I was not to listen, he said, to the words of foolish persons. With such sentiments, of course, I was in perfect agreement. He offered me one of his royal

steamers to take me to Bhamo, which I declined with thanks.

So far as it is possible to form a true estimate of the policy of an Oriental potentate from outward appearance, the King is sincere in his desire to assist our expedition so far as it lies in his power to do so; and, notwithstanding the existence of rumours as to our ulterior objects being hostile to his own interests and those of his friend the Emperor of China, he is apparently determined to make good the assertion in his letter to the Viceroy that the failure of the last expedition was due to mutual ignorance on the part of the English and Burmese officers of each other's customs and rules of etiquette. Since our arrival in Mandalay all the usual marks of polite attention have been paid to us. The royal troupes of actors, jugglers, and tumblers have come every evening for our entertainment. A dozen silver salvers, containing fruits and confectionery, have arrived every day from the Palace kitchens for our consumption, and I hear that MM. Sutherland and Andreino have received Rs. 3,000 for the entertainment of our servants.

As we had omitted by accident to declare the revolvers of our guard, there was some little difficulty about this at first, but it was soon explained away.

They were afraid to refuse permission for us to take a guard of our own, but they were no doubt rather jealous on the subject. As a sort of counter demonstration they have been putting some heavy guns on board one of the royal steamers, commanded by a Frenchman, and they are going to send her up to Bhamo—if they can. They have been busy in the Palace practising big gun-drill on an imitation ship, which ship they have rigged up for the purpose, the results proving highly ludicrous to the Europeans who have witnessed them.

January 1, 1875.—I paid a return New Year's Day call on M. D'Avera. Though a typical Frenchman he does not appear to be consumed with any burning desire to return

to his own country. He sits here under his own vines, of which he is very proud, he having been the first to produce grapes here, and he appears to be attached to his Burman wife and family. His garrulity, seasoned with shrewdness, is always amusing, and sometimes interesting and instructive. Our conversation turning upon the recent French Embassy to Mandalay, he informed me that the priest, P. Lecomte, who acted as interpreter, in order to induce the Burmans to sign the treaty, mistranslated one of the clauses of the Burman version, inserting words to the effect that if the Burmans were attacked, the French "would make their case their own," so that the treaty seemed to the Burmans to be an offensive and defensive one. Of course there was nothing of the kind in the French version. A somewhat Jesuitical trick, if true! It might, if true, result in inconvenience to us, by making the King think that he can rely in all cases upon French support, but D'Avera no doubt at a convenient season will enlighten him.

January 3.—We make a start at length from Mandalay this morning in the s.s. *Mandalay*. The party consists of myself and five servants, including Moungh Yo, my interpreter; Dr. Anderson, and seven followers, servants and collectors of specimens; Mr. Fforde and three servants; our guard of fifteen Sikh soldiers with five followers. Total, thirty-nine persons. Mr. Ney Elias is to join us at Bhamo, where he has gone on to collect carriage. When leaving Mandalay we noticed one of the King's steamers, got up man-of-war fashion, with guns and soldiers on board, commanded by a Frenchman. They were to have followed us, but for some reason or another did not do so.

January 9.—What with fogs and what with sandbanks our progress has been most miserably slow. In six days we have made about twenty-five miles!

I almost regret I did not accept the offer of a royal steamer. We should then have travelled light, and might have skimmed over the sandbanks. As it is we are encumbered with a heavily-laden flat which makes it difficult

to find our way along the tortuous channel. We have anchored each night at some town or village where the authorities have invariably made great preparations for our reception. We are beginning to feel rather tired of the sempiternal operatic performances. Our stay in the capital has made us rather *blasé* and fastidious in this respect. The provincial damsels, whose charms are not enhanced by a thick coating of "Thanaka" (the Buamese equivalent for the European ladies' powder-puff), compare unfavourably with Yeng-daw-ma-lai, the Mandalay prima donna, who is really a graceful and interesting creature.

We have passed to-day through the "First Defile," where the river is confined to one narrow channel, in which the water is deep and beautifully clear, and have anchored for the night at Thengadaw. Here is that portion of the river which is frequented by the celebrated "sacred fish," who come when they are called, sit upon their tails, and open wide their capacious mouths to receive the alms which pious people give them, tumbling back ungracefully when they are satisfied. They are supposed to be of the dog or cat-fish tribe, but their species not having been exactly determined, our naturalist is burning with desire to get hold of one and find out whether it has got a Latin name, and if not to give it one. As it would not be wise to offend the religious prejudices of the Burmans by openly catching one, Dr. Anderson resorts to stratagem. He immures himself at night in the Lascars' "buen retiro" and casts his line through the hole. He had not long to wait before he secured a fine specimen, which he wrapped up in a cloth and exhibited only to a chosen few before retiring to study its conformation in the recesses of his cabin.

One of the perplexities one has to struggle with in this border land of many races is the variety of names used to designate each single person or place. A man here may be spoken of by his Burmese, Chinese, Shan, or Kakhyeng name, all quite different. I had a conversation on the subject to-day with my Yunan interpreter. His Chinese name

is Li-kantseng. Here he is known only as MOUNG YO (Mr. Honest), an appropriate name for him, as he is very straightforward and trustworthy. His case is a simple one as compared with that of his more celebrated relative, known to us as Li-tsee-tahee. He may be designated by any of the following names: Li-ssu, Li-cheng-kwo, Li-hsieh-tai, Li-ssu-ta-ye, Li-lao-mien. Li is evidently the family name. Li-ssu is said to be his "youthful" name (ssu means fourth). Li-cheng-kwo is his "young man's" name. Hsieh-tai is the name of his grade (= Colonel?). Ta-ye an abbreviation of Ta-lao-ye is an honorific title, meaning Venerable Father, and Li-lao-mien means Li the Burman. This Li is said to be now Too-tsen of Nan-teng, but expects to be promoted to Shunning foo, so we shall probably come across him.

Burmese and Shans give names of their own coining to many Chinese towns. Thus the Teng-yue-chow of the Chinese is the Momien of the Burmans, and the Shun-ning-fu of the Chinese is Shweng-leng in Burmese. Chinese cities seem to be divided into three classes: "tsen," "fu or foo," and "chow." Thus Yunnan-tseng (not fu as we often call it), Shunning-fu and Teng-yue-chow.

January 15.—After nearly a fortnight's voyage from Mandalay we reach Bhamo to-day. The Won who seems a pleasant mild mannered man, and Captain Cooke, the Assistant Resident, come off in war boats to receive us. We land and go to stay with Cooke at the Residency, which is some little distance from the town, our baggage and followers remaining in the town. We are joined also by Ney Elias, who informs me of the arrangements he has made for our journey. There are three practicable routes between Bhamo and Momien, the northern or Pon-tsee, the central or Hotha (known also as the "Ambassador's route"), and the lower or Sawaddy route.

I learn the history of the negotiations which have led to the choice of the last by Elias.

At first both Cooke and Elias were in favour of the

central route. The most influential chief along it is one Mateng, who until recently was on very friendly terms with Cooke, but after a visit recently paid to Mandalay, where he had the dignity of a gold umbrella conferred upon him, his manners changed, and he held himself aloof from the Residency. Last month he was engaged by the Burmans to convey their own mission to Peking as far as the Chinese frontier, and he flatly refused to have anything to do with us.

So we have this Burman Embassy putting a spoke in our wheel from the very first.

Elias then turned his attention to the Sawaddy route. He went out himself two days' march, and made arrangements for carriage with Lenna, the principal Kakhyeng chief in this line. The chief has contracted to furnish us with 150 pack bullocks and take us as far as Kutlon, in the territory of the Maingmaw Tsawbwa, a tributary of China. I am to pay for the bullocks at the rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ tiewals of Sycee silver (about 8 rupees) for each bullock. I don't know yet whether to be pleased or not at this choice of a route. It has its advantages and disadvantages. The route is as yet unexplored, but is said to be less mountainous than the others. It has the demerit of being much the longest. One great drawback is that our "Royal Order," directing every assistance to be given to us, is addressed to the Won of Bhamo, and Sawaddy, the starting-point, is out of his jurisdiction, and within that of the Won of Shwegoo. The Won here has written to him of Shwegoo to come and discuss matters, but it would be very unlike the usual conduct of a Burman Governor if he did so without receiving orders from Mandalay.

January 16.—I perceive that there is a certain amount of tension between the Residency and the Burman officials on the subject of the negotiations with the Kakhyengs. Cooke and Elias, acting under instructions, have been treating with the Kakhyengs directly, and quite independently of the Burmans. This does not please the Burmans.

They have trouble enough as it is in keeping these truculent savages quiet, and preventing them from making razzias on Burman territory, and they believe that this trouble will be increased by our going behind their backs and making independent arrangements with them. The Burmans, naturally enough, I think, desire that our arrangements with the Kakhyengs should be made in harmony with, and not in opposition to, them. Such being the case, it seems to me that matters may run more smoothly if I leave the Residency and move down to the sheds which the Won has prepared for us in the town.

January 17.—The great event of the day is the arrival of Mr. Margary, who has been escorted from Manwaing on the frontier by a guard of forty Burmans (the forty thieves he calls them, though they do not seem to have deserved the epithet) sent up by the Bhamo Won to meet him. Mr. Margary is looking very well, and feels no ill effects from his wonderful journey across the whole breadth of China. He came up the Yang-tse-kiang as far as the Tung-teng-lake; then some distance up the Yuan river and the rest of the way by land. He is delighted with the reception he met with almost everywhere, and especially with the civility and politeness of every one in Yunan from the Viceroy downwards. This Viceroy is the man to whom anti-foreign proclivities are attributed by Mr. Wade, but nevertheless he did everything necessary to facilitate Margary's progress. He gave him two Mandarins to look after and escort him from the capital to the frontier. Though Tali-fu was off the direct route, Margary succeeded in visiting it. Some objection was made at first to his passing through this town on account of the extra-loyal and anti-rebel tendencies of its present inhabitants; but this objection he managed to overcome, and he was most hospitably received there by the Tartar-General, who sent a cordial invitation to our party to stay with him.

At Momein he was received by the General Chiang, who is renowned for the part he took in the capture of Tali-fu

and the massacre of the Panthays. At Manwaing he was met by no less a person than the much dreaded and much belied Li-hsieh-tai. As all the previous knowledge he possessed of this worthy was derived from the accounts given of him by our last expedition, Margary was not a little surprised to find that the "ruthless bandit" whom he expected to find was after all an extremely polite and intelligent Chinese officer. The truth is that the last expedition entirely failed to appreciate the fact that in opposing their communications with the rebel Panthays, Li was simply carrying out his manifest duty as a Chinese officer, and his endeavours to uphold the authority of his lawful Sovereign were qualified as "acts of brigandage." Li's title alone, if it had been understood, ought to have prevented a mistake of this kind. With this official Margary had various palavers, all more or less of the "Mutual Admiration Society" style, Li carrying his politeness so far as actually to perform the "Kotow." He further sent for the townsmen and some Kakhyeng chiefs, and solemnly adjured them to take care of Margary because he was travelling under the protection of an Imperial passport.

To be continued.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

"BRITAIN'S DESTINY: GROWTH OR DECAY."

SIR,

It is hardly necessary for me to say, that the letter which appeared in the last issue of your *Review* over the initials "J. P." (see pp. 378-384) has interested me exceedingly, and it has also given me great satisfaction, for it is evident that the writer of it has been at considerable pains to make himself acquainted with the views of the late Major Phipson. But it is also evident to me, that he has suffered in the endeavour to come to a conclusion as to the soundness or otherwise of the views expressed, from the fact that he only became acquainted with them at second-hand through "Britain's Destiny," which at best merely professes to give a bare outline of them, and I am keenly alive to the fact, that many aspects of the case presented by Major Phipson in his works, are barely even indicated in the short volume I ventured to lay before the public. Whether it would have been easily possible to give a more complete outline without unduly enlarging the size of my book, keen students of the subject will decide for themselves; but as I am desirous that no point of the late Major Phipson's message to his fellow-countrymen should be lost or misunderstood through fault of mine, I venture the hope, sir, that you will extend the courtesy of your columns to me, to enable me to explain that which has not been clear to your correspondent, or has been misunderstood by him, owing, as I think, to the fact that he had not the whole case before him, as presented by the author of "The Redemption of Labour" and "The Science of Civilization" in those works.

On the question of "land nationalization," "J. P." quotes words of Major Phipson's as proving that, according to his own showing, if the State were to become universal land-

lord, it would still leave the occupier all that he is in strict justice entitled to, because he admits that the payment of a rent—even a rack-rent—does not deprive him of any product of his own labour, but only to such benefits of civilization, as have accrued up to the time of the rent being first undertaken. But I think "J. P." has probably overlooked the importance of the words "*first undertaken*." They imply, and Major Phipson leaves no opportunity for doubt on the point, that any raising of the rent after once fixed and first undertaken, does directly deprive the tenant of the products of his own labour.

I understand that the contention of land nationalizers is, broadly, that tenants should have fixity of tenure, subject to periodical reassessment of the ground-rents payable to the State, and that if they wish to sell their tenant-right, all they should have the right to sell, would be the added value of the land arising from their own improvements, such as buildings, drainage works, etc. This, too, would be all that should be saleable after the death of a tenant; and if from one cause or another the value of the holding had further increased beyond this, the State would be entitled to take the benefit of the further increase in the letting value of the land. The justification for the State taking the advantage of this further increased value, is held to be that such increase is "unearned increment."

It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider to what causes this increase is really due, and by whose efforts it is made possible. To do this it is necessary to start from the beginning, and to understand that civilized people are separated into two absolutely distinct classes, the most important of which we may call food-producers, and the remainder we may group under the broad definition of other workers. It will no doubt be agreed, after considering the matter, that these latter, under a natural system, and where there is no compulsion, only give up their right to grow their own food because they know that, owing to some particular faculty not possessed by the

majority of their fellows, if they devote themselves to other work and let someone else grow their food for them, they will be able to live with less labour than the food-producers of their country, and in the same state of comfort, or in greater comfort if they are content to work as hard.

But before they can avail themselves of this great advantage, of being able to live with a minimum of toil, which is a proper ambition with every human being, it is necessary that they should first find food-producers, who are willing to produce a surplus of food with which to purchase their labour-products. Without such a surplus it is evident that no advance in civilization is possible, and when, therefore, roads, railways, and other evidences of civilization are spread throughout the land, it is the self-interest of the other workers of the community which leads to this being done, as it thus becomes possible for more of them to live with less expenditure of labour, than if they had to grow their own food.

They therefore enter at once into the full benefits of the advance of civilization; but not so the food-producers, whose toil for a given reward is at first much greater than theirs. But the desire among increasing numbers of the community to live with less toil, induces competition among them, which necessitates a continuous increase in the amount of the labour-products they have to give in exchange for their food. Under a *justly regulated currency system*, this represents a progressive increase in the purchasing power of his food to the food-producer, and implies a levelling up of his reward and a levelling down of the reward, of other workers. Such levelling down, however—meaning, as it does, a fall in profits—the latter strive to resist, and, necessity being the mother of invention, their efforts are directed to the discovery of improved methods of manufacture, etc., which result in the continuous cheapening of their labour-products, attended often by increased profits to themselves, and always by a continuous cheapening to the purchasers (*i.e.*, the food-producers).

It is this increase in the purchasing power of their surplus food, which really constitutes the increased rental value of the latter's land, and it is therefore self-evident that, so far from this increase being in any way an increment unearned by themselves, it is theirs by right, in virtue of the very real "sweat of the brow" over and above that of other workers. Deprive them, then, of the right to sub-let the land at a profit rental, and land nationalizers would deprive them of the fruits of their labour, and would hand it over to the community at large, the other workers of which would already have received their reward. Until, therefore, the collectivist idea were put completely into force, and all work was done for the common benefit, the other worker would receive a twofold advantage. Far be it from me to blame land nationalizers for not having seen this. Mankind only arrives at the fundamental truths of life by steadfast search, and this search they have, I believe, disinterestedly made. Why the full truth has been hidden from them, that in a true system of renting land lies the economic salvation of labour, is hard, perhaps, for us to know, though to me it seems to be due to the fact that, unlike Major Phipson, they have narrowed their range of vision unduly.

However that may be, when once they grasp the full scope of Major Phipson's teaching, and that the evils of sub-letting absolutely disappear, when the sub-tenant has to be granted the same fixity of tenure as the tenant enjoyed, I am hopeful that they will adopt his teaching as their own. I think the battle he started to fight will then be as good as won. For when landlords understand that, instead of receiving decreasing rents, the purchasing power of their fixed rent must steadily increase, self-interest will step in to range them on the side of labour, which in turn, seeing that it will at last become free, by having the power to grow its own food when adequate wages are unobtainable, because to *rent* land is within its power, will cease to desire the right to *buy* land, for which it does not possess the capital.

"J. P." will probably now see why Major Phipson contends that the confiscation of the "unearned increment" would prevent the free multiplication of purchasers; for he classes food-producers only as purchasers, and if they are habitually deprived of the fruits of their own labour, they will remain more or less poverty-stricken, their purchasing power will be curtailed, and the inducement to remain food-producers will be diminished. For the effect to them of such confiscation is the same, whether it is borne by landlords for their own benefit, or by the State for the benefit of the community. It will also be apparent that the change from "land-owning by lords" to that of "land-holding (*i.e.*, renting) by tenants" will promote the free multiplication of purchasers, because the wants of two men for the necessities of life are greater than those of one man, and the increasing purchasing power of food under such a system, would be divided among an ever-growing number of the people, to the benefit of all, instead of being concentrated in the hands of a few, as at present. It must be borne in mind, that the necessary alteration in our land system, can only be achieved by the adoption of a currency that shall be valueless in itself, and the recollection of this required change is needed during the consideration of the whole of this letter.

As regards the note on p. 382, which suggests that, when I say "the German Bank would (naturally) prefer gold in bars," I seem to contradict Major Phipson's statement as to "the competition of foreign food-producers for gold—*i.e.*, for the British food-tokens," I would remind "J. P." that bar-gold is the raw material of the British currency. The following quotation from the money article of the *Standard* of October 17 will serve to show that the effect of foreign competition for this raw material, is just as great as that competition would be, if it were for British coin :

"Three months' bills were not taken below 4 per cent., and in some quarters there was a disinclination to take

them on those terms, the idea being that a rise in the Bank-rate was at hand. This, however, was by no means the general view, the fact that the Bank was making efforts to secure the *bar-gold* available in the open market being considered—and rightly, we believe—as an indication that, while alive to the necessity of protecting its reserve, the directors are by no means desirous of imposing a 5 per cent. rate upon the market, unless such action should become necessary. When it was known, later in the day, that about £250,000 in *bar-gold* had been secured by the Bank, a better feeling was apparent. . . ."

A careful perusal of pp. 86-98 of "*Britain's Destiny*" will, I think, serve to show why it is that the competition of foreign food-producers for the British food-token, has had a disastrous effect on the British farmer. I will only state briefly here, therefore, that the inflation of the British currency prior to 1873 caused the rent and other burthens placed upon the land to be high, thus leaving the British farmer unable to bear the fall in price of his food-products to their gold-bullion level, which followed the foreign adoption of the British legal standard.

"For the debts of British farmers are now determined by one scale of prices, that of the inflated home currency; but their means of paying these debts by another, that of bullion prices in the poorest gold-using countries" (*cf. "Science of Civilization,"* p. 287).

It will thus be seen, I think, that the effect of this competition would have been very real, quite apart from the competition of silver-using countries; and what I said at the commencement of this letter—that many aspects of the case have been barely indicated in "*Britain's Destiny*"—applies with great force when the question of the effect of the competition of India, a silver-using country, is under consideration. Could your correspondent have read pp. 65-92 of "*The Science of Civilization*," dealing with "Exchange," and Book VII., vol. ii., of "*The Redemption of Labour*," on "Commerce," and especially chapter iii.,

"Foreign Exchanges through Dissimilar Currencies—Exchanges with India," much would have been clear to him that it will be impossible for me to explain adequately in the limits of a letter, as the subject is exceedingly complicated.

To put it, however, as briefly as I am able, it must be borne in mind that, under a natural system, foreign trade consists of the barter of goods for goods, and implies a division of the profits of the export and import trade, between the exporter and importer, in varying proportions, that are regulated by the rate of exchange. Under a system based solely on "Exchange," unless exports have been made no imports are possible, and unless imports are made the exporter cannot realize any profit on his exports, neither can he receive payment for them ; and it is impossible for either exporter or importer, to permanently retain the whole of the profits resulting from the combined transactions. Take, for instance, the case of wheat imported from India. So long as the trade is conducted by means of exchange, as the importer of Indian wheat would have to pay Indian currency for it, he would be under the necessity of finding an exporter, who had Indian currency owing to him for goods exported to India. The importer would then purchase with British currency the exporter's rupee draft, drawn on those to whom the goods had been shipped, and would remit the draft to his correspondent in India. Unless he paid a sufficient price in British currency to leave the exporter an adequate margin of profit, the latter would cease exporting, while the exporter in turn would have to part with his rupee draft, at a price that would leave an adequate margin of profit to the importer, or the latter would cease to import.

But for various reasons, the causes for which I need not enter into, India is willing to receive silver in place of British manufactures. The importer of Indian goods into Great Britain, is therefore relieved of the necessity of finding an exporter who has a draft on India to sell. Instead, he can purchase silver bullion abroad, and ship it to

India in payment for the import, if this proves a cheaper way of remitting the equivalent of rupees to India, than by the purchase of a rupee draft.

If Great Britain had a currency valueless in itself, the possession of this option would be rendered comparatively, though not entirely, harmless, as, even if the silver-producing country elected to be paid in gold, British export merchants would have ultimately to export British labour-products to the gold-producing country, in order to purchase the gold. This latter having, in that case, no relation to the British food-token, the transaction would have no effect on British prices, and would in no way affect the food-producer, while the export of manufactures would give work to the wage-earners of the country, thus enabling them to pay for the foreign food they required. The operation would therefore resolve itself into an exchange of British manufactures for Indian wheat.

But under a gold currency, now become international, the payment by Great Britain in gold for the silver required to be sent to India, results in the contraction of the British currency, which lowers the prices received by the farmer, and increases the burden of his debts. It correspondingly reduces the price in gold of all imports, and, by curtailing the demand for exporters' drafts, and therefore also the volume of exports, makes it less possible for the wage-earners of the country to purchase the imports. But "just in proportion to the influx of silver into India is the rise or fall in the general level of all Indian prices. So that whatever an English importer saves in gold-currency tokens when buying silver bullion instead of an exporter's draft, he loses in Indian produce through the reduced purchasing power attaching to his newly-coined rupee tokens in India. Though he gives less gold, therefore, he receives less goods, and these he finds it harder to sell at home, because to the same extent as silver was bought for export in place of home manufactures, has the purchasing power of the British community been reduced.

"Vain is it, then, for the importer to strive to escape from the fundamental law of his being—that of complete dependence upon the exporter, while his useless struggles to this end can but result, if prolonged, in common disaster to all" (*cf.* "Redemption of Labour," vol. ii., pp. 559-562).

How complete this disaster is likely to be will, I think, be realized when it is considered, that if the importer pays India in silver he buys that silver with gold. How, then, seeing that the stock of gold held in this country is already dangerously slender, is that stock to be replenished? The natural answer would be, "By exporting manufactures to gold-producing countries." But this leaves out of account the important factor that if the material of which the currency of two countries is composed is the same its purchasing power will be greater in the poor country than in the wealthy one. From this it follows that, as countries with gold currencies and that are poorer than our own, increase their capacity to supply the manufactures required by the world, they must inevitably be able to undersell our manufacturers when both quote in gold. It must, therefore, become more and more impossible for us to obtain gold in exchange for our manufactures. But the failure to do so implies the failure of the wage-earners of this country to obtain work, and therefore to obtain food, unless they are able to rent land under the conditions considered at the commencement of this letter. But to obtain those conditions it is necessary for the country to adopt a currency valueless in itself—*i.e.*, a national currency in place of our present gold currency, which is international. It is therefore evident that, alike in the interests of wage-earners, merchants, food-producers, and landowners, this change in our currency system is imperatively demanded.

I hope it will now be clear to "J. P." that, so far from not seeing that the remedy is for the people to go back to the land, the whole aim of Major Phipson's life's work was to show his countrymen how this could be done, not by philanthropic efforts, highly though he would have valued

these as exemplifying the noble doctrine of "giving without getting," but by the natural working of economic forces, when once the system was brought into harmony with them. Contrast the broad and firm outlines in which he has shown how social and commercial problems react on each other, and can only be solved by being taken in hand together, with the bewilderment of our statesmen and philanthropists, as evidenced by their vain struggles to alleviate the all too evident distress by dealing with it in compartments, and surely every thoughtful person must ask if, perhaps, after all this comparatively unknown man may not have grasped moral and economic truths which have been missed by the countless millions who, like him, have lived and died. And to stop and ask one's self this question must be to determine that the matter shall be sifted to the very dregs, unless, like Israel, "seeing we will not see, and hearing we will not understand."

Your correspondent is no doubt absolutely correct in saying that "before 1870 an English sovereign was always freely negotiable abroad at its full intrinsic value," but until gold became international currency it was chiefly negotiable in the same way that a Bank of England note is to-day—not, that is, to be retained abroad, but to be remitted to Great Britain to pay off foreign indebtedness, though no doubt a certain (but relatively small) amount was retained for use in the Arts, etc.

The remarks about the effect of the opening of the Suez Canal accurately sum up the situation *with gold international currency*, as it became about the same time. But had the nation possessed a valueless currency, a careful consideration of the facts set out in "*Britain's Destiny*," backed up by reference to Phipson's books themselves if necessary, will show that the British farmer would not have been in competition with either the cheap labour of the East, or the cheap land of the West. For it would be the duty of the Government to regulate the issue of such a currency, so that on an average of years it represented

wheat at a given price—say, for argument, 30s. per quarter. Having done so, merchants would automatically regulate the price in their endeavour to earn the maximum of profit, so that when wheat was scarce and consequently rose above 30s., they would strive to import it, whereas when plentiful and the price fell below 30s., they would cease importing it, and would import raw materials or manufactured articles instead.

It is undoubtedly true that rents have fallen, but let "J. P." consider for a moment, and I think he will realize that the fall may have been at the expense of untold suffering. For how often has it failed to take effect until the original tenant has been drained of all his capital, and the land, left derelict for a time, has at last to be let for a lower rent. And that "even now it is often more profitable to turn land into deer-forests than wheat-fields" is the most crushing condemnation of our entire system that it is possible to utter, for in it the whole of the wrong is summed up. It conjures up the vision of that depopulation of the countryside and the fell poverty of our towns that is fast ruining our nation body and soul, which the turning of our native land into a playground for America and the rising West, could surely only accelerate. But I prefer to believe that his sympathy with Major Phipson's attack on factory work for women, and his appreciation of the benefits of fixity of tenure, as they appear in the case of the Bengal tenant, more correctly indicate his attitude of mind than do his last sentences, and I am hopeful that further study of Major Phipson's teaching may lead him to work heart and soul with the small handful of us who are striving feebly, but as best we may, to convince our fellow-countrymen of the things that belong to Britain's peace, ere it may be too late.

I am, etc.,

MARK B. F. MAJOR.

INDIAN REVENUE AND LAND SYSTEMS.

SIR,

I am sorry to take up your space and the time of your readers with a dispute, but General Fischer's charge that I had "resorted to the common artifice of misrepresentation in order to confute him" on a plain question of fact is so offensive that I beg to be allowed to state the facts as they appear to me.

In criticising his paper on "Indian Revenue and Land Systems" (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903) I pointed out (p. 181 of the *Review* for July), amongst other things which appeared to me to be mistakes, the fact that he quoted the Viceroy (Lord Curzon) as saying that "it is impossible to find water enough in the whole of India for more than 20 million acres of land." This statement I quoted word for word from p. 261 of this *Review* for October, 1903. Now, however, General Fischer, passing lightly over this page of his paper, says that he was referring to the calculation of Sir A. Binnie that there was water enough in the Godavery basin to irrigate 20 million acres of land. But this statement occurs on p. 262, and has obviously no connection whatever with the statement I referred to. I must say that this explanation seems to involve a far more serious misstatement of fact than any I noticed in his previous paper. When he goes on to say that such deliberate misrepresentation is a very usual practice amongst Cutcherry Brahmins, he goes out of his way to insult a body of men who are often most deserving, in order, I suppose, to create the impression that I, having been brought up in such an atmosphere of deceit and trickery, am naturally tarred with the same brush.

As it would appear from what (on p. 256 of the *Review* for October, 1903) is apparently a reference to the papers "regarding the land revenue system of British India," and the resolution thereon dated January 16, 1902, that he has already examined those papers "through and through," it is, I suppose, useless to suggest that he should

read the "Proceedings" of the Madras Board of Revenue embodied in those papers, and equally useless for me to repeat their arguments for his benefit—even if you could find room for them. I will merely make a few very brief remarks on some other points in which he takes exception to my former criticism.

As I was only concerned with General Fischer's reflections on the Madras revenue system, it was not necessary for me to discuss the ideas of Adam Smith, Hallam, or Mill; and when I suggested that he should read Seshiah Shastri's memorandum on the evils of the sharing system* it was only because I understood him to recommend us to revert to that system, as, indeed, he still does. From his question at the end of the first paragraph on p. 373 it would seem that he imagines we measure the ryots' crops every year; if so, it certainly seems hopeless to discuss the question with him.

He seems satisfied that in Madras we still follow "the old Indian custom of extracting all we possibly can from the people and leaving their industries to starve," because Mr. Rogers says he "once heard one Madras civilian say to another" that the Brahmins would not allow him to reduce the rates of assessment. It does not appear *when* Mr. Rogers heard this curious confession, but I doubt if even he would consider it sufficient evidence to prove that the land was generally over-assessed, even if General Fischer had not himself assured us that the rate of assessment levied by the British Government was moderate (see bottom of p. 252 of the *Review* for October, 1903).

He tries to show a contradiction between the body of my letter and the postscript as to the practice of over-assessment, but so far as his original paper is concerned there is no contradiction at all. "The baneful practice of over-assessment" to which I referred in my postscript is of

* I never said Seshiah was an authority on economics, but I do say that he knew a great deal more about the evils of the Amáni system than Adam Smith, Hallam, and Mill all put together.

quite recent date, at the revision of the first settlements, whilst it is evident that General Fischer's strictures applied to our system for the last fifty years at least. Moreover, I explained in my last letter to what special causes such enhancement was due.

Then he says that by Joseph's law this baneful practice would be entirely avoided; but, as already observed, to collect 20 *per cent. of the gross produce every year* would probably double the burden on the ryot.

He is good enough to recommend me to read certain books on road-making, and says that in India no such thing as a good road has ever existed (as if I was responsible), and that even now the people do not know how to construct a road properly. Now, road-making has never been my special business, but one may well ask, What has General Fischer been doing all his life, that he has failed to teach his subordinates how to make a single road? On this point, however, I may safely leave him to Mr. Hughes (see p. 25 *et seq.* of the current number).

Having been for three years collector of Trichinopoly, and for three years in a similar capacity at Tanjore, it would be almost a miracle if I knew nothing of Sir Arthur Cotton's work, for which no one, not even General Fischer himself, has a greater admiration.

Lastly, with reference to his parting shot, I may just add that my object in writing my first paper was not to discuss "The Wealth of Nations" (with which, indeed, I have no fault to find), but his curious mistakes—I might almost say delusions—about the land revenue system of Madras.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

ROADS IN TRAVANCORE.

SIR,

I send you below a copy of a letter which appears in the *Madras Mail* of October 3, 1905, and which shows very clearly, in a purely native Government, how little is

known in this country of the two possible methods by which alone the products of the earth can be enhanced both in quantity and value, and how right Adam Smith is in saying that "the cross roads" of any country are of the utmost utility to the community in general :

"ROADS IN TRAVANCORE.

" SIR,

" The inauguration of the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly marks, indeed, a new epoch in the history of Travancore, and it reflects greatly to the credit of Mr. Madhava Rao that this year he has established the Assembly on an electoral basis by giving the people freedom to elect their own representatives. There is no doubt that the future of the Assembly would to a great extent depend upon the amount of care and discretion which the members of the Assembly display in giving expression to public opinion. There is, however, one thing which might be brought to their notice, and the importance of which they cannot safely overlook—viz., the development of the economic resources of the country. Everyone acquainted with the different parts of Travancore can understand that the midland parts of the country and those adjoining the high range abound with peasant cultivators, whose toil and industry have rendered these bleak plains rich with the luxuriant vegetation of different kinds of crops. *But the one pressing difficulty under which the peasant cultivator as well as the ordinary traveller labours is the want of proper facilities for inter-territorial communication.* As a result of this, it is well-nigh difficult for the ordinary cultivators to convey their agricultural products to the different marts in the country to get them exchanged for other useful articles for them. *The few village roads* that are now to be seen in the country might have been constructed out of charity by some bygone petty chiefs ; but these roads have all the characteristics of their antique construction. Bounded on either side by jungles, which are the abode of poisonous snakes, passing

through several canals and ferries difficult to cross over, and so narrow as to render it absolutely impossible for a cart to be drawn by a pair of bullocks, *these village roads are useless* both for the peasant cultivator and for the traveller. 'But the condition of the roads that pass through the hilly parts of the country is still worse.' These narrow paths change their course every year according as the fancy or the convenience of the landowners through whose land they pass suggests itself to them. In the interest of the development of the internal resources of the country, it becomes, therefore, highly necessary that Government takes in hand this question of intercommunication in the country, and it may be hoped that this year the members of the Popular Assembly will draw the attention of Government to this all important question.

"A. TRAVANCORE."

"PUDUPET,

"October 2."

Travancore has never been under British rule, and the Brahmins have had everything their own way in that district in all ages; its climate is good and the rainfall abundant, yet, with all these advantages, it has never entered into the head of the native administrations to afford the lands those means by which *alone* the agricultural industry can be profitably developed, and then we are told, *ad nauseam*, that the Government of this territory is a "model one" for all India! So far as I remember, Sir A. Seshiah Shastri was at one time the Dewan of this province; if so, perhaps Mr. Pennington will be able to explain whether his Amáni system was originated in Travancore, "by which the crop is actually divided," but no means have been provided for realizing its full value in the markets of the world. Any assessment raised on lands in such a condition must be a most burdensome tax, quite enough to prevent all progress and to keep the population in a chronic state of poverty, whilst the Government riots

in luxury on such means as they can screw out of the people.

Adam Smith says in "The Wealth of Nations," Book I., chap. vi.: "But the whole price of any commodity *must* still, finally, resolve itself into some one or other or all of those three parts, as whatever part of it remains after paying *the rent* of the land, and the price of the whole labour (*wages*) employed in raising, manufacturing, *and bringing it to market*, must *necessarily be profit* to somebody." If, then, the cost of transport is reduced to a minimum, the outlay in wages and in stock for conveying products to market will be reduced in proportion; the profits will then be enhanced in an equal degree, and the land will be enabled to pay, out of profits, *a higher rent or assessment*; for if the cultivator is provided with the best means of securing the best prices for his produce *at the right time* in all markets *it is for his interest* to pay the highest rent the land will bear, and we shall hear no more of "the harmful practice of over-assessment," which Mr. Pennington so feelingly deprecates.

J. F. FISCHER,

General, R.E.

BANGALORE, *October 20, 1905.*

SOUTHERN NIGERIA.

Mr. Egerton, the High Commissioner, on July 16, 1905, reports from Lagos as follows*:

The Protectorate has no debt, and at the end of the financial year 1903-1904 had a credit balance of over £145,000, which has been considerably increased (by nearly £40,000) during the financial year 1904-1905.

The history of the Protectorate is unique both for Africa and for other portions of the British Empire. Throughout the whole of the territory now under our control settled Government has only been established by means of a show

* See Parliamentary Reports, September, 1905 (Cd. 2684-5).

of military force, and yet the whole cost of introducing and maintaining law and order—involving the maintenance of a large military establishment—has been defrayed from the local revenues without incurring any debt. As each year a larger area has been pacified, a proper system of justice established, free trade between town and town and with the coast rendered possible, the increasing revenue has enabled a further area to be similarly dealt with in the succeeding year. In addition to this, large sums have been annually contributed towards the cost of the administration of Northern Nigeria.

Commercial imports, excluding specie, 1903, £866,132 ; 1904, £1,088,563. Commercial exports, excluding specie, 1903, £1,431,984 ; 1904, £1,718,717. Total, 1903, £2,298,116 ; 1904, £2,807,280.

The British Cotton-Growing Association's experiment on the Sobo Plains proved a failure, but they have now undertaken smaller plantations, in the drier climate of the interior, in the Uromi country and at Onitsha, where there are much better prospects of success than in the damp Niger delta. At the latter place the Government plantations of this product have yielded exceedingly good crops of cotton.

The chief points in the history of the Protectorate during the year 1904 to which the High Commissioner invites attention are :

(a) The continued increase in the trade and revenue, which enabled a sum of no less than £93,000 to be devoted to extraordinary public works, and also the payment of a largely increased contribution of £50,000 towards the cost of the administration of Northern Nigeria. (b) The Forestry Department is now fully organized and capable of exercising an efficient control over timber-cutting and, in a lesser degree, over the proper tapping of rubber-bearing plants. (c) Many articles used in trade, building, education, transport, etc., have been placed on the free list and exempted from Customs duties. Large permanent buildings have been erected for residential schools at Calabar and

Bonny, and more Government schools have been opened in the interior. The first Government schools for girls have been established at Warri and Sapele. The chief difficulty in extending educational work is the scarcity of teachers.

(*d*) The first land telegraph-lines were opened during the year, and have proved of very great use both to the Government and the public, although interruptions on some sections have been unduly frequent. The rate charged for messages is only one penny a word, with the minimum charge of one shilling. This is not remunerative, but the low charge is expected to develop traffic, and the lines have been constructed more with a view to helping efficient administration and as a convenience for the commercial community than as revenue-producing factors. (*e*) The construction of properly-formed cart roads, with no gradients exceeding 1 in 20, has been commenced, and a Road Construction Department organized. (*f*) The civil police force has been largely increased, and has replaced the military at many stations. (*g*) The mineralogical survey of the Protectorate has been well started, and several valuable results obtained, but the interior portions as yet unexplored are more likely to yield remunerative results. (*h*) Surveys for a more accurate map of the Protectorate have made satisfactory progress. (*i*) Works designed to improve the sanitation of all the stations where Europeans reside have been continued with most satisfactory results.

RECENT AGREEMENT—ENGLAND AND JAPAN.

The following is the text of the recent agreement between England and Japan :*

PREAMBLE.—The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, being desirous of replacing the agreement concluded between them on January 30, 1902, by fresh stipulations, have agreed upon the following articles, which have for their object :

* Parliamentary Paper, September, 1905 (Japan, No. 2, 1905).

(a) The consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India ;

(b) The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China ;

(c) The maintenance of the territorial rights of the high contracting parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India, and the defence of their special interests in the said regions.

ARTICLE I.—It is agreed that whenever, in the opinion of either Great Britain or Japan, any of the rights and interests referred to in the preamble of this agreement are in jeopardy, the two Governments will communicate with one another fully and frankly, and will consider in common the measures which should be taken to safeguard those menaced rights or interests.

ARTICLE II.—If by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers either contracting party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests mentioned in the preamble of this agreement, the other contracting party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with it.

ARTICLE III.—Japan possessing paramount political, military, and economic interests in Corea, Great Britain recognises the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control, and protection in Corea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations.

ARTICLE IV.—Great Britain having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognises her right to take such measures in the proximity

of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions.

ARTICLE V.—The high contracting parties agree that neither of them will, without consulting the other, enter into separate arrangements with another Power to the prejudice of the objects described in the preamble of this agreement.

ARTICLE VI.—As regards the present war between Japan and Russia, Great Britain will continue to maintain strict neutrality unless some other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against Japan, in which case Great Britain will come to the assistance of Japan, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with Japan.

ARTICLE VII.—The conditions under which armed assistance shall be afforded by either Power to the other in the circumstances mentioned in the present agreement, and the means by which such assistance is to be made available, will be arranged by the naval and military authorities of the contracting parties, who will from time to time consult one another fully and freely upon all questions of mutual interest.

ARTICLE VIII.—The present agreement shall, subject to the provisions of Article VI., come into effect immediately after the date of its signature, and remain in force for ten years from that date.

In case neither of the high contracting parties should have notified twelve months before the expiration of the said ten years the intention of terminating it, it shall remain binding until the expiration of one year from the day on which either of the high contracting parties shall have denounced it. But if, when the date for its expiration arrives, either ally is actually engaged in war, the alliance shall, *ipso facto*, continue until peace is concluded.

In faith whereof the undersigned, duly authorized by their respective Governments, have signed this agreement, and have fixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at London, the 12th day of August,
1905.

(L.S.) LANSDOWNE,
*His Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary
of State for Foreign Affairs.*

(L.S.) TADASU HAYASHI,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan at the Court of St. James.

Signed at London, 12 August, 1905.

THE SIAM SOCIETY.

We rejoice to see that a Siam Society has been recently founded (1904). Its objects are to investigate and encourage arts, science, and literature in relation to Siam and the neighbouring countries. The patron is the Crown Prince of Siam, and the vice-patron is Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, Minister of the Interior. The council consists of presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, librarian, and others, among whom is our esteemed contributor, Colonel Gerini, as a vice-president.

In order to carry out the objects of this Society, meetings are to be convened from time to time for the reading of papers bearing on its objects. It is also proposed to form a library of books and MSS. and an ethnological museum. If possible a *Journal* will be published every six months, containing a report of the proceedings, including the papers that may be read.

We have received Parts I. and II. of the *Journal*, dated Bangkok, 1904, the agents in London being Luzac and Co., Oriental Publishers, Great Russell Street, W.C. Amongst the papers in the *Journal* is a "History of the Foundation of Ayuthia," by Prince Damrong; "Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions," by Colonel Gerini; "Notes Laotiennes," by Pierre Morin; "On the Menam Man and the Provinces in the East," by Phya Praja Kitkarachakr;

"King Mongkut," by O. Frankfurter, Ph.D. We hope that this Society will be liberally supported and highly successful.

For further particulars application should be made to Dr. Frankfurter, Bangkok.

STATE OF KELANTAN, SIAM.

In our issue of July last year we made special reference to the first report of Mr. W. A. Graham, H.M.'s Resident and Adviser on the State of Kelantan, Siamese Malay States. We also noted the various steps which led to the agreement of 1902 whereby this arrangement took place. We also mentioned that that report covered the critical period whereby the old form of government was changed so as to give place to a new order of things.

The second report by Mr. Graham has just reached us, for the period August 1, 1904, to May 31, 1905. Mr. Graham says: "A remarkable feature of this period is the rapid and almost un hoped-for improvement in the general behaviour of the uncles of H.H. the Raja, whose attitude of aloofness and suspicion at the beginning constituted the only grave danger to the State. These gentlemen, having all been provided with appointments as chiefs of different departments of Government, appointments which have not been allowed to become sinecures, have shown surprising interest in the work entrusted to them, and it is satisfactory to record that they have now all come forward and intimated their desire to receive the salaries and pensions allotted to them last year from the State Treasury, but at that time rejected with scorn, and to surrender the vague and determinate rights and privileges which they formerly enjoyed, in return for the legitimate authority vested in each by H.H. the Raja for his own particular sphere."

In Mr. Graham's previous report, and referred to by us on p. 186 of our July number, 1905, as to the operations

and claims of the Duff Development Company, a new arrangement has been agreed upon. "By the old document certain rights were claimed by the company, by inference or by interpretation, which practically excluded one-third of the area of the State from the operations of the newly-formed administration, and these rights being disputed, considerable friction resulted. The new document is the outcome of a compromise, whereby the company relinquishes its so-called rights in return for material reduction of revenue ; and though it is probable that the Government could, by merely prolonging the former situation, have ultimately resumed the disputed rights without the payment of a price, yet, in view of the fact that such prolongation might have proved the financial ruin of the company, while it must infallibly have delayed the development of administration, it is, perhaps, a matter for satisfaction that the new agreement has been signed, and the position of the company, as a purely commercial concern, is definitely settled."

The financial outlook, though still far from reassuring, has improved. "The introduction of a certain amount of law and order has curtailed the depredations of the nobility upon the revenues of the State. Consequently the revenue shows a tendency to flow into the treasury more than formerly, which tendency has been further increased by the passing of various fiscal laws, providing for better assessment and collection of the taxes. The suppression of certain monopolies has also had good financial effect, both as regards trade and revenue." A law called the Port and Customs Regulation has been recently passed, by which a new Government Department has been established, which is likely to prove successful. The interior administrations of subdivisions of the State are progressing, as well as the organization of police arrangements and the promotion of public works.

The population is estimated at 300,000, consisting of Malays, Siamese, and Chinese. The education of the

youth has hitherto been much neglected, but an attempt is being made to erect schools and to organize an educational scheme. Mr. Graham's excellent report exhibits statistics of imports and exports and various other interesting information in regard to industries and climate; for instance, the mean temperature has not exceeded 74°, and has not been lower than 69°.

THE FUTURE OF THE HINDUSTÁNI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

SIR,

As I was unable to be present at the reading of Shaikh Abdu l Qádir's most interesting paper,* with a copy of which I was favoured, may I ask you to give space in your journal to the following lines?

With reference to the employment of the term "Hindustáni" in supersession of "Urdú" and "Hindí," I would remark that, although it is of European origin, it was adopted by Mír Amman himself in his preface to the Bāghobahár, so that there is literary authority for its use in reference to prose composition of a hundred years' standing.

I have myself made a point of using the word in preference to "Urdú" or "Hindí" ever since the squabble over the language question which arose in 1882, when the provincial committee for the North-West Provinces and Oudh (of which I was a member) were taking evidence for the Education Commission. The respective merits of Urdú and Hindí were being discussed at that time with considerable warmth, but it became apparent from the statements on both sides that there was no quarrel about the *spoken* language of the country, which was called by no less an authority than Rájá the Honourable Shiva Prasád, C.S.I. ("Hindustáni" (*i.e.*, the language of Hindustán). The sole point at issue was whether that language should be *written* in the Persian or in the Nágari character. As to the spread of the language, Rájá Shiva Prasád stated :

* See this *Review* for July, 1905, pp. 65-80.

"I have not met a single man from Kashmír down to Gangá Ságar and the banks of the Narbadá who found any difficulty in understanding my vernacular, which is talked in the courts and in the bázárs of the cities and towns." Another witness before the committee defined "Hindustáni" as "simple Urdú without big Arabic and Persian words, and which has Hindí as its basis." This definition is quite in consonance with the excellent advice given, I think, by Háli to youthful aspirants for literary fame. He said that although rejecting the use of foreign words altogether was like trying to drive a cart over rough places without the aid of bullocks, yet to begin writing Urdú without a thorough knowledge of the Hindí elements of the language was like trying to move a cart without wheels. In 1902, however, a short story was published at Patna by Pandit Ajudhya Singh Upádhyā which contains neither Persian nor Arabic nor Sanskrit words, and is yet extremely readable. Some years ago I made an abstract of the vocabulary of the *Mirātu l'Arús*, and found that, out of 2,700 words occurring in the story, 1,222 were of pure Indian origin, 541 of pure Persian origin, 910 Arabic, and 27 of other languages (Turkish, English, Portuguese, etc.). Of course the words of Indian origin include many which recur over and over again, while many of the Arabic words are proper names, or words used once or twice only.

One advantage of using the term "Hindustáni" is that it can be made to include the whole of the modern literature of Hindustán from its very beginning—that is to say, from the time when the country freed itself from the domination of Sanskrit and the debasing tradition that priests alone enjoyed the privilege of reading and writing. The historical accounts of "Urdú" deal only with an episode in the main history of the modern language. They take as their starting-point the poems of Walí, although it is obvious that Walí did not invent a language which he used with such fluency. There are numbers and numbers of current idiomatic expressions which can be traced in the literature

of a date far anterior to Walí. Nor was Walí by any means the first Musalmán who wrote in the language of his adopted country. It is said—I believe on the authority of Amír Khusrau—that a díwán in Hindí was composed by one Khwája Mas‘úd, who died 1131 A.D. (525 A.H.). The Padumáwati of Malik Muhammad Jáyasi, written in 1540 A.D., is now being edited by Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E. And contemporary with Malik Muhammad there was a poet named Nasrati, who wrote a heroic poem in Hindí, describing the wars of Sultán ‘Ali ‘Adil Sháh of Bījápúr. Surely no name for the literature of Hindustán should be adopted which would exclude the works of these and other Musalmán authors. On the other hand, if “Hindustáni” be accepted as a general term, including the whole of the modern language and its literature, we shall still be free to use the word “Hindí” to describe that portion of it which is rooted in the history of the country, and which gives stability, energy, and strength to the existing speech. Nor need we abandon the term “Urdú” when speaking of the long line of poets from Mír and Saudá to Amír Mírnái and Dágh, who have so greatly influenced the literary taste, and to whom the beauty and fluency and perspicuity of the existing language is so greatly due.

I would like further to express my absolute concurrence in the views expressed by the lecturer in the last four paragraphs of his paper. As for the attitude of the Government to Oriental studies, it is a matter of notoriety. Nothing more bitter could be said about it than has been said by Professor Browne in the introductory chapter of “A Year amongst the Persians.” It is also a matter of notoriety that the Europeans of all classes who now choose India for the scene of their life’s work are far less conversant with the languages of the people than those who used to seek an Indian career under the auspices of the East India Company. The fault is not wholly theirs. When once they have arrived in India, their whole time is at the disposal of the Government, and so great is the pressure of work that they

have no leisure for study. During their year of preparation for Indian life, the attention they can give to the languages is crushed by the number of other subjects they have to learn, which carry more weight in the examination. What they do learn is learnt by rote for a time, with the firmest determination that it shall be consigned to eternal obliviscence as soon as the examination is over. How can it be otherwise, when it is nobody's business in England to make the study as easy and attractive for them as possible ?

Teaching is an art which is only acquired by practice after years of experience. The provision of good text-books in any branch of study must be the result of much patient labour by specially trained intellects. In respect of Hindustáni, the whole business has been practically left to amateurs, and the only great Hindustáni scholar of English birth who might have rivalled the fame of Garcin de Tassy, if placed in a professorial chair, was fain to work for his living under the cold shadow of neglect as a teacher of elementary Persian.

Of one thing I am convinced, that until Hindustáni is recognised in England as the language of a civilized people having at least as great a claim to attention and respect at the seats of learning as the language of any other civilized country, there is no hope that a more extensive knowledge of it will be cultivated by Europeans in India. Nor can it be expected that Hindustáni emigrants to the colonies will be treated with any greater consideration than they are at present, so long as the parent country ignores the fact that they belong to a civilized and highly-cultivated nation. I do not think there is any question more worthy of engaging the attention of the East India Association than that of providing some organization for familiarizing the British public with the modern languages of India, of which, undoubtedly, Hindustáni is the chief.

G. E. WARD.

THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN ON PLANTATIONS IN
INDIA AND CEYLON.

IT is satisfactory to record that a start has been made by the Government of India in connection with the provision of some facilities for the education of children employed on plantations.

The following despatch from the Officiating Secretary to the Bengal Government shows what steps are being taken in this matter in that Province :

“With reference to the Government of India’s letter, No. 693, dated August 17, 1904, I am directed to submit the following report regarding the arrangements that have been made to provide for the education of the children of labourers employed in tea and other plantations in this province.

“2. The Commissioner of Chota Nagpur reports that the tea-gardens in that division are small, generally unimportant, and in a decadent condition ; that two of the largest of them have established lower primary schools on their own account, and that there are lower primary schools within easy reach of the others. In these circumstances the Lieutenant-Governor does not think that any special arrangements are necessary in so far as this division is concerned.

“3. The Commissioner of the Chittagong division reports that there is a primary school on one estate ; that on one or two more the children are encouraged to attend the neighbouring primary schools ; but that the owners and managers of other plantations are unwilling that the children of their labourers should receive education, as this, in their opinion, would unfit them for the work which their fathers are doing. The Commissioner thinks, however, that by his own and the District Officers’ personal influence he will be able to induce most of the planters of the larger gardens to establish half-time or night-schools on their estates. As regards the smaller plantations, a school has been established in the Chittagong municipality, which the

children of the neighbouring gardens will be able to attend. The District Officer of Chittagong has also promised to ascertain whether some of the existing schools cannot be moved nearer to those tea-plantations which cannot maintain schools for themselves.

"4. In the Rajshahi division, owing to the existence of primary and mission-schools in various parts of the Darjeeling district, the state of affairs is more promising in the hills than in the Duars. In order to effect an improvement in the latter, the Lieutenant-Governor has now sanctioned the establishment of primary schools in ten selected gardens, and has also made a grant of Rs. 1,000 to supplement a contribution of Rs. 700 from the District Board of Jalpaiguri for their maintenance. Private tuition is at present provided in thirty-two gardens in the Duars.

"5. I am further to add that the whole subject has been discussed by the Committee appointed by his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to consider the question of revised courses for rural primary schools. The Committee were of opinion that the new courses proposed for rural primary schools would, if adopted, meet the case of primary schools in the tea estates; and they recommended that, pending the introduction of these, Commissioners and Collectors might do much in the direction of encouraging education amongst tea-garden labourers by adopting simple courses of instruction in consultation with the Director of Public Instruction. The Lieutenant-Governor has accepted these views, and instructions have been issued accordingly.

"(Signed) H. W. C. CARNDUFF."

In Assam, unfortunately, where out of 250,000 children only 700 attend school, the whole question is to be postponed for a year. The delay may be connected with the difficulties attending the partition of Bengal. It is inconceivable that the reform would be opposed by the planters, if the question were put before them by the officials in a conciliatory manner.

In Ceylon, as is pointed out by Mr. A. G. H. Wise, who has actively pressed this question on the attention of Mr. Brodrick and Mr. Lyttelton, we have as yet nothing definite to announce, as the Report of the Government Commission on the subject has not yet been published. It is rumoured, however, that the Commissioners recommend compulsory education throughout the island. There is no doubt that much room for improvement exists in the educational system of Ceylon; and all true friends of progress would welcome such a change, which could not fail to be of benefit to the Colony, provided that the education were confined to instruction in the vernacular, and that no attempt were made to force sectarian teaching on the children against the wish of the parents, whether Buddhists or Hindus.

CHINA AND RELIGION.

SIR,

Somebody in Cambridge—possibly the charming reviewer himself—has sent me a lengthy review of my poor book “China and Religion,” marked, in writing, “*Cambridge Review*,” from which I conclude that the undeserved notice in question has appeared in a publication of that name. I say “charming,” firstly, because it is clear from his remarks that the reviewer belongs to that supreme social grade of mankind which regularly and closely studies its *Asiatic Quarterly Review*; and, secondly, because he has not one single word to say in favour of my book, thus fulfilling the high *desideratum* of the Publishers’ Union, Publishers’ Society, (or whatever may be the correct name for the precincts in which those heroic men do habitually congregate); to wit, that a good slashing attack is by far the best “selling” recommendation that can be vouchsafed to a book. I could wish that such obscure Metropolitan journals as the *Athenæum*, *Outlook*, *Standard*, *Morning Post*, *Catholic Times*, *Methodist Times*, *New Age*, *Chronicle*, *Guardian*, *Record*, etc., not to mention the thirty or forty Scotch, Irish, provincial English, Colonial, and foreign

newspapers, which have, with such forgiving tolerance, noticed the said book, had given a timely thought to the same pre-eminent financial considerations, and had gauged their all too "kindly lights" by the fierce flash thus shot forth from the hub of the universe on the banks of the Cam. To use the words of the unemployed, "Curse your charity! give me work (to do, in replying)!" I am reminded of a picture that appeared a dozen years ago in *Punch*: "Why, confound it, sir" (quoth a rival artist), "your perspective is bad, there is no decent colour, the shading is impossible," etc. "What on earth is there to justify its admission into the Academy?" The reply was: "Why, the *pickchaw*, of course!"

There are, however, one or two specific points in connection with which the *spirituel* reviewer is really at fault himself. He says the book is "mostly a *réchauffé* of a number of magazine articles." This is quite wrong. It is still more untrue to say that they have been left "almost in their original patch-work state." Every single chapter but one was freshly written for the publisher, and not the slightest fragment of any chapter except that particular one is in any way a *réchauffé*; or has any part of the introduction, or of the eleven other chapters ever appeared in print before, though, of course, old facts may be (and must be) stated in similar language as occasion may require. The exceptional chapter is the one on Confucius, half of which *has* appeared before (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1897); and it now appears afresh because the publisher's "examiner" himself voluntarily suggested that "Confucius would be quite readable even as it now stands."

Then, as to the "spurious text known as the Taoist classic," why find fault with the translation if the original be spurious? So far as I have been able to ascertain, no Chinese historian or author of repute, at any date whatever, has ever suggested that the classic is in any degree spurious; on the contrary, it has been steadily quoted as an unshakable text dynasty by dynasty, century by century, ever since it

was written. Is it possible that the Cambridge reviewer has fallen under the glamour of Dr. Herbert Giles's influence (Professor of Chinese at Cambridge)? Certainly, in his youthful days, Professor Giles rashly contended for the spuriousness of Lao-tsz's classic ; but Dr. Legge, Dr. Chalmers, and other of the sinological giants of the day, at once (and giving their full reasons, which I have found to be correct) mercilessly ridiculed this view, which, I believe, has never been accepted by any sinologist of sound standing : indeed, Professor Giles's son, Mr. Lionel Giles, M.A. (Oxon), published last year (1904) a little book called the " Sayings of Lao-tzŭ," which was favourably reviewed by me in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1905,* and which seemed to me to be a part recantation, at least, of his father's obsolete and " cranky " views. True, even supposing that the reviewer of " China and Religion " has, indeed, allowed himself to be influenced by Professor Giles's views, these views, in the case of insignificant persons like the present writer—not to speak of Lao-tsz himself—are apt (I must warn him) to vary with the distensions or contractions of Professor Giles's unusually large heart ; for I myself have been frequently denounced as a spurious sinologue, and praised as a consummate master, by the same lively scholar at different periods of his career.

As to M. Revon's work on " Shinntoïsme," I have contributed a notice of it for this issue of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, and when the Cambridge reviewer hazards the remark that " it is, indeed, charitable to hope that they (*i.e.*, my humble words on Shintoism) were written prior to the publication of M. Revon's work," I have great pleasure in informing him in reply that his charity is here not at all misplaced. My chapter was written in May last, and was printed in June ; I have no idea when M. Revon's book was printed, but he (though a perfect stranger to me) sent me a copy of it on September 30 last, accompanied by a very polite letter, in exchange for which I had the

* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1905, p. 207.

pleasure to send him in return my own book, and to do him at the same time the small service he sought from me. As to the philosopher Vainancius, contrary to what the Cambridge reviewer supposes, I possess his work in the original.

As to the views of Mencius or the origin of man's disposition, I refer to his "original sin," or what Dr. Legge calls his "lost mind."

Since my Cambridge admirer has been so good as to express sympathy with me on account of the unsaleability of my literary wares, and to give the "trade" a fillip by "going for me" in good publisher-desired form, I take the liberty of utilizing the hospitable machinery of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* in order to make the following corrections of more real mistakes or misprints in my book :

Page 29, seventh line from bottom, add "no" before "longer."

Page 67, for "legis" read "leges."

Page 69, for 2,200 read 2,100.

Page 172, for "their faith" read "the Jewish faith."

Page 193, for "French Jesuit" read "Italian Jesuit."

There are a few more trifling corrections to be made ; but, thanks to Mr. John Murray's admirable mechanical organization, they are exceedingly unimportant, and, together with certain organic emendations to be made at the suggestion of special authorities on Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, Orthodoxy, Catholicism, etc., they will receive due attention in the second edition. I shall also look up the other defects pointed out by the Cambridge reviewer, and, if I find he is right, I will be right too. Finally, I take this opportunity to correct a misprint in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October last, p. 398 : M. Jean HUC should be M. Jean HUE—a distinction which touches the whole point of that particular criticism made by me on Professor Douglas' work.

I am, etc.,

E. H. PARKER.

LIVERPOOL,

November 30, 1905.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

- A. J. CAMBRIDGE AND CO.; BOMBAY, AND 31, NEWGATE STREET, LONDON, 1905.

1. *The Mahābhārata: A Criticism*, by C. V. VAIDYÁ, M.A., LL.B., Hon. Fellow of the University of Bombay. The author tells us, in his preface that, as the result of careful investigation, he has arrived at certain conclusions concerning Indian epic poetry. These ideas he proposes to develop in a series of treatises, of which the one now before us is the first. In this instalment he sets forth his views on the *Mahābhārata* considered from the literary and historical standpoints. His next instalment will deal with the second great Hindú epic, the *Rāmāyan*, in which he will view this popular favourite from similar standpoints; while the last of the series is to contain a survey of the social, religious, and intellectual conditions of the Aryan race between the years 3000 and 300 before the Christian era, as evidenced by these two venerable epics.

It has often been complained by Hindús that the men who have sought to interpret the East to the West have been persons of alien race and alien religion—the intended inference being that such interpretation has not been all that Hindú sentiment could have desired. On this account all such attempts as the present one to fulfil the function are decidedly to be welcomed. But if all Hindú writers on Hindúism had been as competent as Mr. Vaidyá, European writers would never have ventured upon the task. There is no denying that a work on the Indian epic poems was needed by persons of the missionary class in India, and by European Orientalists in general. Mr. Vaidyá has done good service in thus interpreting the East to the West. Many to whom those epics have hitherto been as a sealed book will be convinced that “there were great men before

the days of Agamemnon"—that they are in error who suppose that all that is great, and good, and wise, and brave, has been reserved for the men and women of our own time.

In describing the various additions of the Mahábhárata, the author mentions that the opinions of Hindú authorities as to the number of *shlokas* which the poem contains vary widely, some reckoning that there are as many as 100,000 *shlokas*, while others adopt the more manageable figure of 8,800. Where doctors so widely differ, who shall decide? And what mere European Orientalist would presume to rush in where seraphs might fear to tread? The Pundits must be left to fight out this battle among themselves. The mystery is to be sought, probably, in some variation in the principle of counting. But, indeed, the mental labour of this truly great epic must have been vast, exceeding all that the imagination could conceive. Mr. Vaidyá throws wondrous energy into his labour, and he succeeds in investing this old-world poem with a new charm. For anyone who has become possessed of the passion for the heroic deeds and moral excellences of the earlier Indians, it will be difficult to tear himself away from this book of Mr. Vaidyá's. It may not be necessary to regard every statement in the Mahábhárata as "Gospel truth," any more than the statements of the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott, or in the "Death of Arthur," or in the epics of Milton; and yet the impression left on the mind is that long prior to the era of the Buddha there were men and women in Bháratvarsha of a type of mind and character second to none in the history of nations. That devout Hindús should cherish for the Mahábhárata and its heroes and heroines sentiments of admiration and affection somewhat akin to worship is not to be wondered at.

Mr. Vaidyá apologizes for any defects in the transliteration of Sanskrit words and names which he anticipates the reader will detect in the course of the work. So far, good; but no less important is the entire absence of accent-

marking, and of the recognised indications of the quality of consonants and of the quantity of the long vowels in names. The sound of *t* in "Anushtub" is not the same sound as the sound of it in "Bhárata"—the fact being that, although these letter-forms are in English one and the same, they are in Sanskrit two several letters, distinct in form and different in pronunciation. In places innumerable, again, the grammar of the author's English is sadly at fault. A lad at a Bombay University "Entrance" would surely get *minus* marks for such a sentence as that beginning "Nay" on p. 53! We regret to notice that the English exhibits, notwithstanding the author's University distinctions, nearly all the defects characteristic of the attempts of Indians to compose in this language. There is the well-known inaccuracy in the use of the article definite, the seemingly incurable misuse of the tense-forms of the verb, and the characteristic confusion in the application of "shall" and "will." But we have no heart for fault-finding. Good, however, as the composition is, regarded on the whole, we have seen better in the writings of Hindús who had no University degree. In future editions Mr. Vaidyá might discover some practised English penman to whom he might allow a free hand in correcting the English of his work, from the first page to the last. If thus the defects alluded to should be cleared out, the work would prove more comfortable reading. The volume, however, contains signs of long and loving study of the Mahábhárata, and the three volumes will together form the satisfactory fruit of the author's high talents and unsparing research. Though a small book (only 222 pp.), the work is *great* enough to create, as we believe, an epoch in the study of this, the world's grandest epic poem.—B.

CHAPMAN AND HALL, LTD.; LONDON, 1905.

2. *The Emancipation of Egypt*, by A. Z. Translated from the Italian. This work discusses from an Italian

point of view the Egyptian Question and the Great Powers ; also France and Italy ; British Imperial Policy ; the Position of Great Britain in Egypt ; the Egyptian Nation and Neutralization as the Only Solution of the Question, whether we study it from the Standpoint of Europe in General, Great Britain in Particular, or the Interests of Humanity in the African Continent. The writer's opinion is embraced in the following paragraph : " Look where we will, for the native the future of Africa looms darkly. From the European there is not a glimmer of hope. One chance alone remains, and that is that some Mahometan Power should arise which, by the power it possesses of really reaching the native soul, may confer upon him some civilization, perhaps not the best, but such a one as should prepare him for the reception of a better. The one Power which might perhaps be trusted with the fulfilment of so noble a mission is Egypt—Egypt, which after a long and hard novitiate has learned from Europe all that it may learn for its betterment. But it is all as a free nation, with a proud consciousness of itself, that Egypt could act. And why should we not admit that Egypt has ended her years of apprenticeship, and that the hour has struck when she may be entrusted with the guidance of her own career—a career on which hangs the last despairing hope of African regeneration ? " The volume is devoid of information to the English reader and statesmen who peruse the admirable annual reports of Lord Cromer.

CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY ; LONDON, 1905.

3. *The Historical Development of the Qor'ân*, by the Rev. EDWARD SELL, D.D., Honorary Canon of St. George's Cathedral, Madras, Fellow of the University of Madras. This little work (234 pp.) is one of the series published under the head of " Non-Christian Religious Systems. " A work of this kind—accurate though compendious—has long been a desideratum. It is fitted to be of the greatest

usefulness to missionaries and to the general reader, and especially to students preparing to further the interests of the Christian religion in all parts of the world where Muhammadans reside—Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago.

The force and application of much of the subject-matter of the Qor'án turns upon the question of the *period* in the lifetime of Muhammad at which any given passage was first promulgated. To indicate the relation of one Sura to another *in point of time* becomes an absolute necessity to any Christian controversialist who would help the thoughtful Muhammadan in his quest of truth. It is just in this particular that the special value of this work of Dr. Sell's comes in. The unfortunate thing is that there are several of the Suras (or chapter-divisions) the locality of the original promulgation of which has never yet been ascertained—whether Mekka or Medína—and which will (as far as the present state of knowledge helps us to forecast) remain problematical to the end of time. What is still more important is this: that the materials of some of the Suras have from the first been so jumbled up that even Muhammadans themselves have always found them to defy disentanglement. Dr. Sell very truly speaks (p. 33) of certain of the Suras as being "composite." It is as if a few verses from Exodus and a few from Job, and a few from any of the Prophets, and from either of the Gospels, and either of the Epistles, should be all shaken together and printed in a book, without continuity, and without connection or context of any sort or kind. Such is the discordance and irrelevancy of the subject-matter of some of the Suras. This being the condition of things in the Qor'án as Muhammadans and ourselves now possess it, what must have been the condition of the subject-matter prior to the final editing under the auspices of Uthmán the Khalifa! This leads us to express the hope that some day we may become possessed of a treatise on the "Editions of the Qor'án," with the view of settling the history of the materials of which the book is

made up. For it is only when we are in a position to settle, not only the time and place of each of the Suras, but also the chronological order and relative setting of each and every A'yat, that we shall be able to understand the subject of the "development" of the Islámic system. As to the materials for such an enterprise, they are not far to seek: all that is needed is that a man so competent and so industrious as Dr. Sell should undertake it. Of mere "commentaries" on the Qor'án (both Muhammadan and European) the name is well-nigh legion; but they all leave more or less unchurned the important and, indeed, vital aspect of the subject which we have now indicated.

Amid so much to commend, we have to confess to a feeling of disappointment that we find not in the whole course of Dr. Sell's volume as much as a single allusion to the "Akbar Hajj," a subject to which allusion is made in the Qor'án, and which every true Muhammadan deems of the highest importance. It marked, moreover, a distinct step in the "development" of the Qor'anic system. This is the more to be regretted, seeing that he is very particular in distinguishing between the Hajj and the Umra. The Akbar Hajj, however, highly important though it is in the Islámic system, is not by any means an easily manageable subject, requiring as it does that one fix the relation in point of time to the regular annual observance. The manner in which the printing has been accomplished speaks well for the workmanship of the Vepary Press.—B.

CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE, SALISBURY SQUARE,
LONDON, E.C., 1906.

4. *River, Land, and Sun, being Sketches of the London Church Missionary Society's Egypt Mission*, by MINNA C. GOLLOCK. This beautifully illustrated volume is a brief record of the important work of the London Church Missionary Society in Egypt, as seen by the author during winter visits made on three different occasions, covering in

all a period of eleven months. No attempt has been made to narrate the work of other missionary agencies. There is one, however, specially referred to—that is, the American Presbyterian Mission, which has worked on a larger scale than any other in Egypt for fifty years. The volume, so well printed, exhibits more than 100 well-executed illustrations of towns, manners and customs of the people, the people themselves and children, the Nile and its ferry-boats, hospitals, villages, tombs, etc. The volume would be a handsome and beautiful Christmas gift to those interested in Egypt, and specially to those who are co-operating in so ancient and interesting a country in Christian work.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1905.

5. *A Catechism of Tamil Grammar*, No. 2, by the Rev. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Lecturer in Tamil and Telugu in the University of Oxford, etc. Pope's "Tamil Handbook" has for so many years been a household word in Southern India, and wherever Tamil is spoken, that it is a pleasant surprise to have evidence brought home to one of its venerable author being as active as ever. The catechism now reprinted by him—one of a series of grammatical works which have been in use for over half a century—is a very convenient volume, whose present edition is especially intended for officials qualifying for the higher proficiency examination. Dr. Pope begins *ab ovo*, with the letters of the alphabet, making the method in the apparent madness of their changes plain to the uninitiated; then he passes on to the different parts of speech and the syntax, and ends with the prosody. He illustrates the answers to his questions, at each step, by examples—often dividing the words given, moreover, into their constituent parts—and these, with the declensions, paradigms of verbs, etc., place the quintessence of the language, vulgar as well as literary, within easy reach of all who know Tamil sufficiently well to read it. Completeness has

been aimed at as well as brevity, so that one is not disappointed when looking for such peculiarities as the negative verb *seyyāthirukkir rān* or words like *enr ru*.—C.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; 16, JAMES STREET, HAYMARKET, WESTMINSTER, 1905.

6. *The Far Eastern Tropics: Studies in the Administration of Tropical Dependencies*, by ALLEYNE IRELAND, F.R.G.S. The author of this work was appointed in 1901 as Colonial Commissioner of the University of Chicago for the purpose of visiting the Far East, and preparing a comprehensive report on colonial administration in South-Eastern Asia. The report is in course of preparation, and will be produced in ten or twelve volumes by Messrs. Small, Maynard and Co., Cambridge, Mass., in the course of the next four years. Meanwhile the present succinct, interesting, and valuable volume has been produced. He has studied the subject during the last fifteen years, and the work contains a history of the origin, mode of control, and its maintenance while protecting the liberty and promoting the welfare of the natives of the respective colonies. It embraces Hong Kong, British North Borneo, Sarawak, Burma, the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, French Indo-China, Java, and important chapters on the history and acquisition of the Philippine Islands, their government, the economic conditions and American policy. In addition there are valuable appendices of statistics, of bibliography, tables from the Philippine census, embracing population under various classifications, education, occupation of the people, and other details. There is also a minute and copious index. The work deserves the most careful attention. The author has written with the object of exciting an interest in tropical colonization, and of considering how best this colonization can be safely conducted so as to advance civilization and the welfare of the people. It may be added, although the author occupies an

important position in the University of Chicago, he is a British subject, and he uses the expressions "our colonial policy," "our Far Eastern possessions," etc.

7. *The Risen Sun*, by BARON SUYEMATSU. Baron Suyematsu was one of what may be termed the second wave of Japanese pioneers (the Marquis Ito and his contemporaries being regarded as the first) who came to Europe with a view of making themselves thoroughly familiar with Western institutions, and he holds the distinction, which (owing to linguistic difficulties) has not fallen to a great many of his countrymen, of having taken a good degree at Cambridge. On those who knew him there in the early eighties he certainly made the impression of reserve of intellectual power and scarcely less so of originality, so that few of his contemporaries have been surprised that his subsequent career in his native country has been a distinguished one, including, under the Marquis Ito's Cabinet, the Ministry of the Interior. It is characteristic of the modesty of the man that none who knew him at Cambridge were aware that he had even then held a staff officer's commission in the Satsuma rebellion—that great struggle which was of similar vital importance to modern Japan as was the Civil War to America.

When the war between Russia and Japan broke out, Baron Suyematsu undertook a semi-official mission to Europe, the object of which was to counteract, as far as speech and writing could do so, the effects of the pro-Russian press propaganda, which, though ultimately as dismal a failure as the operations of the same Power in the field, was at one time thought to be dangerous. In speech, in lecture, and "from the platform of the great reviews" in France, Germany, and England. (the *Asiatic Quarterly* among the number), Baron Suyematsu has most ably discharged his task, and the present work, with its very appropriate title, consists of these various utterances collected together and re-edited by himself and his secretaries. The work is divisible into three main sections, which we may

term the political, the ethological, and the prophetic. The first of these, which to the general reader will be, perhaps, the least interesting portion of the book, deals with the political controversy with Russia which resulted in the war ; the second is directed to placing before European readers the Japanese character and some of the salient features of the history of modern Japan in its most important aspects ; and the latter part deals with the external relations of the country as at present modified, and likely in the future to be affected by, the results of the war.

Everyone interested in Japan—and who now is not ?—will find “*The Risen Sun*” a fascinating and absorbing work. It is pre-eminently triumphant in vindicating “*Dai Nippon*” from the charge more often levelled against her on the Continent than here of being a semi-barbarous parvenu, who, like a Central African potentate, has recently adopted the frock-coat and top-hat. On the contrary, Baron Suyematsu shows very clearly that his country is

“A land of just and old renown,
Where freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent,”

and that its arts were flourishing and its civilization highly developed before the days of Charlemagne. Of particular interest and charm might be selected the chapters on Japanese “*Arts and Letters*,” “*Moral Teaching in Japan*,” and more especially “*The Making of a Soldier in Japan*.” The facts revealed in this latter chapter go a long way towards explaining the results of the war, and they show very clearly that those responsible for Japan’s military system have, above all things, set themselves to “inform” the nation’s soldiers with the old Japanese “military spirit” which has become universally famous as “*Bushido*.”

The latter part of the work has, naturally enough, a triumphal note, and one is glad to observe that for the last great naval battle the author has adopted the name of Tsushima, rather than the prosaic official title of the Battle of the Sea of Japan ; for Tsushima is an island, and will

one day be almost as famous in history as that other island —“Salamis much beaten of the sea.”—R. N. L.

ARTHUR HUMPHREYS: HATCHARD, 187, PICCADILLY,
LONDON.

8. *John of Damascus*, by DOUGLAS AINSLIE. For anyone knowing the East, the most striking characteristic of this book is the success with which the author, who has never been there, puts himself in the place of Orientals, and the accuracy, on the whole, with which he makes them give an account of their different creeds. These, in fact, form the subject of the poem; and he has enshrined them in a picturesque story—a meeting brought about by him between a Christian saint, the Vizier of the contemporary Caliph, a Buddhist ascetic, and that mysterious personage, the Veiled Prophet of Khorassan. St. John the Damascene, the vicissitudes of whose previous life form an introduction, tells the tale of Barlaam and Joasaph, weaving into it an exposition of Christian doctrine. The Buddhist claims the legend, saying that it is but an adaptation of that of Gautama, whose life and teaching he then describes. When he has done, the Vizier speaks of Islam, drawing largely upon its folk-lore to complete the picture, and bringing it down to the end of the fourth caliphate. As he concludes the Veiled Prophet comes upon the scene and takes up the thread. He recalls the tragedy of Kerbela, with the events that led up to it, and the peculiar tenets of the Shiahs concerning the Day of Judgment. The end of his story is practically that of the poem, the other characters merely adding a few words before they, like him, take their departure.

It must not be imagined for a moment that Mr. Ainslie's work is a succession of dry theological treatises; he has managed to give an idea of the different religions without ever being tiresome. He takes care not to make dogmas heavy by dwelling too long upon them, and he varies them

with anecdotes and legends, so as to keep the reader constantly interested. There are a few errors to be corrected in the next edition—the calumny, for instance, that Moslems believe women to be “soulless” (p. 140), repeated by the author in evident good faith. But the wonder is that there are not more. Whence has Mr. Ainslie got that exasperating last vowel, by the way, in “Ya Mohammeda” (p. 216)?—C.

ERNEST LEROUX ; PARIS.

9. *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, translated and annotated by ÉDOUARD CHAVANNES, Professor at the College of France. It is now ten years since the unwearied French Professor brought out his first volume of China's earliest real history, and now at last, after a long interval, we are at the fifth volume, the dates of the others being 1895, 1897, 1898-1899 (two parts), and 1901. Volume v. brings us up to the end of chapter 47, out of a total of 115 chapters ; so that there still remains plenty of heavy work to do. The previous volumes have each from time to time been duly noticed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* ; the twelve chapters last reviewed, forming volume iv., treated of the history of the feudal States during the “Spring and Autumn” or hegemony period (722-481 B.C.)—that is, during the stretch of time covered by Confucius' Annals known by that peculiar name. The present volume of 550 pages treats of the nominally feudal States, which from being influential began to be really independent of the waning imperial power, subsequent to the “Spring and Autumn” ; but during the “Fighting States” period—*i.e.*, when the non-Chinese or mixed States of Ts'in in the west and Ch'u in the south began to contest the political supremacy which had been long held by the purely Chinese States of Ts'in (Shan Si) and Ts'i (Shan Tung), and to prepare the way for the revolutionary conquest by Ts'in. Finally comes the biographical sketch of Confucius himself, who is thus ranked amongst the “Kings” of the world. M. Chavannes

has thus already completed the translation of the more important half of this great historical work ; and there now remains little more than the list of personal biographies and the supremely interesting accounts of the Hiung-nu (Turks) and other "barbarous" States. If, as we may devoutly hope, M. Chavannes continues to enjoy health and strength sufficient for the accomplishment of this great task, we shall possess a magnificent annotated work of at least 5,000 octavo pages, in many respects even a vaster achievement than the original monumental *Shi-ki* of Ez-ma Ts'ien himself.

One of the most remarkable results of our indefatigable author's latest researches is a fairly clear proof that the celebrated romance (third century B.C.) of the two voyages of the "Emperor" Muh to the land of the "Queen of the West" (tenth century B.C.) is really nothing more than a traditional account of the journeys of a Turko-Chinese feudatory, the *Duke* Muh (seventh century B.C.), to the regions of Kuché and Harashar. That is, in this as in many other cases during their early career of expansion and intellectual conquest, the invading central Chinese quietly appropriated such of the noble and martial traditions of conquered feudatories (or sub-States, or foreign States) as suited their purpose, and deliberately brazened them on to the framework of their own imperial history ; just as, for instance, Julius Cæsar "appropriated" the Gaulish divinities, and rechristened them with such Roman names as Mars and Minerva.

In these pleasure-loving and idle times, those persons who wish for a short respite from self-indulgence, pomp, and vanity, could not do better than settle down to a little medicinal change, and refresh themselves mentally with the study of M. Chavannes' marvellous volumes.—
E. H. PARKER.

10. *Le Shinn-toïsmé*, by MICHEL REVON, formerly Professor of French Law at the Imperial University, Tōkyō. This book, a careful study of over 200 pages, has for its object to

show that the Japanese had a genuine primitive religion, developed on the usual lines of Nature-worship, Animism, Hero-worship, Fetichism, etc., long before the arrival of Buddhism and Confucianism from China, viâ Corea, forced them to invent a special name for it. The name they then chose for their old religion was *Shên-tao*, or, in pure Japanese, *Kami-no-michi*, "the spirits' (or gods') road." This purely Chinese word first appears in Japanese history in 586, at the accession of the Emperor Yō-meï (Yung-ming), when it is stated that the said Emperor or Tennō (T'ien-hwang) "revered *Shên-tao* (*Shin-to*) and believed in the Buddhist law." But it must be remembered that, at that date the very word Yō-meï did not exist (if at all) in any historical work—Japanese, Korean, or Chinese—and that it was not until the year 712 that any Japanese "history" was composed at all, and even then only from the memory of one single aged retainer, who had (twenty-five years before) been orally *told* of it all by a former Emperor. All this, and a great deal more bearing on the worthlessness of ancient Japanese "history," has been explained *ad nauseam* by Messrs. Chamberlain, Aston, and Satow in various papers, and also succinctly by the present critic in vol. xxiii. of the *China Review* of 1898, pp. 59-74; moreover, it is all admitted by the Japanese themselves. M. Revon now wishes us to believe that the Japanese only applied the Chinese word *Shin-to* to their already existing and matured national religion after the arrival in Japan of Buddhism (sixth century), and in order to distinguish it from Buddhism: he thinks it absurd to call *Shin-to* a Chinese religion, simply because a ready-made and ancient Chinese name was thus given to it. He thinks that, if the ancient Chinese and the ancient Japanese religious ideas correspond, it is not because one was derived from the other, but because each developed on its own independent lines. Moreover, he considers that Japanese *Shin-to* (previous to the reform and reconstructions of two centuries ago) *does* contain a moral code and *is really* a religion, though perhaps not in

our Western sense—i.e., complicated by abstract metaphysics. In this view he is, to a certain extent, supported by that *premier des japonistes*, Sir E. Satow, and, indeed, no one need deny to any race, which has survived the 2,000 years' struggle for independent existence, the original capacity to think out a primitive Nature-worship for itself.

M. Revon is, perhaps, a little too positive in laying down when the celebrated triumvirate of *japonistes* just named are *à tort* in what they say. His own plan is to take the texts of the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* "histories," with all their faults, and to endeavour, by comparing their statements with the ancient *norito*, or "prayers," and with modern village life and superstition, to arrive at a clear notion of the anthropomorphism, magic, fear of death, desire for spontaneous adoration, development of fetichism, etc., which characterized the evolution of early *Shin-to*. It will be for each reader to form his own opinion upon the value of M. Revon's special pleadings. The writer of the present notice finds the author's knowledge of Chinese much too slender. He adduces, as established Japanese ideas, notions manifestly Chinese. For instance, *Shin-koku*, "Japan," is manifestly a variant of *Shên-chou*, "China," just as *tei-koku*, "empire" (an expression unknown in China) has been evolved out of Chinese words. As a study in religious evolution M. Revon's work is excellent, but as an attempt to deprive China of the honour of having created Japanese abstract thought it is of doubtful value.—E. H. PARKER.

LUZAC AND CO. ; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1905.

II. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by the late E. J. W. GIBB ; edited by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Pembroke College in the University of Cambridge. In the number of this *Review* for April, 1905, we had a notice of the previous volume of the present work. The contri-

bution now before us is volume iv., and to all that was then said respecting the enterprise we have not much to add. As regards the distinguishing peculiarities of the present volume, they may best be stated in Dr. Browne's own words: "The character of what remains of my task," says he, "undergoes in this the fourth volume a material change. Up to this point I have had before me a manuscript which, however much the author might, if he had lived, have modified or enlarged, was essentially complete, needing only trifling alterations and occasional notes. For the period which remains—the period, that is to say, of the New School, which deserted Persian for French models, and almost recreated the Turkish language (so greatly did they alter its structure and the literary ideals of their countrymen)—only three chapters were to be discovered among my friend's papers." It thus appears that, as far as regards authorship and subject-matter, the work now enters upon a new stage. As Dr. Browne's description thus suggests, the present volume deals with the modern Romanicists—Shinási Efendi, Ziyá Páshá, and the rest. To what was said in our former notice there is not much that needs to be added. The name of Dr. Browne has for many years been before the world of Orientalists, and needs no recommendation. The Turkish original is composed in the "Gazal" form—a form that readily lends itself to erotic poetry—and the translation is done into English couplets corresponding thereto. The poems being of an amatory nature, there is much in them of a highly diverting character. There is an aroma about them which is redolent of the glowing Orient; and the work, apart altogether from its scholarly character, will form seductive and amusing reading, as well in the original as in this the English translation. In the printing and other mechanical parts of the work, the present volume maintains to the full the singularly high level alluded to in our notice above referred to. The enterprise has not yet reached the "index" stage; the great extent of the work, however,

and the abundance of learned information contained in the foot-notes, will be found to render such an appendage highly important and most useful.—B.

12. *Hebrew Humour, and other Essays*, by J. CHOTZNER, PH.D., late Hebrew Tutor at Harrow. This volume (180 pp.) consists of a series of papers that have already appeared in several periodicals; it treats of Hebrew subjects—Biblical and extra-Biblical—as well of modern times as of ancient. The essays are sixteen in number, and they are written in the sketchy style which readers of periodical literature find acceptable; it is, therefore, a work for the general reader rather than for the scholar. The author includes in his treatises not only the older Hebrew writings, but also the writings of Hebraists down through the centuries to our own time, embracing even “modern Hebrew journalism.”

Every reader of the Bible must have perceived that the humour displayed by the writers of our Sacred Literature presents a subject well worthy of careful notice. This same quality may be found no less in the Greek Scriptures than in the Hebrew. Greek, however, does not come within the scope of the author's scheme. But the reader should not be too much influenced by the word “humour” in this connection. As found in the Scriptures, a good deal of it is what in these days would oftener be described as “banter,” “irony,” “ridicule,” “sarcasm”—all, however, perfectly natural, and never strained, far-fetched, or out of place, as witness the incitement of the prophet to call more loudly in the invocation of the Sun-god in the Carmel incident (1 Kings xviii. 27). It is the sarcastic banter of one who was fully assured that he was himself on the winning side. In the order of “humorousness” Dr. Chotzner grades the prophets thus: Isaiah, Kohalath, Hosea, Amos; giving Elijah, however, a very high place, “alone by himself”—a kind of inspired Diogenes.

As the Scripture passages alluded to are numerous, a list of them should have been given at the end of the work,

as also, and in a separate count, of the Hebrew words which come in for notice. Such an arrangement would have rendered the work more interesting to the intelligent reader, and would have been a saving of time. But there is, even so, a good deal of information in the volume which will make it charming reading to all who would obtain an insight into the subject of Hebrew literature, ancient or modern.—B.

MADRAS ; PRINTED FOR THE SUPERINTENDENT OF RECORDS,
GOVERNMENT SECRETARIAT AND GOVERNMENT PRESS, 1904.

13. *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubâsh to Joseph Francois Dupleix*, translated from the Tamil, by order of the Government of Madras, by SIR E. FREDERICK PRICE, K.C.S.I., assisted by K. RANGACHARI, B.A. Vol. I. Records of native life in French India in the time of Dupleix are none too common, and for this reason especially do we hail the appearance of this important and excellently edited book. It is the diary of Avanda Ranga Pillai, an inhabitant of Madras, who at an early age was taken by his father to Pondicherry in 1716, where he had influential connections, and there he spent the remainder of his life under the rule of the French. His relative Guruva Pillai embraced Christianity in France, whither he had gone on a mission to the Duke of Orleans for help to redress the unjust charges against his family, was made a chevalier of St. Michael and appointed "Courtier," or chief native inhabitant of Pondicherry, and though he died when the diarist was young, he doubtless made his influence felt. The diarist himself was employed in 1726 by the Governor, M. Lenoir, and soon made head of the chief factory of Porto Novo, and in this capacity came under the notice of M. Dupleix, the new Governor, who, in 1747, raised him to the post of "Courtier," or "Chief Dubâsh," which he held, even after his patron's downfall, until 1756, when he was removed. He died a few years after, in 1761, just

four days before Pondicherry surrendered to the English and the vision of French supremacy in India was over. Much that is interesting is chronicled in this diary, as well as the most trivial incidents. The writer had considerable influence over Dupleix, and throughout the book we have many notices of him, of Mme. Dupleix, her daughters, and her unseen power also. The religious liberality of both the Governor and his wife is shown by the account of their visit to the school at Bommaiya Pâlaiyam in December, 1744. In this voluminous book we might find many things to note had we space. In 1739 there is the hearsay report of Tahmasp Quli Khan's victories. In 1745 we notice that the Christian service was first held at Pondicherry without distinction of caste—the priest of Karikal being the reformer—and that sumptuary laws were laid down for female converts which were not kindly received. In the last pages we find the account of a fracas in 1746, when a certain M. Coquet was ejected (with beating) from a Tamil house, and the wise Governor congratulated the ejectors, saying, "They have done well in making a thorough example of him." The diarist does not neglect to draw some sharp pen portraits of his *confrères* also, one of which we will quote, as it is instructive as to his estimate of a certain Bâlu Chetty and human nature. The passage runs: "His ideas are not of a high class; and not having moved in the society of gentlemen, he is not well mannered. The low nature of his character is to be imputed to the fact that he was not born rich."—A. F. S.

METHUEN AND CO.; 36, ESSEX STREET, LONDON, W.C.

14. *Historical and Modern Atlas of the British Empire*, specially prepared for students by C. GRANT ROBERTSON, M.A., Oxon, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S. This is a handy and well-got-up Atlas. It contains coloured maps showing comparative views of the countries of the British Empire,

British Isles and Europe, Asia, Africa, America (including Canada and the West Indies), and Oceania. There is also an admirable introduction on the relation geography has to history, a short gazetteer of the British Empire and possessions up to date. For example, under the Commonwealth of Australia there is the following description: "A Federation of the six Colonies—New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania—created by 63 and 64 Vict., c. 12, January 1, 1901, responsible federal self-government." Under British India there is the following description: "That part of the Indian Peninsula which is under British rule and influence, and includes districts under direct administration and the native States. It is divided into nine provinces and certain minor charges. 1600-1858 administered by the East India Company. In 1858 the Crown, by 21 and 22 Vict., c. 106, resumed its sovereign rights. The supreme executive and legislative power in India is vested in the Governor-General in Council, subject to the Secretary of State for India in Council, who is responsible to the Crown in Parliament. In 1876 the Crown of Great Britain took the title of Emperor of India." We give only another example: "Orkney and Shetland Islands, a group of islands to the north of Scotland; capital, Kirkwall; under Norwegian rule, 872-1231; nominally under the King of Norway, 1231-1471; annexed to Scotland since 1471."

To show that it is up to date, we give the following quotations: "Political Changes in 1905.—Dominion of Canada: The organization of parts of the North-Western Territories of Canada into two new provinces, as shown on Map No. 51, was inaugurated (September, 1905): Alberta (comprising the former Alberta and one-half of Athabasca), capital, Edmonton; Saskatchewan (Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and one-half of Athabasca), capital, Regina." "Empire of India.—The provinces of Bengal, Central Provinces, and Assam have been rearranged and reconstructed, as shown on Map Nos. 34-35. The boundary between Bengal and the

Central Provinces has been readjusted, whilst Assam and the eastern portion of Bengal now form the new province of 'Eastern Bengal and Assam.' " There are also interesting tables and lists giving the statistics of the British Empire and of possessions not now under the British Crown, as well as a bibliography of the British Empire, historical and modern. We strongly recommend this Atlas to our readers.

JOHN MURRAY ; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, W.,
1905.

15. *China and Religion*, by E. H. PARKER, Professor of Chinese at the Victoria University of Manchester. This book seems to have for its leading note the suggestion that all religions are purely human institutions, the main double object of which has always been and is to account for the unknown, and to regulate the order of human life. The author nowhere states this formidable view as his own opinion, but the general trend of his arguments, as marshalled in facts cold and merciless, indicates that this must really be his view. For the rest, the twelve chapters are simply each in turn a historical retrospect of the twelve religions which have from time to time presented themselves for consideration to the Chinese mind ; and, of course, it is for specialists in each department to decide for themselves how far this work has been faithfully and conscientiously performed by the author.

We are all more or less familiar with what has been said upon the subject of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism—the *san-keiao*, or "three religions," of ancient and modern Chinese parlance—but Nestorianism, Manicheism, Mussulmanism, Judaism, the Russian Church, and Shintōism, have not yet been described in popular language in such a way as to make their influence in China clear to the man in the street. The overpowering influence of Taoism upon many, if not upon all, of these later teachings is described in detail, and the whole of the Taoist classic is translated

word for word in an appendix, with check numbers added, enabling the reader to refer to all sentences of parallel meaning. A good deal has been written lately upon the subject of Japanese *shintō* and *bushidō*, which latter "religion" is really of so modern a conception that no Japanese dictionaries even mention it by name, nor is there any trace of its existence under that name in any Chinese work, ancient or modern. In spite of the somewhat strained arguments of Baron Suyematsu, it is, in fact, as Mr. Aston has clearly shown it to be, a purely modern catchword, exploited for all it is worth, and turned (like our words "efficiency," "free trade," "open door," "retaliation," etc.) to purely political uses.

A special point in Mr. Parker's work which may be viewed with some satisfaction is the copious index. This enables the reader to control facts and dates by back and counter references. It cannot be too often impressed upon authors that a good index is as essential to a "learned" book as a good railway guide is essential to commodious travelling. The dozen or so of photographs are in some cases quite interesting—for instance, the picture of the Nestorian stone and the portrait of the Chinese priest, Father Hoang. As to the letterpress, Mr. Murray may be fairly congratulated upon his care and prudence. Throughout the whole book there is but one serious misprint, and that is the word *legis* for *leges* upon p. 67. Moreover, the paper is light, and the book may be easily held up to a lamp in one hand.

While Mr. Parker's study may be fairly described as interesting to all, and even absorbing to specialists, it can hardly be recommended to the lazy man for light reading; indeed, all but specialists will, perhaps, have a difficulty in mastering more than one chapter at a sitting. On the other hand, the unmistakable facts are there, and the places whence the facts are derived are all given in a preliminary "Foreword," so that anyone can "verify his references" for himself, and the book is secure of a long life. The author

seems to make a special point of the necessity for "objectiveness" in taking a fair and uncoloured view of the religions of mankind. To many of us this demand may savour too much of agnosticism, but, after all, why should we not all frankly admit the possibility of our being in error? Every man is at liberty to believe in the absolute virtue and sanctity of his own wife's—in other words, to make a religion of it—but who so foolish as to deny the physical possibility of that wife—or, at all events, any other wife's—going wrong under sudden temptation or overpowering moral pressure? So with religion. There is no reason under the sun why the most devout orthodoxy should not be coupled with the intellectual admission that "everything may be a mistake." Unless, in fact, we make this admission, in what way do we differ from those who claim "infallibility" for Papal decisions? Do we not inferentially declare ourselves infallible when we presume to deride the possibility that we may be wrong? The fact is, it is only within the past generation that men as a body have begun to "think straight" at all. Mr. Parker would have been burnt at the stake 300 years ago. In past times such men as Locke, Bacon, Newton, or Johnson, may have exceeded in reasoning power anything that we can show at the present "degenerate" day; but even they were on occasions unable to shake off the "infallible" beliefs they had sucked in with their mothers' milk. This was especially so in Johnson's case. The position now suggested, if not established, by Mr. Parker, that a man may be an absolute and convinced believer without abandoning one single point of vantage secured by modern science, is thus a simple though a far-reaching one; nor is it in any way inconsistent with reason or common-sense: it is that the individual mind must be—as in fact the individual body is—perfectly detached. In this way we can all hope to see clearly, and yet we are all left quite free to believe what we choose, however inconsistent with "undetached" thought.—JULIANUS.

16. *From the Cape to the Zambesi*, by G. T. HUTCHINSON, with an Introduction by COLONEL F. RHODES, C.B., D.S.O., with many illustrations from photographs by Colonel Rhodes and the author. The author, with a facile pen, describes the various scenes recorded in the book. He begins with South Africa, and says: "It is only now that Englishmen are beginning to realize how vast are the resources of South Africa. Practically the whole of it, from Cape Town to the Zambesi, may be described as a white man's country—in the sense that there are no climatic conditions to prevent white men from making it their home." "It is rich in mineral wealth." "Diamonds have been found in Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony, a fact that goes to prove that the deposits are spread over an immense tract of country; at the present the chief difficulty is to regulate the supply so that it shall not be in excess of the demand. The gold-mines of the Rand have much of the character of a permanent industry." "South Africa has great agricultural possibilities. For more than a century it has had a purely agricultural population, which has steadily spread northwards, and has now reached the Zambesi."

The author then gives his impressions of the Cape Colony; Kimberley; Rhodesia, its gold-mines, its farming operations, its prospects in the future; the Victoria Falls; the veld; the Native Question; the land settlement in the Orange River Colony; Johannesburg; and a copious index. The numerous illustrations are beautifully executed, and the author concludes: "These chapters [of the volume] will have entirely failed in their purpose if they indicate that all seems to be plain sailing in South Africa; everywhere there are difficulties to be met, and in many cases help is required from home. But they will have failed even more completely if they give the impression that things are beyond repair. The tone of quiet confidence that is universal in South Africa is an eloquent testimony to the contrary; the country may be said to be 'marking

time,' but nearly ready for the word 'advance.'" We believe this opinion is honestly and sincerely given.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; 24, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.; 27, WEST 23RD STREET, NEW YORK, 1905.

17. *Muḥammad and the Rise of Islām*, by D. S. MARGOLIOUTH. There are some subjects which in their very nature are so contentious that it seems impossible to treat of them without more or less revealing one's own predilections. The most serious indictment of Ignatius Loyola that has ever yet come to our notice was written by one who was himself a Jesuit, and whose object in writing was to put forth an *apologia* for Jesuitism and its founder! Dr. Margoliouth, while desirous of steering clear of the "confessedly Christian bias" of Sir William Muir, does undesignedly, and by sheer suggestion, produce respecting Muḥammad a most unfavourable impression. We say this not with any desire to derogate from the literary importance of his book, but merely as showing the unavoidably contentious nature of the materials, even when they fall into hands the most unprejudiced. The case proves that the more ingenuous and unbiassed the compilation of the life of the Prophet and the development of Islām, the more fatal is the verdict.

So rapidly have events unfolded themselves in regard to the history of the original founding of Islām within the last fifty years that it is now at length becoming clear that, masterly as were the compilations of Muir and Sprenger—works which will be classics for all time—several publications have appeared which supply details respecting the subject that in the days of those two writers were as yet undiscovered. They, to be sure, obtained their materials "from original sources," but the subsequent publication of the works of other Arabian writers has led, not to the undermining of their works (which, indeed, were an impossibility, seeing that they obtained their information from sources

the most primitive and authentic), but to the filling in of certain *lacunæ* and the addition of certain modifying details which lead to greater completeness in the narrative. Hence the *raison d'être* of this new contribution.

But high as the reputation of Dr. Margoliouth stands as an Orientalist, we know not on what information he was led to affirm (see Preface, p. vii) that Muḥammad "solved the political problem of the construction of an empire out of the Arab tribes." He did, to be sure, upset the long-dominant oligarchy of Mekka and the Hijāz, and he brought into subjection many tribes; but he never so subdued the *whole* of them, nor did he weld them into an "Empire"; and that his demise was the signal for general defection is matter of common knowledge. The conquests of Islām after his decease were *abroad* (in Egypt, Palestine, Spain, etc.) rather than among the Arabian tribes. Indeed, as Burckhardt showed a century ago, some of the tribes continue to this day not only unsubjected and unsubdued, but unconciliated, and even openly and actively hostile to the Islāmic faith and practice. Some of the tribes of Arabia have from the very first remained coldly aloof and unaffected, while others of them have proved utterly unamenable and irreconcilable. If proof of this were needed, it might be seen in the agelong opposition of the tribes of the interior to the Hajj caravans. The heavy tribute they enforce, on pain of robbery and murder, is clear proof that *they* have no belief in the religion which renders passage through their howling wastes a matter of necessity. Their organized onslaughts on these followers of the Prophet are a standing evidence that in any "empire" *he* may have "constructed" *they* have no part or lot. From time immemorial the hostility of the tribes has been bought off at a very high price. They do not go on the pilgrimage themselves, and those who do so they relentlessly punish. And yet is this duty absolutely binding on every follower of his! The fact is, that with the removal of the personality of the Prophet all prospect of the subjection of the

numerous tribes of the Badawís vanished, and that for ever. The genuine son of the desert has ever proved himself as untamable as the wild ass of that same solitude—as well since the Prophet's time as prior to it—and whether his would-be subduer was Greek, Roman, or Arab. The hostility of the natives of Yaman, as lately as this very year, is proof that the hostility of the pre-Islámite Arabs to the Government of Mekka obtains to this very day. The further away the habitat of the tribes from the Sacred City, the more attenuated has ever been the influence on them of the system of which that is the headquarters, whether of politics or religion. Muḥammadism has never at any period been the religion of all Arabia, nor have the "tribes" ever been "constructed into an empire," whether in sub-Muḥammadan or pre-Muḥammadan times.

Nor are we at all able to agree with Dr. Margoliouth in his estimate (on the same page of the volume) of Sayyid Amír 'Ali. "Eloquent" it indeed is, as he says, and beautifully written; but it can only prove "charming" to one who is oblivious of the historical *facts*!

At the end of the work we have a useful "Index and Glossary," and a "Plan" of the city of Mekka, the details of the plan being carefully specified in the margin. This is followed by a map of Arabia as it was in the days of Muḥammad, showing the localities of the different Arab tribes in those days. In the Contents-Table at the beginning of the work are noted in chronological order the leading events of the Prophet's life, while the pictures (which are numerous) represent quite an interesting series of things, places, and individuals that come into the story. The work is decidedly enriched by the section devoted to the BIBLIOGRAPHY of the subject. Its object is to name all the works that are of any permanent value—Arabian, German, English, etc.—from the earliest writer, Ibnī Is-hāq, down to articles that have been published in periodicals of our own time. It is impossible to appraise the importance of this section too highly to present and

future students of Islâmic subjects. Good, however, as the Bibliography is, we are sorry to be compelled to add that it is nothing like complete. We look in vain for any mention of the compact and really erudite compilation of Dr. Prideaux, Dean of Norwich. Not a word is said about Bartema and Finati, or of Badia of Spain, better known as "Ali Bey," to say nothing of the profoundly learned Pococks, father and son. In comparison with the works of these men, the desultory and superficial book of the well-nigh illiterate Haji, A. H. Keane, is barely worth even a glint, and yet his book figures in this list! To be sure, he "went to Mekka," but so also did Badia, Bartema, Finati, and other men of our own time—English, Dutch, and others—whose books are not here mentioned, not to speak of the first Englishman that ever set foot in Mekka, poor Joseph Pitts. Last, but not least, *mirabile dictu!* we find not in this Bibliography the name of the distinguished French writer, Monsieur Caussin de Percival. We are sorry to have to point out so many defects and blemishes in what is, after all, a really good and useful compilation. The pictures are exceedingly well executed, and the composition and the printing are such as to make the perusal of the book a pleasure to the reader.—B.

18. *Tibet and Turkestan: A Journey through Old Lands and a Study of New Conditions*, by OSCAR TERRY CROSBY, F.R.G.S. So far as description of travel goes, this book may be described as a kind of "Sterne's Sentimental Journey," from the Caspian Sea, *viâ* Andijan, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khoten, Polu, and the Karakoram Pass, to Ladak-Leh and Kashmir. From that point of view the first few chapters will be disappointing to readers who want specific facts, and are indifferent to the subjective convolutions of the author's sympathetic heart. But Mr. Crosby has a reason for it, and as we read on we find that he not unreasonably concludes it to be unnecessary for him to repeat in detail what has already been stated *ad nauseam* in the books of other travellers—specialists, sportsmen,

scientists, politicians, etc.—who have been over nearly all of the same ground. Accordingly, the descriptive running history of the above-named places, including the incidents of travel, may be characterized as bald, and (to those who do not care to be bored with soliloquies and “asides”) in some places even tedious. True, a “Sketch of the History of Turkestan”—and a very passable one at that—is added (at the suggestion of the inevitable friends) in Chapter XXI., and there is an excellent “Sketch of Tibetan History” in Chapter XIV.* Both of these came as a welcome surprise to the writer of these modest words of criticism, who began to think he was going to be deprived of any “back-bone” in the book at all.

Where Mr. Crosby rises to the full height of his evident lofty attainments is in his able and suggestive chapter on the Tibetan people—of whom, curiously enough, he saw the least—and in his discussion of the “true inwardness” of polyandry and monasticism. For his facts he appears to draw largely upon M. Grenard’s “Le Tibet,” but his generalizations appear to be his own, and, if so, they disclose traces of true statesmanlike and philosophical genius. There is no occasion whatever to apologize, as he does, for his “excursive reflection upon the lordly States of our Western world”—except that he exhibits an odious specimen of “split infinitive” four lines from the bottom of p. 165. These reflections are, in fact, intensely interesting, and if (as it seems) he is an American, his frank criticisms of Yankee political corruption do him great credit. His fierce attack upon the villainous record of Great Britain in connection with the opium trade would infallibly indicate his American origin, even if other things—including, in fact, his own statement—did not point that way. He also appears to

* The facts, as stated in these two chapters, may be compared with the following papers in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*: “Nepaul and China,” January, 1899; “Kokand and China,” July, 1899; “Ephthalite Turks,” July, 1902; “How the Tibetans Grew,” October, 1904; “Kashgar,” October, 1905; “Yarkand,” January, 1906. Also “Khoten” and “Lob Nor,” both in the *Anglo-Russian Society’s Journal* for 1902.

have taken up a special anti-British brief in connection with the recent expedition to Tibet ; but here, though he is fair, and his arguments are excellently put, he forgets amid his cocksure calculations to specify the most likely Russian motive of all. If Russia had been able to create an "interest"—even a religious one—in Lhasa (as the German Emperor tried to do in the independence of the South African Republics), she would have infallibly solidified that interest, claimed right of way through the very Turkestan which, as Mr. Crosby shows, now blocks her, and ended by absorbing the whole of Turkestan, just as she absorbed Manchuria, and was about to absorb Corea—possibly with ultimate hopes of absorbing Japan too. Notwithstanding, however, Mr. Crosby's passionate pleadings for right against might, his sermon deserves the utmost attention ; and it is plain, from the general style of his remarks throughout the work, that he is in no way whatever given to sanctimonious claptrap, but is, indeed, a man of the world, and withal a just and a charitable one, full of sound good sense and true philosophy.

The charming photographs reproduced to illustrate this really first-rate book are scattered about in the most reckless manner, without any reference whatever to the opposite pages. The one on Abyssinians at least might have been placed in front of the page where the author's experiences in Abyssinia are spoken of as an illustration or comparison. Moreover, pretty and well chosen though the photographs are, they are nearly always "thick," and one can form little idea of personal features, least of all of the author's, or of Father Hendrick's, who appears to have been a most interesting man. The map also leaves something to desire, more especially as the author describes his route most carefully in the text. Surely, Karakoram at least ought to have been marked, not to mention the exact locality of the last Kirghiz encampment, the particular branch of the Upper Karakash, and the other villages spoken of on the road to Rudok from Polu, such as Sasar.

The chapter on Buddhism and "Pon-bo" deserves high praise, and is, perhaps, as good a popular account of Tibetan religion as has appeared anywhere. "Heavy work" is judiciously relegated to the Appendices, and, indeed, the author is to be congratulated on the skill with which he has avoided interlarding his pages with "stodge." The Index is only so-so, and might well have been fuller. "Song-Yang" and "Weng Ts'ang" are hideous distortions of "Sung Yün" and "Hüen Tsang," which in no possible Chinese dialect can bear the forms given by Mr. Crosby. At the bottom of p. 243 there is a sentence without a properly related nominative. The horrible Americanism *program* appears three-fourths of the way down p. 215; and a second excruciating "split infinitive" occurs near the top of p. 199. Notwithstanding, the misprints are very few, the style literary, and the general effect good.—E. H. PARKER.

BERNARD QUARITCH, 15, PICCADILLY, LONDON, W., 1905;
E. J. BRILL, IMPRIMERIE ORIENTALE, LEYDEN.

19. An Abridged Translation into English of *Ibn Isfandi-yār's History of Tabaristán*, by E. G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B. The present is an abridged translation of a work compiled as long ago as the year of Magna Charta (613 A.H.) by Muhammad bin al-Hasan bin Isfandiyār. It is based on the India Office MS., and compared with two MSS. in the British Museum. It is the second volume of the "Gibb" memorial series. The work, including the notes at the end, runs to 280 pages, and this is followed by an index of 74 pages, bringing the number of pages up to 356. This unusually large index is of great importance as supplying the clue to the almost endless names and details mentioned in this recondite and little-known history. The labour involved in the collating and transcribing translating and editing, of such a work must indeed have been immense, exceeding altogether the power of anyone but Dr. Browne himself to conceive of. His

functions as editor and proof-corrector of the work have been discharged in a manner beyond all praise. It is in no respect a slipshod performance; workmanship so sound in its principles and so highly finished is bound to hold its own for all time.

The volume is important for the light it throws on the intimate life of Persia and on the literary history of that land. It derives great interest from its relation to Mázyár, who stands for the national and religious ideal of ancient Persia. But this is only one aspect of the subject—an aspect which may not have interest for all student temperaments; another aspect of it is that of the historic wars—as well internecine as foreign—as also of military and political matters in general. Besides all this, the work abounds in information and anecdotes regarding the long series of Persian potentates. The whole subject-matter of the volume is fraught with Oriental shrewdness and redolent of the Oriental flavour. The publication of such works ought to be hailed as opening up to the Western mind the intellectual wealth of the wise men of the East hitherto hidden in musty and neglected MSS., and thus forming a groundwork on which future histories of that mysterious land might be built up.—B.

20. *Das religiöse Leben des Hindus*, von Ad. Stieglmann, Stuttgart, 1905 ("Christenthum und Zeitgeist," Hefte zu Glauben und Wissen, Heft VI.). We are glad to see that Missionar Adolph Stieglmann, who is now employed in South Africa, has not forgotten India, in which he travelled and laboured so long. His last work deals with the religious life of the Hindus. Many manuals have appeared on this subject, notably the "Indische Religionsgeschichte" of the late Professor Hardy, in which a vast amount of learning, illuminated by critical acumen, is packed into a very small compass. Mr. Stieglmann's work is more popular than Professor Hardy's, and is characterized by a freshness of description and a warmth of sympathy, which are the result of his minute observation of Indian

customs and rites, and his familiar intercourse with the people of our great dependency. At the same time we are bound to admit that he never fails to go back to origins, and traces with patient industry the development of Indian religion from its source in the Vedic hymns to the form it assumed at the close of last century. The reformation of Buddha and the rise of the modern Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects are described at considerable length, though the religion founded by Mahāvīra seems to have escaped notice. Philosophy, which in India is so intimately connected with religion, is not neglected.

The most noteworthy sections of this pamphlet seem to us to be those dealing with family life in modern India and modern Indian theism. In the former we cannot help feeling that we are reading the account of a man who has "seen with his own eyes," and knows how to distinguish the permanent from the transitory in Hinduism. Mr. Stiegelmann seems to have been naturally attracted by the noble figure of the great Bengali reformer Rammohun Roy, whose services to his countrymen are, perhaps, in these latter days a little too much overlooked. It is, perhaps, difficult for any European duly to appreciate the heroic courage which Rammohun Roy showed in publishing, about the year 1813, a pamphlet directed against the practice of burning Hindu widows alive with the dead bodies of their husbands. He showed equal courage as an advocate of theism against idolatry. He was the true founder of the movement, subsequently developed, on various lines, by Debendra Nath Tagore, Keśab Chandra Sen, Dayānanda Sarasvatī, and others.

There can be no doubt that the religion of Keśab Chandra Sen and his successor, Pratāp Chandra Mazumdar, has been profoundly influenced by Christianity. But there is good reason to think that Hindus who have not joined any theistic Church are not altogether impervious to Christian ideas. The following words of our author seem to describe admirably the present attitude of the

Indian mind—in Bengal, at any rate—on this subject : “ Many modern Hindus acquainted with the Bible read Hinduism in a Christian light, and instead of saying of our religion, as they would have done twenty years ago, ‘ It is not true,’ say, ‘ It is not new.’ ” It is certainly a sign of the times that a distinguished Bengali, as we have lately seen to be the case, can, apparently without abandoning Hinduism, argue in favour of the existence of God, a future life, and the efficacy of prayer. It would appear to be our author’s view that Christianity is exerting on modern Hinduism an influence similar to that which it exerted in the early ages of the Church on the religions of Mithra and Isis. In support of this we quote his concluding words :

“ As Christianity triumphed over the religions of Greece and Rome, not by destroying them, but by absorbing into itself what was good and true in Greek philosophy and Roman law, so will it happen with India ; her longings, her mysticism, and her speculation will be sanctified by Christ, and find in Him their fulfilment and elevation, and so the beautiful words of the Indian sage will come true :

“ ‘ Lead me from unreality to reality,
From darkness to light,
From death to immortality.’ ”

GOLD AND SILVER WARES OF ASSAM.*

Speaking generally, the gold and silver wares of the province of Assam consist of articles of personal adornment, though here and there other objects are manufactured. Manipur produces a few gold and silver cups, hookahs, etc., these being principally used by the royal family of the State ; Sylhet turns out occasional silver vases for “ atar,” silver sprinklers for rose-water, silver buttons, jugs, and so on ; but few of these things show any artistic design. On the other hand, Assam jewellery

* “ The Gold and Silver Wares of Assam.” A monograph. By F. C. Henniker, I.C.S. One shilling. 1905.

is far from lacking in merit, though displaying a crudeness often traceable in Eastern productions of that class, while the precious stones used are neither very precious nor very well cut. But the work is eminently quaint and characteristic. The gold, too, is of a high degree of purity, for the Assamese goldsmiths' customers would not be satisfied with 14-carat or even 18-carat gold.

The number of people employed in the manufacture or sale of gold and silver ornaments, together with their dependents, was nearly 15,000 in 1901, or roughly $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the population. Forhat, in the Sibsazar district, is the chief place for the manufacture of purely Assamese jewellery, and the speciality of the Jorhat workmen is their enamelling. The enamel is usually of three kinds—a dark blue, dark green, and white, but red and yellow are also sometimes used. It comes from Calcutta in blocks, exactly like glass slag in appearance. The finished ornament usually shows narrow threads of gold arranged in fanciful patterns in the body of the enamel. These are formed of wire, and are laid on before the enamel.

Among the chief articles in which enamel forms the main decorative feature are :

1. *Gejera*.—A boat-shaped shell of gold, suspended from a necklace of coral and gold beads. One side is enamelled, while the back is engraved gold, and the inside is filled with lac. Price, Rs. 80 to Rs. 100.

2. *Thuria*.—A pair of ear ornaments for women in the shape of small cylinders, one extremity of each expanding into a kind of flower, often ornamented with stones, and the sides enamelled. Price up to Rs. 140.

3. *Keru*.—Very similar to the above, but smaller. Price about Rs. 40.

4. *Biri*.—A cask-shaped locket, attached usually to a necklace. One side is enamelled, the other either plain or set with false rubies. Those worn by men cost Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 ; those worn by women are larger, and cost from Rs. 80 to Rs. 100.

5. *Dugdugi*.—A heart-shaped pendant for a necklace, very graceful in form, and usually tastefully decorated with an elaborate gold-wire pattern set in the enamel, the other side being usually set with stones.

Besides the above enamelled ornaments, a detailed list of necklaces of many patterns is given by Mr. Henniker, some with pendants set with rubies and emeralds, strings of small gold and coral beads with pendants, and a notably artistic trinket—a gold chain, on which are slung filagree drum-shaped caskets. The work is described as very handsome. It must be borne in mind, though, nowhere, as a rule, does the goldsmith ordinarily keep a stock of wares ready for sale ; he only makes articles to order, and the customer usually supplies the materials required.

It is said that the trade is declining, fewer articles of jewellery being ordered nowadays. Mr. Henniker remarks with truth that it would be a great pity if this characteristic and interesting industry should die out.

Sylhet has actually the largest number of persons dependent on the trade, and considerable skill is shown in embossing and chasing gold and silver vases, cups, and trays. Gold riband is sometimes plaited with ivory, making a pretty and artistic fan. The Khasias produce articles of a pattern peculiar to themselves, and quite different from anything else in the province. The local chiefs and women wear on State occasions gorgeous necklaces of large gold and coral beads, and at the annual dance the performers wear elaborate silver coronets, with a peak at the back, and a tassel at the end of a long rope hanging behind, all of silver.

On the whole, Assam jewellery is described as so different from anything else that it is difficult to obtain a good idea of it without a picture or seeing the original. A small exhibition was held in Shillong in June, 1904, and the collection was extremely attractive, and many of the articles for sale found ready purchasers. We entertain a hope that Mr. Henniker's descriptions will arouse a general

interest in the products of this attractive industry.—
C. E. D. B.

Another work of a similar character deals with the gold and silver ware of the United Provinces.* It appears that, though some of the gold is collected by washing the auriferous sands of small rivers in Bijnor, the greater part is obtained by importation. No silver at all is produced in the provinces. The amount of these imports and exports is very uncertain, for precise statistics appear to be wanting ; but such figures as are forthcoming from the Department of Land Records and Agriculture indicate that in the last three years about 19,000,000 ounces of silver were absorbed in the provinces. This came in the shape of bars, ingots, and coin not in currency, all being handed over to the *sunars*, or working jewellers, to convert into ornaments. From this it is possible to form a rough notion of the enormous amount of bullion which from time immemorial has been absorbed in these provinces alone.

Among the more interesting objects of manufacture are vessels of mixed metal (zinc and copper), plated or damascened with patterns of silver ; “ diamond-cut ” work, where facets are cut on the metal like those on a diamond ; enamels and toys, such as the silver representations of rats, peacocks, wild boars, antelopes, and the flexible fish, which form such characteristic items when worn on chatelaines. Silver articles such as tea-sets, toilet-sets, vases, bowls, salt-cellars, etc., are turned out in great numbers for sale to Europeans, Lucknow being the chief place of manufacture for these. There are also large quantities of ornaments of various patterns and characters worn by the natives round the neck, arms, ankles, and on the fingers, ears, nose, etc. Many of these are elegant and artistic, as may be seen from the photographs to Mr. Charles’s work.

With regard to the moot question of designs, the author

* “ A Monograph on Gold and Silver Ware produced in the United Provinces,” by A. P. Charles, Esq., B.A., I.C.S. Allahabad, 1905.

acknowledges that originality is not in demand, and almost absent. He agrees with Mr. Baden Powell, author of "Punjab Manufactures," and other authorities, that something might be done by art education towards improving the crudeness and more obvious blemishes of the work. Without the establishment of schools of design throughout the country art can scarcely be expected to make material progress.—C. E. D. B.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Government of Bombay, General Department—Archæology: Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of Western India for the Year ending June 30, 1905. This interesting report is divided into two parts. The first contains an account of work at headquarters, publications, library, annual expenditure, treasure-trove, museums at various places, and programme for 1905-1906. The second part relates to Rāpputānā, Central Provinces, and Berār, Bombay Presidency, and details of the Assistant Archæological Surveyor's tour in Rajputānā.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the Year ending April, 1905. (Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1905.) The report is divided into two parts, the first consisting of departmental notes and the second general remarks. The survey has been partly in Assam and the remainder in Bengal.

Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Panjab and United Provinces Circle, for the Year ending March 31, 1905. (Economical Press, Lahore.) The report is divided into two parts, Part I. containing a report of the Annual Progress; Statement of Expenditure; List of Inscriptions, Photographs, and Drawings, copied, taken, or made. Part II.: Preservation of Ancient Monuments; Excavations at Kasia; Epi-

graphy ; Acquisitions for the Lahore and Lucknow Museums ; and List of Publications issued.

Notes on India for Missionary Students. (Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, London, E.C., 1905.) A very handy and useful work for students preparing for Christian work in India. It contains, in a brief form, statements as to the country, its races, languages, religions, population, missions of various kinds, also good maps, and an excellent index.

Report on Archæological Work in Burma for the Year 1904-1905. (Rangoon : Government Printing Office.) The report is divided into two parts, with subsections in each. Part I. gives details of programme carried out and of that proposed next year. Part II. : A report of the works of restoration and preservation of important buildings, and sites of excavations and fresh discoveries. Under Section 2 of this part there are the plans of Halingyi, Kalagôn, Payagôn, or ruins of a pagoda, and Lamayangyi. There are also numerous appendices, containing, amongst others, lists of buildings of archæological, historical, or architectural interest to be maintained, either by the Public Works Department or the Government.

Śri Brahma Dhârá ("Shower from the Highest") *through the Favour of the Mahatma Śri Agamya Guru Paramahansa.* (Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, 1905.) The writer of the preface of this work—nearly 100 pages—considers that it "is unique in its character, for the reason that no Hindu of his class and high rank has ever before sought to teach the Western world." In it "lies the thread for the enlightened to take up if they wish to follow in his path" (p.v.).

Indian Love, by LAURENCE HOPE, author of "The Garden of Kama," "Stars of the Desert." (London : William Heinemann ; New York, John Lane, 1905.)

Japan Year-Book. First year edition. The "Japan Year-Book" Office, Tsukiji, Tokyo, Japan, 1905. The compilers of this book, under various difficulties, have col-

lected together, for the first time, a year-book full of information to travellers—those in commerce and those interested in diplomatic relations. The compilers are all natives, and have done their work well. The volume contains geographical information, population, Imperial Court, various departments of local administration, finances, banks, forestry and fishery, manufacturing industry, foreign trade, exports and imports, railways, education, religions, the army and navy, a very interesting biographical sketch of the contemporary worthies of Japan, and the press. There is also useful information about Formosa and Corea, and a full index to the whole volume, and a table of weights, measures, and monies (Japan and Great Britain). The second year's edition is expected to be published in May next.

Climate, October, 1905. A Quarterly Journal of Health and Travel, edited by CHARLES P. HORFORD, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, London, E.) This is the final issue of *Climate* in its present form. It is now incorporated with the *Journal of Tropical Medicine*. That Journal, in order to meet the special requirements of the readers of *Climate*, will give four issues a year specially devoted to the aims and objects of *Climate*. The publishers are Messrs. John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, Ltd., 83-91, Great Titchfield Street, London, W.

Grammaire Minima de l'Hébreu et de l'Araméen Bibliques, par EDOUARD MONTET, Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Genève. Deuxième édition. (Librairie Orientale et Américaine, E. Guilmoto, Éditeur, 6, Rue de Mézières, Paris, 1905.) This manual will be very helpful to those students who have attended the course of lectures of the learned professor. In it is given the general principles of Hebrew and Aramean Biblical languages from a Semitic point of view, of which a correct idea cannot be formed unless looked at as a Semite, who speaks them. The author, in order to make the manual as simple and as brief as possible, has introduced some modifications

in vocalization and with regard to syntax. He has kept to Biblical examples, but sometimes has departed from this rule, when a clear explanation was needed for the conjugation of a difficult Aramean verb.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain*, *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—

Sphinx. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala : Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström ; London : Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden) ;—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1^{er} et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris : Rue Bonaparte 19) ;—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.) ;—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.) ;—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C. ; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh ; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin) ;—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.) ;—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. v., Nos. 1-2 (Hanoi : F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1905) ;—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras) ;—*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road) ;—*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), August, September, and October, 1905 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) ;—*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras) ;—*The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras) ;—*Journal of the Moslem Institute*, a quarterly chiefly devoted to subjects of Oriental interest (Calcutta, No. 1) ;—*Business Magazine* (Toronto) ;—*Documents Inédits*, pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient, publiés par le Père Antoine Rabbath, de la Compagnie de Jésus, vol. i. (Luzac and Co.,

46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.) ;—*Malabar Daily News*, a morning and evening newspaper (Kottayam : P. Jacob Pothan, *Malabar Daily News* Publishing House).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *The Great Plateau* : being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London : Edward Arnold, 41 and 43, Maddox Street, Bond Street, 1905) ;—*A Tropical Dependency* : an outline of the ancient history of the Western Soudan, with an account of the modern settlement of Northern Nigeria, by Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard), (London : James Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 21, Berners Street, 1905) ;—*The Maintenance of Health in the Tropics*, by W. J. Simpson, M.D., F.R.C.P. (John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson, Ltd., Oxford House, 83-91, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W.) ;—Part I. of the *Tadhkiratu 'L-Awliya* ("Memoirs of the Saints"), edited by Reynold A. Nicholson, M.A. (Luzac and Co., 1905) ;—*Colonial Administration*, by Paul S. Reinsch (London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1905) ;—*Judah Halleri's Kitab Al Khazari*, translated from the Arabic, with an introduction, by Hartwig Hirschfeld, PH.D. (London : George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1905) ;—*Shinto* ("The Way of the Gods"), by W. G. Aston, C.M.G., D.LIT. (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 1905) ;—*Everyday Life among the Stead-Hunters, and other Experiences from East to West*, by Dorothy Caton (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, 1905) ;—*British East Africa : Past, Present, and Future*, by Lord Hindlip, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. (London : T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, 1905) ;—*Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle* : a record of thirteen years, by Captain A. I. R. Glasfurd (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and New York) ;—*Swami Vivekananda* : a collection of his speeches and writings (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras) ;—*Bushido* :

the Soul of Japan, by Inazo Nitobe, A.M., PH.D. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 24, Bedford Street, London, 1905, and New York) ;—*The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate—Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia—from the Moslem Conquest to the time of Timur*, by G. Le Strange (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1905) ; *The Bábar-Náma*: being the autobiography of the Emperor Bábar, the founder of the Moghul Dynasty in India, written in Chaghatáy Turkish, now reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript belonging to the late Sir Sálár Jang, of Haydarábád, and edited with a preface and indexes, by Annette S. Beveridge ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" series, vol. ii.) (London: Bernard Quaritch, 15, Piccadilly; Leyden: E. J. Brill, Imprimerie Orientale, 1905).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales arrived at Bombay on November 9, where Lord Curzon, the retiring Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay, met them. A most loyal and enthusiastic welcome was given to them by all classes. Their Royal Highnesses were fully occupied—receptions held for native princes, return visits paid, addresses in many languages received. The Princess was most enthusiastically welcomed on the part of the Indian ladies. The programme pre-arranged for them was as follows: Indore, November 15; Udaipur, 18; Jaipur, 21; Bikanir, 24; Lahore, 28; Peshawar, December 2; Manœuvres, near Rawal Pindi, 5; Jammu, 9; Amritsar, 11; Delhi, 12; Agra, 16; Gwalior, 20; Lucknow, 26; Calcutta, 20; Darjeeling, January 7; Calcutta, 9; on board ship, 10; Rangoon, 16; on river, 19; Rangoon, 21; on board ship, 22; Madras, 24; Maisur, 29; Bangalore, February 5; Haidarabad, 8; in train, 16; Ellora, 17; Benares, 19; Nepal; Aligarh; Simla, March 7; in train, 10; Quetta, 12; Karachi, 17; departure from Karachi, 19.

On November 14 they arrived at Indore, where they were received by the Maharaja Holkar, the Begam of Bhopal, and a gathering of the principal ruling chiefs of Central India.

The next halting-place was Jaipur, where a darbar was held in the Maharaja's palace. On the 18th Udaipur in Rajputana was reached. Bikanir and Lucknow were consecutively visited, and Peshawar on Saturday, December 2. Here a reception of the Border Chiefs took place.

His Highness the Aga Khan of Bombay proceeded on a tour, which comprises Zanzibar and Mombasa. Thence along the line to the Lake, and may return to India by Hartum and Cairo.

The Hon. Sir Arthur Lawley, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal, has been appointed Governor of Madras, in succession to Lord Ampthill, G.C.S.I.

Sir Henry Rawlinson will consult with Lord Kitchener in regard to the working of the Indian Staff College.

Major-General Scott has been appointed the new supply member. The Hon. Sir C. L. Tupper, B.A., etc., has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir David William Keith Barr, K.C.S., has been appointed a member of the Council of India in the place of Sir C. H. T. Crosthwaite, K.C.S.I., whose term of office has expired.

The following gentlemen have been nominated as additional members: Mr. Stanley Ismay, C.S.I., I.C.S.; Mr. William Thomas Hall, B.A., LL.B., C.S.I., I.C.S.; Mr. Alexander Cochrane Logan, I.C.B., and the Nawab Bahadur Khwajah Salimullah of Dacca.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Soldiers belonging to the Waziristan Militia fell into an ambush in the TOCHI VALLEY. Two men were killed and two wounded. Ilindin, the notorious outlaw, headed the raiders.

The two brothers at DIR, who have so long been at enmity, have decided to live at peace with each other.

Captain J. W. E. Donaldson, R.A., was attacked by a *ghazi* at the frontier post of BANNU, and shot dead. The assailant was captured.

The British trade agent at the new mart at Gartok, in TIBET, reports that the total trade between India and Western Tibet during the past summer amounted to 12 lacs of rupees.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—Almost the whole town of Baramula in KASHMIR has been burnt down. The damage being estimated at 8 lacs.

MAISUR.—The Representative Assembly met in October last. The President stated in his speech that the income amounted to Rs. 216,10,486, and the expenditure to Rs. 216,84,799. The Budget estimates for the current

official year are for receipts Rs. 227,43,000, and the expenditure Rs. 213,40,000.

Sir Uyyen Wang Chuk, the Tongsa Penlop of BHUTAN, has been invited by the Government to be present in Calcutta during the Royal visit.

BURMA.—The following gentlemen have been appointed to be members of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor : Mr. F. G. Gates, I.C.S., Chief Secretary of the Government ; Mr. H. W. V. Colebrook, M.Inst.C.E., Secretary to Government, and Chief Engineer Public Works Department ; Mr. R. S. Giles, Barrister-at-Law, Government Advocate ; Mr. J. P. Hoy ; and Maung Ba Tu.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.—According to the official report for the year 1904, progress and prosperity continue.

Sir J. Anderson, the Governor of the Straits Settlements, is about to take over the administration of LABUAN.

CEYLON.—The new mineral, thorianite, lately discovered by the Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon, has created much excitement and speculation in the colony.

The new Session of the Legislative Council was opened on November 14.

The financial position of the Colony is good. The revenue of 1906 is estimated at Rs. 31,059,300, and the ordinary expenditure at Rs. 28,739,000. The sum available for Extraordinary Public Works is estimated at Rs. 7,000,000. Of this, it is proposed to appropriate Rs. 2,500,000 for new Public Works and Irrigation Works, and Rs. 1,478,000 for special Railway Services, besides reserving Rs. 1,500,000 for the Negombo Railway. The salaries of practically all classes of public servants are proposed to be increased by nearly Rs. 500,000 per annum.

AFGHANISTAN.—There was a marked increase of trade between this county and India during 1905.

The Afghans report that the Russians have bridged the Oxus between Karki and Khwājah Sālār.

TURKEY IN ASIA : YEMEN.—Large reinforcements were sent viâ Hodeida, under General Amin Pasha, for the Azir

district. Marshal Faizi Pasha reported that the towns of Aoran, Tajila, and Kankaban have surrendered. The situation has so much improved that 14,000 troops have been sent back to Syria, and the Sultan has decorated the Commander-in-Chief for his great services in suppressing the revolt.

The Haifa branch of the Turkish Hedjaz Railway was opened in October last. The entire line from Damascus to the Hedjaz is expected to be completed in about three years hence.

RUSSIA IN ASIA: TRANSBAKALIA.—Many cases of bubonic plague have occurred near the Datai-Nor Lake.

JAPAN.—As the result of the Treaty of Peace becoming known, upwards of forty memorials were received condemning the same, and urging a refusal to ratify it were sent to the Throne. The treaty was ratified by the Emperor of Russia and the Mikado on October 14 by the appending of their signatures to duplicate copies, thus officially terminating the war. The country has, by the skill of its commanders and devotion of the army, obtained generally its object—viz., the evacuation of Manchuria and a predominant influence in Korea. According to an agreement recently drawn up with Korea, the control of the country passes to the hands of Japan, the Japanese agreeing to maintain the sovereign rights and honour of the Korean Emperor and family.

Notwithstanding the war, the total trade for 1904 amounted to £69,062,000, against £60,663,000 in 1903. This result has been attributed mainly to an extraordinary rice harvest. A new agreement has been signed with Great Britain, renewing the earlier one of January, 1902 (see the text of this agreement elsewhere in our pages). Its objects are: The consolidation of general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and India, the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the open door, the defence of the interests of both countries as distinct from those of other nations, and the paramouncy of Japan in Korea.

The Legation of Great Britain in Tokyo has been raised to that of an Embassy, and Sir Claude Macdonald, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Ambassador.

According to the official report, the total losses sustained during the war was 218,429 killed and wounded, and 221,136 sick.

CHINA.—The Hongkong Government has lent the Government a million sterling, to enable it to acquire the American rights in the Canton-Hankow Railway.

The Viceroy of Szechuan is about to open to foreign trade the Yangtse River port of Wanh sien, the future terminus of the Hupeh-Szechuan Railway.

Five American missionaries have been murdered at Lien-chau.

Wing Ta Sieh has been appointed Chinese Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.

EGYPT AND THE SUDAN : THE BUDGET.—The revenue for 1906 is estimated at £14,500,000, and the ordinary expenditure at £12,317,000, and £683,000 set down for special expenses, leaving a surplus of £500,000. A total reduction of taxation, estimated at £332,000, is made up as follows : A 4 per cent. reduction of the duties on coal, sheep, etc., £118,000 ; abolition of the salt monopoly, £175,000 ; sea fishing and ferry dues, £7,000 ; Red Sea lighthouse dues, £30,000.

In recognition of his valuable services to the State, the Government has presented the sum of £15,000 to Sir W. F. Garstin, its adviser for Public Works.

Lord Edward Cecil has been appointed Joint Under-Secretary of State for Finance, Serhant Pasha succeeding Lord Cecil as Under-Secretary for War.

Through the taking fire and sinking of the British steamer *Chatham*, laden with petroleum, in the Canal near Port Said, much inconvenience and delay to traffic occurred. The ship had to be blown up, and for many days traffic was entirely suspended.

Cattle plague has broken out in the Sudan and

several veterinary inspectors have been sent there with serum.

AFRICA: SOMALILAND PROTECTORATE.—The latest official report, that for 1904-1905, shows that there was a decrease of £4,653 in the revenue, as compared with that of 1903-1904. The commerce of Zeyla is falling off in consequence of the railway to Jibuti, and is expected to diminish still further, until trade with Harrar practically ceases.

The Somali Mulla has made friendly overtures for the opening of trade with Berbera.

AFRICA: EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA PROTECTORATE.—The Nandi tribe have again been giving trouble by making raids and killing people on the railway. Their country is difficult for operations, but a strong expedition was sent, and fighting took place, with the result that the tribe lost about 600 in killed, besides 10,000 cattle, and 18,000 sheep. Our loss was trifling, no officer was killed, but our levies had forty killed and forty-eight wounded. The trouble is now over. According to the annual report of Lieutenant-Colonel Hayes Sadler for the year ended March 31 last, the Protectorate has made rapid progress. The expenditure has fallen from £186,800 in the previous year to £173,038, while the revenue has fallen from £51,474 to £59,707.

AFRICA: RHODESIA AND ZAMBESI.—Southern Rhodesia is making steady progress. The financial position of the company is satisfactory. The working capital consists of about £930,000. The estimated revenue for the current year ending next March is £518,550, and the expenditure £531,349. About £90,000 will have to be provided for the administration north of the Zambesi. It is proposed to administer both Northern and Southern Rhodesia from one centre, as being more economical, especially as the rail-head has now been carried 121 miles beyond Kaloma, and the earthworks to 205 miles.

TRANSVAAL.—In September last Lord Selborne, the High Commissioner, commenced a series of tours in the Colony,

with the object of bringing the Boer population more into touch with the Government. He was heartily received in most places. At Pretoria, in the course of a speech, his Lordship advised the union of all the South African railways, both main and branch, and including that to Lorenzo Marques. The Cape and Natal Governments are favourably inclined, and the Inter-Colonial Council is endeavouring to arrange the undertaking.

The output of gold for the year 1904-1905 was valued at £18,420,644, and diamonds at £1,118,727. The total exports amounted to £20,670,720.

The distribution of the payment of £3,000,000 in accordance with the Vereeniging Treaty, has taken place.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—The revenue for 1904 amounted to £786,049, and the expenditure to £780,535.

The value of the exports during the year ended June 30 last amounted to £2,263,925. The imports of same period to £3,251,098.

CAPE COLONY.—The De Aar-Prieska Railway was opened last September by Mr. Smartt.

Irrigation works on the Gamtoos River were destroyed by floods.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA : NIGERIA.—The negotiations between France and Great Britain with regard to Anglo-French boundaries in NORTHERN NIGERIA will shortly be resumed, including that of Zinder.

Some fighting has taken place on the Ethiopie River with the Kwale tribe. The natives lost 103 killed ; on our side three white men were wounded, and a few levies killed. A second expedition under Colonel Montanaro proceeded up the same river and met with complete success ; the troops thereupon returned to Lagos.

VICTORIA.—Mr. Bent, the State Treasurer, delivered his budget statement in October last. The revenue for the past year amounted to £7,509,000, and the expenditure to £6,982,000, leaving a surplus of £527,000. He estimated

the revenue for the coming year at £7,145,000, and the expenditure at £7,133,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—It is reported that a sum of £2,000 for assisting immigration has been voted by Parliament by a large majority, against strenuous opposition on the part of the Labour party. The Agent-General is negotiating with the steamship companies for co-operation in stimulating the flow of immigration to the State.

The rains which fell during last September have insured a good spring and a good butter harvest.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Taxation Bill has been laid aside, owing to the disagreement between the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly as regards the proposed progressive land-tax.

The next Federal elections will be fought on the Tariff issue.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA. — The Parliamentary elections which took place last October resulted in the return of thirty-four Ministerialists, thirteen Labour, and one Independent Labour member.

The gold exported during the first ten months of 1905 amounted to 1,629,976 ounces, and the mining dividends for that period to £1,887,533. The total dividends amounted to £13,459,736.

Mr. Quinlan has been elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

CANADA.—The revenue for the fiscal year ended June 30 last amounted to \$71,180,036, and the expenditure to \$63,309,305, leaving a surplus of \$7,871,321. The expenditure on capital account for the year was \$15,414,400, an increase of \$4,500,000.

Mr. A. B. Aylesworth, K.C., has been sworn in as Dominion Postmaster-General.

BRITISH GUIANA.—A serious riot, owing to a strike of wharfingers, has occurred in Georgetown. The mob, on attacking the Governor's house, was fired upon, and several killed and wounded.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following :—Major-General Dixon Henry Hoste (Crimea, Fenian raid, 1866) ;—Arthur Randall Earle Lidbetter, B.A., Government Chaplain at Thayetmyo, Burma ;—Colonel Frank Rhodes, C.B., D.S.O., at Cape Town (Sudan campaign 1887, Nile expedition, Suakin 1888, Military Secretary to Governor of Bombay, Mission to Uganda, Jameson raid, Matabele insurrection, Khartum expedition (*Times* correspondent) 1898, besieged in Ladysmith ;—Major-General F. E. Edward Wilson, C.B., late York and Lancaster Regiment (Egyptian campaign 1882) ;—Commissary-General Arthur William Downes, C.B. (Crimea, China expeditionary force 1857-59) ;—The Very Rev. DeBertt Hovell, Dean of Wacapu, N.Z. ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Atholl Nesbitt, C.B. (Kafir 1878-79, Basuto rebellion 1880-82, last South African war) ;—His Highness the Thakor Sahib of Palitana, Sir Mansinghji K.C.S.I. ;—Captain Joseph Wiggins, the opener of the present open highway within the Arctic Circle, and re-establisher of a sea route for Siberian produce to Europe ;—Captain J. F. R. Aylen, R.N. (Arctic relief expedition 1849-50, China war 1860, Abyssinia 1868) ;—Dowager Lady Āsmān Jāh, sister of His Highness the Nizam of Haidarabad ;—Captain Sir Donald Stewart, K.C.M.G., Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief British East Africa Protectorate (Boer war 1881, Sudan campaign 1885, Ashanti war 1895-96) ;—Sir Frederick Cleeve, K.C.B., R.N. (Black Sea 1854-56) ;—Major-General Robert Thomas Leigh, late Indian Staff Corps (Sutlej campaign 1845, Mutiny suppression 1857-58) ;—Lieutenant-General T. Lamb, formerly Bengal Native Infantry ;—Lieutenant-Colonel E. M. Forbes (Bhutan expedition 1864-65, Afghan war 1879) ;—Sir George Berkeley, formerly Colonial Secretary and Controller of Customs in Honduras, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of St. Vincent, Acting Administrator of Lagos, and Governor of West African Settlements consecutively ;—Colonel Arthur James Poole, C.B. (China war 1860,

Afghanistan 1878-80, Burmese expedition 1886);—Colonel W. Livesay, of the old 43rd Light Infantry (Mutiny and New Zealand campaigns);—Sir William Willis, late Accountant-General of the Navy during Crimean campaign (Mutiny, China, Cape, Abyssinian, and New Zealand wars);—Mr. W. D. Cowley, Deputy Accountant-General;—Colonel Sir Charles Henry Leslie, C.B., formerly of the Indian Staff Corps, and Colonel-Commandant 2nd battalion 4th Ghurkas (Chin-Lushai, Manipur, Chitral relief, and Tirah expeditions);—Mr. Arthur Douglass, Commissioner Public Works in the Cape Parliament (Kafir war 1878, Morosi campaign 1879, and Boer war);—Major J. M. M. Hewett, late 62nd Regiment (Sutlej campaign 1845-46);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. J. Shuldham, retired, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers (Burmese campaign 1852-53, Crimea);—Major-General James Sebastian Rawlins, formerly 1st Ghurka Light Infantry (Sikh campaign 1845-46, Burmese war 1862-53, Mutiny, Bhutan, and Hazara expeditions 1866-68);—Major John Barnett Walker, formerly 5th Fusiliers (Mutiny);—Captain Osmond Beckitt Simpson, Royal West Kent Regiment (Tochi field force 1897-98, Malakand and Buner field forces, and Tirah expedition);—Major-General Richard Wellesley Chambers (Sutlej campaign 1845-46);—Sir Bryan-O'Loghlen, formerly Attorney-General and Premier of Victoria;—Mr. Christopher Robinson, K.C., one of the leaders of the Canadian Bar;—Dr. William Carr Sprague, formerly Indian Medical Service (Bombay);—Sir Michael R. de Quadros, Knight Commander of the Orders of Christ and Immaculate Conception, etc., for some time Portuguese Consul at Bombay;—Sir Augustus Adderley, K.C.M.G., formerly member of the House of Assembly (Bahamas);—General Philip Gosset Pipon, C.B., Colonel-Commandant Royal Artillery (Eastern campaign 1854-55);—Tahillasm Kemchand, C.I.E., a well-known lawyer and President of the Karachi Municipality;—Major-General A. Tulloch, late Bengal Staff Corps (posted to the 58th Bengal N.I. in 1848, Mutiny and Naga campaigns);

—Colonel E. T. Pottinger, C.M.G., Bombay Artillery (North-West Frontier campaign 1859-60, South African war);—Colonel T. Weldon, C.I.E., posted 42nd Madras N.I. 1854 (Mutiny campaign);—Colonel W. Campbell MacDougall, late Bengal Staff Corps (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel H. G. F. Siddons, R.A., retired (Burma expedition 1885-89);—The Hon. Emanuel Raphael Belilios, C.M.G., merchant, and member of the Legislative Council of the Colony of Hongkong;—Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel J. T. Sterling, Coldstream Guards (formerly A.D.C. to Governor of Hongkong, served in South African war);—Captain Richard Hastings Harington, R.N. (China 1850, Black Sea and Baltic 1854);—Mr. Want, K.C., a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. J. Faircloth (Mutiny, Afghan war 1878-79);—Staff Veterinary-Surgeon Alfred Job Owles (Crimea and Mutiny);—Captain Graham Young (Crimea, Shah's service, and afterwards in the Indian Forest Department);—Mr. James Gray, Professor of Pali at the Rangoon College;—The Right Honourable Sir Richard Crouch, P.C. (formerly Chief Justice of the High Court of Calcutta);—Rev. Dr. Robert H. Warday, General Agent of the Presbyterian Church and one of the best known Canadian Divines at Toronto;—Dr. J. F. Stewart, killed by natives in Southern Nigeria (South African war as Civil Surgeon);—Major-General T. J. Watson, late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny, Bhutan expedition 1864, Jowaki Afridi expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1879-80);—Fleet-Paymaster Frederick Le Breton Bedwell, R.N. (attached to Lord Elgin's Embassy to China and Japan 1860-61);—Sir Lionel Eldred Smith-Gordon (Crimea, Mutiny).

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CIVIC LIFE IN INDIA.*

BY A. YUSUF ALI, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), I.C.S.

THE average life of a citizen is made up of so many strands intertwined with one another, that it is useful occasionally to isolate one of them and examine it. We shall thus discover its strength or its weakness, and ascertain what strain it is undergoing under the stress of social forces operating on it, how it responds to that strain, and what can be done to render it more efficient as a binding force in organized society. The strand which we are now about to examine is that which knits municipal life together in India.

Some observers would doubt whether there is any active civic life in India. They fix their gaze on the predominating factor in the government of the country, the factor which has moulded its history for centuries past. That has always taken the shape of a central Government, responsible only to its own conscience and to religious and moral sanctions for its policy and conduct. When these were dormant we had government of the most arbitrary and brutal type. When these were active we had an administration of the most beneficent and enlightened kind. But in either case there was no continuous growth of institutions, no evolution of the people guided by ideals which, whether successful or not at any given stage, supplied the motive power in the lives of communities. The people, as a factor in the commonwealth, were, for all practical purposes, neglected.

* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this Review.

It is true that the people (or realm, in Bühler's translation*) were one of the seven estates composing the commonwealth, as described by Manu. The father of Hindu polity enumerates those seven estates as the king, his minister, his metropolis, his people, his treasury, his army, and his ally. These have a sort of mystic union—*septem juncta in uno*. For, though the gravity to the commonwealth of the harm done to any of these estates is in the order in which they are named, it must not be supposed that any of these are of less importance than any of the others, so long as they fulfil their functions in the complex institution called the State. This noble conception of Manu is of the highest importance in dealing with the germs of Hindu political ideas; and yet its practical working-out is most disappointing, even in Manu. We have the amplest maxims for the king's life and policy; we have far-reaching regulations about the individual's life, ritual, and conduct; we have also full details about the constitution, history, rights, and privileges of the several castes and classes; but we look in vain for a definition of the rights and privileges of the people as a whole, as an estate of the commonwealth.

The conception was developed no further in Mohammedan India. Mohammedan polity started in the land of its birth on a thoroughly democratic basis. In the history of cities like Baghdád we have faint glimpses of the devolution of power from the central to the local authority, or, rather, a group of local authorities. But the circumstances of India prevented these tendencies from bearing any practical fruit. That the idea, however, was not entirely dead will appear from an interesting exposition of the Kotwál's duties in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.† Abul Fazl's qualification for a Kotwál might well be taken to heart by the Municipal Commissioners of modern India. The Kotwál, then, should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute and humane. Further, he should keep a

* Manu, ix., 294-297, "Sacred Books of the East."

† "Bibliotheca Indica," vol. lxi., part ii., p. 41 (Book iii., Ain 4).

register of houses and frequented roads, *engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation in weal and woe.* Here is an excellent summary of the creed of municipal government. But the idea never took root, and, in the unstable history of more than two centuries after Akbar, the music of the soul of human society, ever striving to express itself in the growth of ethical ideas and concerted action, was subdued in the martial clang of internecine warfare.

What about the village institutions? Did they not embody and keep alive the civic ideal? To this my answer is only a qualified "Yes." In the ideal village all the ranks and castes were graded, and each had its function and purpose in life. Every individual, so long as he fitted himself into the scheme, had an important status in his own sphere. He had a voice in many of the ordinances which affected his interests, though such ordinances were usually the crystallized product of the opinions and experiences of ages and generations of men, rather than frequent experiments in the gradual evolution of the village community. But all this was possible because the village was an association of men who knew each other intimately, and saw each other's daily lives. The failure of any member to fulfil the duties expected of him resulted in his immediate ostracism in the society. He lost the protection of his commune and all the rights and privileges attaching to his station. Duty, as so understood, may be summed up in the formula: "Do this, or the village visits its wrath on you." In contrast to this, my conception of civic duty, the conception which would entitle a man to boast of being a "citizen of no mean city," goes beyond this. The penal scheme, no doubt, does affect, if only unconsciously, the life of the most refined and high-thinking citizen. But in the main it is now restricted to a narrow circle of actions which come within the purview of criminal law or of municipal bye-laws. My advanced citizen is governed, in his civic acts and ideals, by considerations like the following. "I am," he thinks,

"more fortunately circumstanced than some of my fellows in the community. I have better education, a more refined up-bringing, more opportunities of travel, more wealth, a higher position, or more talent than some of those I see around me. Can I use these for the benefit of the less fortunate? Can they be brought to see things from the higher standpoint? Will it not strengthen the community as a whole, and therefore me as an individual member, if the laggards can be made to march abreast of the active members, if the obstruction which stands in their way be removed, so that everyone is able to make the best of himself, to his own benefit and the benefit of the community? Again, there are other members of the community who are somewhat similarly placed in respect of some of these advantages to myself. Will not the union of our efforts and resources produce a higher aggregate result in material and moral advancement than when some of the energy is wasted in individual and unco-ordinated endeavour? Again, I see some persons better endowed than myself. In so far as it is in my power, is it not my duty to aim at bettering myself, not for personal aggrandizement or self-glory, but because the pursuit of the higher is the highest ideal, for myself individually and for the community at large?" In such musings the individual is sunk in the community. If we must have a tangible formula embodying the incentive to such conduct, it would be: "If I do this, it will mean increased good to myself and community." The hope of reward in its highest form here takes the place of the fear of punishments.

The prevailing notion that the ancient Indian village was based on communistic ideas of property and life is, I think, incorrect. The boundaries of a family are necessarily wider in an early than in a later stage of society. That being so, the unit which society recognises for purposes of ownership and possession is also wider and more indefinite. In movable property, however, we find nothing to justify us in inferring that anything like com-

munistic ideas existed. In regard to land, the fact that periodical redistributions of land took place, and that no exclusive and permanent rights were recognised in individuals, has led to the reasoning that the property was joint. But perhaps it would be truer to say that no property in land was recognised at all, whether in the individual or in the community. Land was treated as a free gift of Nature, like light, or air, or the water of a river. As long as the population was scanty, and the quantity of land appeared unlimited, there was no occasion to create well-defined rights of property. When the demand first began to outstrip the supply, the rights which were earliest recognised were rights of cultivation or pasturage, or, to speak generally, rights of temporary possession. These were regulated by many provisions of customary law, designed, no doubt, for the common good, or for the good of the lord or chief, in the same way that an individual's private conduct was similarly regulated. A conquering chief parcelled out the land among his kinsmen or retainers in the same way as he might detail his sentinels on duty at different posts, or assign different offices or functions to different members of his household. Here the question would not be one of property in the individuals, the community, or the chief, but rather one of discipline and organization.

Nor was life in the village community based on communistic ideas. Equality among all the members was the last thing that would have occurred to a philosopher of the times, or been recognised by anyone in touch with the actual government of the village. There was a splendid system of subdivision of labour, and a thorough understanding between the different classes into which the community was divided. The organization was perfect; it promoted the greatest efficiency with the least waste of energies; the greatest peace, concord, and contentment with the least inducements to luxury or crime. It may be one form of the millennium dreamed of by the framers of

fancy republics, but it is not communism. The bed-rock of the communistic principle is equality of enjoyment for all members, coupled with an equality of responsibility for the well-being of the whole society. The fundamental basis of village life in its palmiest days was the due subordination of castes and classes to a scheme which was nowhere, and at no time, worked out with feudal precision, but which acquired strength or weakness according to the amount of resistance which village institutions were called on to exert in antagonism to a strong or weak central and military power. The village had no military organization or history, but it had marvellous powers of passive resistance. And its relation to the central power was not usually that of branches that supply nourishment to a tree, or that of a large number of tiny rills whose flow goes towards the augmentation of the strength and volume of some mighty river. On the contrary, the village community looked upon the central power much as a tree (if it could think) would look upon the parrots and mainas that feed on its fruit. There was no intolerance, and no chafing, so long as no more than customary contributions were levied but there was distinctly a feeling of aloofness, a consciousness that the structure of the village community was quite independent of the central power.

There is, therefore, no paradox in the fact that the most beautifully organized structure of the village community led to no advance in civic life—the life that uses the experience and organization of local communities for the formation, development, and support of the wider and more human conception of the State. Nor have any of the modern representative institutions of India any historical affinity with village institutions. The trade guilds of the towns and the *panchayets* of the castes were the institutions that most familiarized the plebeian portion of the population with the practical details of concerted action. The higher castes are, and have always been, comparatively weak in the matter of organization and combination

for worldly ends. The history of the Indian trade guild and of the *panchayet*—if it could be written—would furnish some of the most fascinating chapters in the annals of India ; but unfortunately there are no materials (whether in the forms of records, grants, charters, or accounts) on which even the meagre outlines of a reasoned history can be based. The Mir Mohalla (“alderman of a ward” would be a fair translation of the term) or the Lambardar of a Mahal (shall we call him “steward of a manor”?), if and where the representative character of these functionaries was recognised and they were invested with fiscal powers, exercised a certain amount of authority in immediate touch with the people. They acted as buffers between the representatives of the central government and the people. The lump sum of taxation payable by the community which they represented was fixed after consultation with them, and they were left to apportion this among the contributories in accordance with local rights and customs. But these institutions never flourished with a lusty and vigorous growth in the directions in which their trend can be connected with the local self-government of modern India.

The growth of modern civic institutions can all be referred to the last half-century. The ideas naturally first took shape in the Presidency towns. Calcutta was the first of the towns to discuss, but Bombay was the first to adopt, the elective principle. Before this principle was adopted the city government had been carried on by means of a bench of magistrates or justices. The elective proposals of 1840 for Calcutta had to be dropped. But when Bombay took the lead in 1872 with an electorate that was practically based on household suffrage, Calcutta followed suit in 1876. The history of municipal government in those two cities has since been full of both interest and excitement. The constitution of the municipality has been altered in both cases. But it is to be noticed that in Bombay the change has been effected without much

popular excitement, while in Calcutta the revision of 1899 was attended with almost as great a measure of opposition as the more recent reconstitution of the Province of Bengal. In Bombay there has always been a large deliberative body, with a smaller managing council, while the entire executive power has vested in the municipal commissioner, who is nominated by and is in close touch with the Government. In Calcutta the executive power was until recently vested in what was considered an unwieldy body by those who applied the shears in 1899. After the advent of the plague ten years ago, a separate body, called the Bombay Improvement Trust, has been called into existence, which exercises powers independently of the corporation's control, for carrying out gigantic schemes of public improvement, such as the sweeping away of overcrowded areas, the widening of streets, and the provision of sanitary buildings for the mill hands, while the æsthetic side of a town's responsibilities was not lost sight of for a city which prides itself on the title of Bombay the Beautiful. This great scheme was due to the enthusiasm and practical sagacity of Lord Reay,* just as the great Calcutta Improvement Scheme, which has not yet emerged from the incubatory stages, is due to the marvellous energy of Lord Curzon. In the city of Madras the elective principle was introduced in 1878, and though little of dramatic or popular interest has been heard of the recent administration of the oldest Presidency town of British India, the legislators, administrators, and people of the Southern Presidency are unanimous in claiming for Madras the title of the best and cheapest governed city in India. I wish they could add to the claim some faint allusion to the goddess of civic beauty, for her cheery smile can surely never come near the Madras *parcherries*, which for gloom and squalor would be able to give points to the much-abused *bustees* of Calcutta or Bombay.

Local government by magistrates existed in the Pre-

The actual scheme, however, was worked out and carried by Lord Curzon some years later.

sidency towns almost from their first creation as vigorous and growing communities ; it flourished until it was superseded in the seventies by representative institutions. In the Mofassil towns organized government by a magistrate and a consultative council began in 1850, with an Act respecting "Improvements in Towns." This Act authorized local governments to appoint a magistrate and such number of inhabitants as may be necessary to be commissioners, to prepare rules for levying and expending money for any special purposes of local administration. In form, this statement of the Constitution has undergone a complete and radical alteration ; but in substance—in the living ideas underlying the new forms—this principle practically applies to municipal government in the districts to-day. In 1856 was passed the great Act which governs the smaller towns in Northern India to the present day. This makes the arrangements for local improvements permanent instead of occasional. The magistrate of the district is both the initiative and administrative authority. He fixes the sum required for a given year for town purposes ; and he constitutes by nomination a small council, or *panchayet*, to distribute this lump sum among the different inhabitants, either on their local knowledge of the taxpayer's worldly circumstances (which sounds vague), or (which is very rare) on a definite valuation of property. In either case the magistrate hears the appeal from an aggrieved assessee. Having finally confirmed the assessment list, the magistrate collects the tax and spends it on local improvements. Now I have some little experience of the assessment lists of these little towns—some of them decaying vestiges of what were once important centres of population. I have no hesitation in saying that the vaguer of the two principles—assessment according to position and means—works far better, both in justice and in smoothness, than the apparently sound principle of a formal valuation of property ! There are other institutions in India in which a similar paradox occurs, and it is well to remember in drawing up paper constitutions that things are not *always* what they seem.

In the government of the smaller towns under Act X. of 1856, there is neither in theory the election of members, nor local supervision by the people in carrying on the works for which the town fund is levied. In practice, however, a sympathetic magistrate always arranges informally for local supervision by such respectable inhabitants of the town as are willing to charge themselves with the responsibility of "looking after other people's business." But the principle of supervision by local, though not necessarily elected, citizens, for Mofassil towns and rural areas, was strongly insisted on by Lord Mayo's Government in 1870. It was then recognised that funds devoted to such objects as education, sanitation, medical charity, and public works of a local character, benefited by the supervision of local agency. But the greatest landmark in the history of modern representative institutions in India was the action of Lord Ripon's Government in 1882. Certain broad principles were laid down by that Government which were afterwards embodied in the legislation of 1882 and 1883. The objects held in view by the far-reaching reforms then promulgated were stated to be twofold—first, to relieve the officers of Government from a portion of the duties and responsibilities which had gone on increasing as the machinery of Government became more elaborat ; and, secondly, to introduce local interest in local affairs, coupled with local unpaid service as an instrument of political and popular education. The machinery with which these objects were to be carried out was provided by the creation of local boards for rural areas and municipal boards for the larger towns, with an assured preponderance of non-official members, elected by popular vote wherever the local circumstances admitted of the principle of popular election. Government control, it was laid down, was to be from without rather than from within, and the chairmen of the boards were accordingly to be non-official. The rural boards were to be for small areas about the fifth or sixth part of a district on the average; and there was to be in

each district a district board exercising authority over the local boards and co-ordinating their action.

The result of these comprehensive proposals was that all the principal towns of India were granted municipal constitutions, in which the elected members usually preponderated, though room was found for some members nominated by Government, and a few *ex officio* members. The franchise of the different municipalities varied very widely, and was fixed according to local circumstances, often under bye-laws drawn up by the municipalities and sanctioned by the Government. The constitutions or the numbers of these municipalities have varied little since then, except in regard to two important points presently to be noticed, though a vast amount of progress has been made in these twenty-four years in grappling with the details, intricacies, and pitfalls of local administration, and in elaborating municipal codes in the different provinces. The points in which there has been in practice the greatest divergence from Lord Ripon's ideas are (1) as regards the personnel of the chairman, and (2) as regards the relation of Government to the boards. In practice, the chairmen of most of the Mofassil municipalities are the magistrates of the districts in which they are situated. The magistrate is not *ex officio* chairman. The board regularly goes through the formality of electing its own chairman, and may, if it chuses, elect a non-official gentleman ; but by a sort of unwritten law the board in fact elects the district magistrate as chairman. Whenever there is a change in the office of district magistrate, it is distinctly understood that the outgoing magistrate resigns the chair, and equally understood that his successor in the magisterial office is elected to the chair of the municipality. Now the district magistrate being the chief executive officer of Government in the district, it follows that his election as the head of the municipality introduces indirectly Government control from within rather than from without. It is true that Mr. Smith, as chairman of the municipality, sometimes carries on a lively correspondence with himself as

magistrate of the district ; but the situation, though full of humour, has no significance whatever in practical administration. The fact that one man fills the two posts is a guarantee (in the case of an average man) that he will take the same point of view in both offices in all material questions of business. This may possibly appear to derogate from the independence of municipalities ; but in the present circumstances of India it is necessary, in the smaller municipalities, in the interests of efficiency and smooth administration. The chairman-magistrate, a man of affairs and experience, and yet on the spot, serves as a buffer between the amorphous opinions of an inexperienced board and the weighty but somewhat detached position of the Commissioner, to whom the control and guidance of the municipalities has been delegated by Government. That Government control and guidance are necessary at the present stage no one can deny ; granting that necessity, the arrangement which the experience of two decades has evolved seems to be the best possible at once for present efficiency and for future progress.

In discussing the progress of the rural boards, we find the situation far less encouraging than in the case of the municipal boards. The two points of departure from the original conception of the boards, which we noticed in discussing the municipalities, are also noticeable, even with stronger force, in the case of the rural boards. The greatest diversity prevails in the different provinces in respect of the unit for the rural boards. It may be said of several of the provinces that they contain district boards only, and practically no local boards for the smaller areas. The United Provinces are an instance in point. The local boards have not sufficient powers and responsibilities, and they rarely perform any solid business. It is only within recent years that even district boards have been invested with any financial independence, and in public bodies, as in families, you cannot be said to have started housekeeping until you have separate accounts of your own to worry

over. Another cause of backwardness in the local government of rural areas is to be found in the great isolation of rural interests from one another, and the slower susceptibility, compared with the towns, to the grip of that knitting force which is the chief glory of the British Administration in India. Madras is the only province in which the rural boards have shown signs of a vigorous existence. There the unit adopted is a small one—the village union, governed by a panchayet. Higher in the scale are the Taluk Boards, which correspond to the local boards of Upper India; and over them all is the district board, which flourishes because its constituent feeders live a growing and healthy life. The village union was not in the large and comprehensive scheme of rural self-government drawn up for the whole of India, but by its adoption in Madras the roots have penetrated sufficiently deep into the soil to give strength and vitality to the growth above. Another argument for calling Madras the “benighted Presidency!”

There are in the whole of British India* 763 municipalities. The population living within municipal limits is close upon 17,000,000. The total number of members of municipal boards is more than 10,000, or an average of thirteen members to each municipality. The municipal boards of the Presidency towns are very much larger bodies, Calcutta having fifty members, and Bombay seventy-two; but their constitutions, offices, bye-laws, and procedure are in many respects entirely different from those of district municipalities. The proportion of official to non-official members for the whole of India is 2 : 7, that of European to Indian members is 1 : 7. The maximum proportion of appointed to elected members is fixed by statute. For example, in the United Provinces the number of appointed members is not to exceed a quarter of the total number of members. The aggregate income of the

* The figures that follow are principally taken from the “Statistical Abstract relating to British India for 1903-1904,” published as a Blue-book in 1905.

municipalities, according to the Return* published in 1905, in £6,579,094—roughly speaking, six and a half millions sterling. This may be divided into three convenient heads, viz. : (1) Loans, deposits, advances, etc., three and a quarter millions, of which fully one-third is on account of the Presidency towns ; (2) amount realized from rates and taxes, two and a half millions ; (3) amount realized from rents, contributions, sale proceeds of manure, etc., three quarters of a million.

It will be noticed that about half the year's income is derived from loans and other sources which can be classified as debt. The year's expenditure nearly balances the income. The municipalities are very properly not allowed to hoard their money, a tendency which some of the outlying boards showed at the earlier stages of their career. A sufficient closing balance is, of course, insisted on. It follows that about half the year's municipal expenditure comes from borrowed money. While the expansion of income under the second and third heads (taxation, rents, etc.) has been only about 33 per cent. during the last ten years, the increase under the head of debt has been about 600 per cent. These figures are startling at first sight, but it must be remembered that the process of sinking money in material and tangible assets—to wit, large public works—has been carried on very considerably in the last decade. Most of the large district municipalities have constructed their waterworks within that period. Large drainage and sewage schemes, the widening and paving of roads and thoroughfares, and measures for the prevention or fighting of plague, have necessitated large demands on the municipal exchequer. Perhaps in some cases a more cautious policy in the matter of borrowings might be advisable ; but the expert supervision of the Government makes it impossible that in any case the financial stability or solvency of a municipality should be jeopardised by reckless borrowing. All the

* "Statistical Abstract," as above.

Mofassil municipalities have to get Government sanction for their loans, and their financial statements every year have to show clearly how their debt account stands, with reference to their assets, the state of the sinking fund, and the arrangements made for the payment of the interest charges. In the case of the Presidency municipalities there are statutory limitations to the aggregate amount of debt which the municipality can owe. In Calcutta, for instance, the cost of the interest and sinking fund is not to exceed 10 per cent. of the valuation of the city. At present I believe it is $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The debt of Calcutta is about two millions, against an annual revenue of half a million ; that of Bombay is about three millions against half a million of revenue. The proportion of revenue to debt is therefore 1 : 4 in the one case, and 1 : 6 in the other. The proportion in the national finances of the United Kingdom is between 1 : 6 and 1 : 7. On the other hand, the interest charges in local finance are very much heavier than in Imperial finance, the Indian municipalities usually paying between 4 and 7 per cent. of interest on their loans. The question of debt in municipal finance ought to be studied more carefully than it is by members of Indian municipalities, as the expedient of throwing the burden of present difficulties on future generations may result in a serious crippling of resources, or a check to the expansion of activity, unless there is an expanding benefit derived from the works undertaken.

As regards the form of taxation the different provincial systems differ widely. In the Punjab, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces, octroi forms the chief source of income, and in Bombay it forms a considerable item in municipal taxation. Bengal, Madras, and Burma, among the larger provinces, do without octroi. The system works thus : A number of octroi stations (ten or fifteen) are placed all around the municipal boundaries, commanding all the ways of entry into the town. There is a clerk in charge of each station, whose duty it is to levy a tax on all goods

entering the municipality, according to a schedule fixed and notified by the municipality. The schedule contains a classified list of goods which are chargeable to octroi, with the rates shown against each. Some of these rates are *ad valorem*, and others are according to weight or measure. A set of scales and weights are provided by the municipality. The quantity or weight is often estimated by the cart or the load, or in accordance with local commercial usage. But if there should be a dispute between the importer of the goods and the clerk, the whole of the goods have to be taken out and weighed, counted, or measured, as the case might be. In the case of *ad valorem* rates there is most chance of a dispute. Where the importer is a large wholesale dealer, the invoice which accompanies the goods is often a sufficient indication of the quantity or value. But in India, where make-believe or collusion play so important a part in the machinery of life, this test cannot always be relied upon. To the petty trader or the private individual, however, the annoyances are numerous and vexatious. The clerk who collects the tax has a salary of from 9s. to 12s. a month. There is a strong temptation and opportunity for illicit gains. In all cases where he can reasonably count upon not being found out, he creates difficulties and differences of opinion. There is a machinery for settling these, but it is cumbrous in comparison with the nimble coin slipped into the clerk's hand, which solves all doubts and difficulties without trouble or loss of time. Octroi administration therefore demands constant vigilance on the part of members and officers of municipalities. The first requirement is to make a good schedule, simple and unambiguous, with as few items in it as would be consistent with clearness, and with due regard to the fostering, according to economic principles, of the local industries and manufactures; the next object of attention should be the appointment of as honest and efficient a collecting and supervising staff as possible; and the third is the careful periodical examination of

the statistics, accounts, and practical working, with free opportunities provided to all who have specific complaints to make before the Board. Some boards maintain an overgrown supervising agency, drawn from the same class as the tax-collecting clerks. They forget the maxim, "the greater the supervision, the greater the collusion." They are gradually abolishing octroi in the Bombay Province. It would be a good thing if it could be abolished altogether. In spite of an elaborate and carefully worked out system of supervision, checks by means of standards of consumption, refunds, and exemptions, it probably takes more from the pockets of the people than actually goes into the coffers of the municipalities. Its chief merit as an indirect tax paid on commodities, and not directly levied from the citizens, is neutralized by many delays and petty malpractices, and it is a fruitful source of harassment to the poor and uneducated classes who enter towns with even a small amount of belongings—the very classes who require most protection. The question of abolition, however, is not yet within the region of practical politics in Upper India, and it is all the more necessary for civic patriotism to be directed towards insuring its proper administration.

Apart from octroi the most important sources of municipal taxation are a tax on houses and lands, which is sometimes levied in addition to octroi, but which occupies the chief place where octroi does not enter into the scheme; a water-rate in large towns with waterworks; and a conservancy-rate, which is usually for public conservancy only. The system of private conservancy is still peculiar in most of the smaller towns. The mechanical appliances for sanitary conservancy have scarcely taken root even in the Presidency towns; in the Mofassil they do not exist. A caste of hereditary scavengers, who look upon the goodwill of their business as a marketable and heritable asset, claim the monopoly of service in private houses. The payments to them are not systematic, but are based on a set of elastic customary rights. The consequence is that private con-

servancy is the weakest feature in town life. Any radical reform evokes opposition, not only from the scavenging class with vested interests, but even from the citizens themselves, who are apt to forget the inefficiency of the present system in concentrating their attention upon its cheapness. Taxes of minor importance are: taxes on animals and vehicles; taxes on professions and trades; tolls on roads and ferries; and a lighting-rate, though the cost of lighting the town is usually defrayed from the general income of the municipal fund.

The incidence per head of the population of the amounts raised or (what is equivalent to it) spent by the municipalities varies greatly in the different Provinces, and the different kinds of municipalities. The Presidency towns are, of course, more expensive than the Mofassil towns, and among them Bombay leads the way as easily first. From rates and taxes Bombay raises 12s. 7d. per head, and from all sources, including loans, 14s. 7d. per head. The figures for Calcutta are 8s. 11d. and 10s. 8d. respectively; and those for Madras only 2s. 11d. and 4s. 3d. respectively. Rangoon is almost as expensive as Bombay, the incidence of taxation being 8s. 8d. per head, and of all municipal revenue 14s. 6d. per head. But Rangoon, as a municipal town, has a shorter career behind it than the Presidency towns, and its borrowings must necessarily be on a liberal scale to keep pace with the phenomenal rate at which the town is growing—in size, population, and commercial importance. These figures are comparable to the incidence of the rates levied in England for the use of the Poor Law authorities, which average to about 6s. or 7s. per head of population. The incidence of municipal expenditure in English boroughs furnishes no fair basis of comparison; first, because the scales of people's incomes are so different in England and India, and secondly, because the English municipalities undertake, on the whole, more duties, and are more in touch with popular sentiment than are the Indian municipalities. The incidence of municipal taxation

per head of population in the borough of St. Albans, in which I reside, is about 15s.

The figures of the Mofassil municipalities are, as might be expected, lower than those of the Presidency towns. The Province of Madras is again the cheapest, with an incidence of 1s. 6d. for rates and taxes, and 2s. 5d. for total income in district municipalities. Burma is the most expensive, with 2s. 3d. and 5s. 1d. respectively. The variation in the figures for the district municipalities is small, and the incidence per head may ordinarily be taken to be about 2s. for rates and taxes, and about 3s. for total income.

An analysis of the main heads under which the expenditure falls may be of some value. From the figures in the statistical abstract already quoted I have prepared the following table showing the percentages :

	Percentage to total expenditure.
Interest, debt (repayment), sinking fund, deposits, etc.	50·3
Public health and convenience	35·8
General administration and collection charges	6·7
Public safety (lighting, police, fire, etc.) ...	4·2
Public instruction	3·0
	100·0

It will be noticed that the debt charges absorb more than half the total amount spent by the municipalities, and exceed by a long way any other single item. Under the head of public health and convenience, which accounts for about 36 per cent. of the annual expenditure, are included a large number of items. Not only is the annual expenditure on water-supply and drainage debited to this account, but also the capital outlay under these heads. This amounts to a very considerable item, and when the public works expenditure is added to it (*i.e.* the outlay on roads, bridges, public works establishments, and stores) the amount left for conservancy is not very large, and is

certainly quite inadequate in most cases for the needs of the overcrowded plague spots which are called Indian towns. Markets and slaughter-houses are also debited to this head, but the outlay is small, and is ordinarily more than counter-balanced by the tolls and dues levied in them. The municipal expenditure on hospitals, dispensaries, and vaccination is not large, and is a mere supplement to the funds contributed from private, district board, or Government sources.

The expenditure on services of public safety is insignificant, being only 4 per cent. of the whole. Very few of the municipal boards maintain fire brigades. Systems of fire insurance are unknown in the Mofassil, as indeed might be expected, considering that the majority of the proletariat live in mud huts with thatched roofs, and a man's personalty in many cases amounts scarcely to anything more than what he might carry as personal luggage on a railway journey. The police charges, which are included in the statistics, are no longer paid by municipalities in the United Provinces, where the stability of municipal finance under the stress of plague expenditure was threatened, and relief from the police charges was one of the liberal concessions made from provincial funds by the Government of Sir James La Touche. In the matter of lighting there is little satisfactory result in the Indian towns. Kerosene oil, often of the poorest description, is the illuminant used. In the Civil stations a respectable attempt is made to light the roads, but even there the magnificent distances which separate one house from another preclude the struggling street lamp's misty light from performing any other office than that of rendering the darkness more visible. The magnificent distances also render any thorough schemes of street paving or well-constructed drainage so expensive as to be prohibitive. The best roads consist of a strip of metal 9 or 12 feet wide, with broad alleys on either side of a depth of 2 or 3 inches of dust or mud, according to the moods of Jupiter Pluvius.

The charges of general administration and collection of taxes amount to nearly 7 per cent. of the expenditure. This is the average. In many municipalities the proportion is higher. Considering that the majority of the servants paid out of the salary bill are entertained primarily for purposes of tax collection the proportion is high, and might with advantage be scrutinized and reduced wherever possible. The salary bill in many of the English municipalities bears a much smaller proportion to the total expenditure. In the borough of St. Albans it is about 5 per cent. It is an invidious task, especially where the servants happen to be nominees or protégés of the members, to cut down salaries or reduce establishments, and Indian civic dignitaries are as generous in voting money—other people's—as any in Christendom. What they ought to remember is that public money is not other people's money, but their own. Indeed, the standard of care and economy to be expected in regard to public money ought to be very much higher than that which people are accustomed to exercise in their own private affairs. If a man mismanages his own affairs he only hurts himself, and the ordinary promptings of human nature should in most cases deter him from persistently erring in that direction. But when he fails to exercise the utmost diligence in his power in the administration of public funds committed to his care as a sacred trust, he is a traitor to the interests of hundreds of poor taxpayers who have bestowed upon him the honour of being their representative because they trusted him. Such betrayal, if there were an active civic conscience, would be considered deserving of far more reprobation than any individual lapses in private life.

Economy, however, is not to be confounded with niggardliness. Economy makes for efficiency, while niggardliness is only a form of mismanagement. Now there are objects on which municipal boards might spend far more funds than they actually do. Such an object is education. Under this head the total sum spent by the municipalities

of India amounts to a paltry 3 per cent. of their outgoings. This can scarcely be considered adequate. Free education in municipal towns may be a counsel of perfection. But there can be no doubt that a much larger amount than is actually spent would be required to meet the existing demand for education, and that that demand is growing every year. It has always been the settled policy of Government to encourage municipal boards in making liberal grants towards elementary education, but it is remarkable that the response from the boards has not been as hearty as might have been desired. In the towns the demand is all for English education in Anglo-vernacular schools. These come rather under the description of secondary than of primary education. Now while primary education has received most attention, the opinion has frequently been held that secondary education—especially in English—should be paid for by those who desire it. Every town has one or two secondary schools, but they are generally overcrowded, and as the English course is of most material benefit to the pupils, it is the most popular branch of study. It is also the least organized. The names of many distinguished statesmen—none more than that of Sir Alfred Lyall—are associated with an attempt to encourage secondary and English education, and there are signs that the Education Departments are realizing the importance of English in the early education of the children of India. But the municipalities would do well—while not starving elementary education—to lay out judiciously sufficient funds for meeting the demand that has vigorously set in for secondary and English education.

I think I have said enough to show the opportunities and the shortcomings, the possibilities and the pitfalls of civic life in India. It is true that the qualification for voters, though low enough, still keeps a large number of the population outside the vortex of municipal life. In Calcutta, for instance, the qualification is threefold—viz., either the payment of rates and taxes to the amount of

Rs. 24; or the possession of a license to practice certain trades and professions; or the occupation or ownership of land of a certain value. Under the last head a man may have as many votes as there are units of property. In any of these three forms property bulks largely (for India) in the makings of a civic elector, and the number of names on the Voters' Register bears a very small proportion to the total population. But, on the other hand, the interest shown by electors in contested elections is very keen; indeed, in some cases it might with advantage be moderated with some of that tolerance for opponents which introduces chivalry into the civic code. In 1895, as many as 75 per cent. of the electorate voted in the contested wards of Calcutta.* This makes a very favourable show when compared with the London County Council election of 1901, in which only 20·6 per cent. voted in the City of London and 56·8 in Stepney. The fact is that in spite of many failures and many gaps to be filled up in the future, a fair amount of progress has been made in building up a civic conscience in India. So acute an observer as Lord Curzon (then Mr. Curzon), in piloting the India Councils Bill through the House of Commons in 1892,† used words which are truer to-day than they were fourteen years ago—words full of generous sympathy and penetrating insight. He defined the objects of that measure to be :

“To widen the basis and to expand the functions of Government in India; to give further opportunities than at present exist to the non-official and native elements in Indian society to take part in the work of government, and in this way to lend official recognition to that remarkable development both of political interest and political capacity which has been visible among the higher classes of Indian society since the Government of India was taken over by the Crown.”

* P. 83 of the “Moral and Material Progress of India for 1901-1902” (Blue-book of 1903).

† Hansard, fourth series, vol. iii., p. 53, March 28, 1892.

The German philosopher Haeckel uses a felicitous phrase, "Communal Soul," in discussing the habits of the most primitive of Protozoan forms. Whether this communal soul exists in the unicellular radiolaria must be left to biologists to determine. But it certainly forms an important factor in the capacities of mankind. It is the centripetal force which binds families, races, and nations together. It is the element which lends pathos, dignity, and sublimity to epic poetry. It gathers the threads of isolated thoughts, floating dreams and visions, and unconnected deeds of gallantry and heroism, and weaves with them a tangible and splendid fabric, whose composite glory of sparkle, softness, and strength forms the outer robe of aspiring humanity in its stately march through the centuries.

YOUNG INDIA: ITS HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS.*

BY SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR.

THE generation in India that is fast passing away from the scene of its earthly labours is regarding the younger generation with mingled hope and fear. The hope gives rise to the fear, because it is felt that the future of the land rests entirely on what the younger generation is. To find out, therefore, the tendencies of "young India," to know something of the sentiments that actuate it, to discover the directions in which the prospects are promising as well as those in which the outlook is gloomy, and to calculate the chances of progress in the country when affairs finally pass into hands now preparing for them, must be a subject of absorbing interest to everyone interested in India. But it is not the unique fascination of the subject that is its chief recommendation to attention, but to my mind it deserves a serious consideration at our hands as a factor in the solution of many of the social and political problems with which modern India bristles, and which will be difficult to handle unless those trying to solve them have a clear idea of the present conditions of the country and understand the men they have to deal with.

"Young India" can be classed into several divisions. There is, for instance, the division of the sexes, the male world consisting of young men in active walks of life, and the young female world inside the homes, possessed of no small influence and capable of moulding the destinies of the country, no less active for being hidden from the eye of the ordinary observer. There is another great division of young India—that of the educated and the uneducated, or, to be more comprehensive, of the literate and the illiterate. Let us begin with this latter classification of young Indians. I

* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this Review.

need hardly state that, unfortunately, the illiterate form a large majority. I do not propose to enter here into the causes of this prevailing want of education, and to decide whether the Government or the people are more to blame for it, though at first sight it appears that a civilized Government like that of Britain must have been sleeping pretty soundly over its duties to neglect the elementary education of the people so much. But the truth is that the people, too, have been apathetic to this primary duty of all civilized nations, and the Government is not exclusively open to blame, and in fairness to both it may be added that there are signs of an awakening in both the quarters to a sense of their duty to the masses to provide for a general elementary education. For our present purpose, however, it has to be admitted that the bulk of the population even in "young India" is unlettered. Now we have to see what this mass of humanity is about. Outwardly it is not much different to its prototypes of a past or a passing generation. The young peasant tills the soil as diligently as his fathers before him, uses the same implements of agriculture, and has, more or less, the same simple mode of life and the same philosophic faith in Providence. The workman has the same quiet way of going to work, the same long hours of labour, and the same struggle to make both ends meet. The artisan, with the exception of a few fortunate members of his class, who in some modern factories have learnt the use of improved tools and machinery, goes on pretty much in his old way. The professional beggar, a drain as he is on the national earnings of India, still goes his daily rounds, and the acrobatic dancer and the juggler still amuse the crowd with their feats and tricks. To all appearances the current of life runs quite smoothly, but a little below the surface there is commotion, for the man in the street in India and the labourer in the field is no longer as ignorant as he looks. The literate minority is not so much cut off from the illiterate majority as is commonly supposed, and the influences that are modifying the trend of thought of the upper and educated

classes manage to reach the lower and less informed sections of the people, though in a weaker and less distinct form. The vernacular press, so often despised or ignored, is gradually becoming a powerful medium of education for the masses, and those who cannot read the papers themselves at least hear the echoes of what is agitating the newspaper world. A gossip about the latest news, especially in days when a great war is raging in any part of the world, is not an uncommon thing now in the village circle of an evening or in the leisure haunts of workmen in the towns. What is discussed by them as the "latest" may be very stale for an up-to-date man, but, still, their interest in it from day to day indicates a broadening of their mental horizon and a rising sense of what is happening around them. This spirit is stimulated to an appreciable extent among the masses all over the country by the growing number of their countrymen going abroad—as travellers, as students, as traders, as emigrant settlers, and as indentured labourers. In a large number of rural districts of the Punjab, for example, the name of Africa is now very well known, because thousands of men have gone out to Uganda. Similarly the name of Australia has become a household word, both as the place where work is to be found and as the place of which the doors have been long shut against British Indians by a British colony under the flag of Great Britain. The compactness of village life renders every departure of an emigrant from the village an event in its history, and from that day begins an interest in the outside world. The soldiers who have gone abroad on important expeditions, like that to China and the still more recent one to Somaliland, bring back home to their villages and towns exciting descriptions of their travels by sea and land, of the sights that met their eyes, of the nations which they came in contact with, and of the interesting experiences they went through. Thus they serve as a link between their small, retired, and hitherto isolated village community and the great world beyond. The progenitors of the peasants of

to-day knew little, and cared less, about the destinies of people outside their little world, but the younger men are brought up under conditions which open their eyes and expand their sphere of interest. This indirect education that is slowly but steadily going on is not yet strong enough to give rise to a presumption that the illiterate section of young India can take an intelligent interest in the current affairs of their country and of the world, but it can hardly be denied that a great and effective step is being quietly taken towards that goal, and that in course of time, with a further development of the causes enumerated, helped by a more general elementary education, and accelerated by efforts from patriotic Indians aiming at raising the level of the intelligence of the masses, a body of opinion may grow up in the country calculated to compel attention.

Turning now to the literate portion of young India, no less important for the comparative smallness of its numbers, we find that there is already some stir in it. Education is having its natural effect: the minds of men are being awakened, their thoughts fly higher, the voice of ambition finds a sympathetic response in their hearts, and they aspire to come into line with the great nations of the world. This desire to improve their condition intellectually as well as materially, individually as well as collectively, is taking diverse forms, according to the inclinations of the persons actuated by it. We see this spirit of activity, this desire to do something, this anxiety for the welfare of the Motherland, displaying itself in political movements like the Congress, in social movements like the Conferences of Reform, in educational movements like the Mohammedan Educational Conference, and in religious movements like the Arya Samaj among the Hindus, to take only one typical instance out of many which mark religious revivalism in India of the present day. Some of these movements are now established institutions, commanding vast influence, and being appreciated in different ways by the classes whom they try to serve. Each has its zealous adherents,

who believe the welfare of the whole country to be bound up with the success of their plans, and look with disfavour upon those who bestow their sympathies elsewhere. But to the impartial student of Indian affairs all of them seem to be the natural outcome of the conditions in which we live, and of the period of transition through which we are passing ; and he believes all of them to be more or less needed to culminate eventually in a national life, under the influence of which the hearts of a whole people will throb in unison. Before attaining that end, however, the question is how to reduce this apparent discord into unity. Some would suggest the bringing together of the various streams of patriotism, charity, and enterprise that have so far flowed in different directions, and making them run into one channel, to produce a strong and powerful motive power. There can be no doubt as to the strength of such a unity were it possible, but constituted as mankind is, scope must be given to individual likes and dislikes, and it is useless to expect the whole of India to seek its salvation through any one of the organizations existing for the amelioration of her condition. What is wanted is a spirit of tolerance towards each other, an admission that there is a limited power for good in most of the movements that are on foot, and that such power is not centred in any of them to an unlimited extent. It is regrettable that these different organizations have a tendency towards narrow exclusiveness, and gradually degenerate into cults, the followers of which look with something like horror upon those who believe in other systems of work, and thus add one more powerful force of disintegration and disunion to other forces of the kind that already exist in India, and keep the people of the land divided. The recognition of the good that there is in each, the extension of sympathy with each other, and the desire to co-operate so far as possible, are remedies which, if skilfully applied, can change discord into harmony and multiply chances of usefulness.

I have pointed out where the weak spot in the social

and political movements of the India of to-day is, and hinted how those engaged in them may try to strengthen their position. This has reference to the relations between various societies and their foremost workers ; but there is another side of this question, and that concerns the relation between these movements and the Government in India. People in England, who have practically a free hand in the development of their national life and institutions, can hardly understand to what extent a movement in India can be affected for better or for worse by the attitude which the Government takes with regard to it. And the attitude of the Government towards many of the movements we are considering is one of apathy and indifference, and sometimes of hostility and mistrust. The Mohammedan Educational Conference of Aligarh, confining itself as it does to the object of preaching to Mohammedans that they should take to Western education, to which they have been averse for a long time, is almost the solitary exception among the more important public organizations of our country which has occasionally received a word of sympathy from some far-seeing members of the Government ; but a large number of other movements have been treated with indifference. Now, I hold that it is not a wise policy for any Government (least of all a Government like that of the British in India) to remain indifferent to movements that sway the popular mind.

Having said something about the apathy that generally characterizes the official attitude towards popular movements in India, I think I must say something about the open hostility and mistrust with which political movements have been regarded. The Congress was started with the avowed object of constitutionally agitating for better rights and privileges for Indians, both as citizens and as public servants. It assembled annually, and its assemblies were public, and it made no mystery of its proceedings. That its object was not pleasant to "the powers that be" we can understand, but it acted within its legal rights, and there-

fore the mistrust that it excited in official quarters and the open hostility with which it sometimes met have been responsible for an amount of ill-feeling which is now beginning to bear fruit. The Congress started by recognising the British Government as a necessity for a peaceful, progressive, and prosperous India, and embodied this principle in its resolutions, in the speeches made on its platforms, and in the printed record of its proceedings. It still adheres, I think, to that principle in its official utterances ; but I have it on good authority that there is a growing body of men who once supported it, but who have been driven by what they regard as years of disappointment and disencouragement from the Government to an attitude of defiance. They recognise the smallness of their numbers and the helplessness of their present situation, but they feel very bitterly towards the British, and wish to cut themselves off from them by offering them "passive resistance." Up to the present this hardly constitutes anything more than a sign, but it is a sign which, I think, everyone who believes in the desirability of good relations between Englishmen and Indians, and wishes to solve most of the difficulties of the country by getting the two classes to work together for the welfare of India, will notice with deep regret. Measures of repression to crush the growing spirit of independence have been tried, but have failed to bring about the desired result. They have ended in more bitterness. It yet remains to be seen what kindness and sympathy can do. It may be said that sympathy has been tried also, but I believe one may rightfully ask for a larger measure of it than has been given hitherto. That was a measure adapted to times that are past, to men who had been trained in a different atmosphere, and to conditions that have materially changed. Societies as well as States are in constant need of readjustment to suit changing circumstances, and in many respects, perhaps, no country in the world is undergoing greater changes than India, though few countries have a higher reputation for

clinging tenaciously to their ancient manners and customs. Think of the horror with which the grandparents of many of my Hindu friends in this hall would have regarded the idea of their children sojourning here, were they to come to life again. But India is now getting over this feeling, and the man who crosses the water no longer loses caste. In most places he is welcomed back with open arms, and in others re-admitted after some slight ceremonies. Imagine for a time the descendants of people among whom widows used to sacrifice their lives for their deceased husbands by jumping into the funeral pile, agitating for the remarriage of widows, and succeeding in that agitation. Fancy the successors of Moslem divines who, up to the middle of the last century preached a religious war against the "unbelieving," proclaiming that religious war in India was not allowable by the Islamic law. These are important and essential changes, but these are only a few of a long list that could be easily drawn up, which show that India is going through a great transformation—nay, it is already considerably transformed. It is a new India which you have to deal with, but you do not notice the transformation, simply because it has been going on under your own eyes, just as you often fail to notice how your own child has grown up since last year if the child has been constantly before you. India is changing—changing in more directions than you know of—but you are too near to observe the phenomenon. I have long believed in this fact, but much has happened recently in different parts of the country to convince me more than ever that the treatment by Englishmen of their fellow-subjects in India ought to be adapted to the altered circumstances. We have long been familiar in India with a sharp line of distinction between the ruling race and the subject race. But is any such distinction just after royal promises of equality of treatment? or can it last long without hampering the growth of a spirit of mutual goodwill and confidence between the Western and Eastern people whom Providence has brought together in India?

Moreover, is it true in fact ? I doubt if it is. I see an ever-increasing number of Indians entering the higher grades of the public service through the doors of competitive tests, where they prove themselves the intellectual equals of their English fellow-subjects. They take part—within limited areas, but an important and responsible part all the same—in the administration of the country, thus cutting some ground from under the feet of the theory of a ruling *race*. I also find a number of highly-qualified Indians sitting on the benches of our High Courts, exercising the same authority and discharging the same duties as their English colleagues ; and the number of such Indians is bound to grow as time goes by, if all goes well and no retrograde policy is adopted by the Government. How can we, then, speak of a ruling race with any accuracy ? The European official in India, in the interests of the Empire, and in order to win the confidence of the people, should so act as not to show any assumption of a Divine right to rule, or any air of conscious superiority, which, without strengthening his position, jars upon the susceptibilities of the people. I can quite imagine somebody objecting to the view I have expressed, and saying : “ This must be some new sensitiveness that the Indians have developed, as their fathers rejoiced in honouring the rulers.” Yes, it is *new*, but it *is* there, and it has to be taken into account. The Indian to-day is not behind his father in deference to constituted authority, but he is now learning to bow to authority in the abstract as distinguished from its concrete embodiment—the official. He has imbibed the English notions of right and duty, has learnt at the feet of broad-minded English scholars the lessons of independence and love of liberty, and he finds it impossible to behave like those who never had these privileges. It is no use, therefore, to fret at this spirit, which is one of the most direct results of the contact between England and India ; but efforts should be made to foster it on right lines, and to encourage it within due bounds, as is the

advice of one of our rising poets, who, in lines addressed to Englishmen responsible for ruling India, has the following memorable verse :

“ Yih áp láē haiṇ maghrib sē sail-i-ázádi,
Banáēṇ ab wuh imárat ki ustawár rahē.”

“ This flood of freedom, it comes from the West, and you yourself have brought it.

Erect now an edifice that may stand the rush of the waters.”

That edifice can be built only in the hearts of the people, and the deeper you sink its foundations the better for all concerned. The value of that edifice has been yet scarcely recognised in England. It means a satisfied India and a strong India. Well, a strong India means a stronger England. At present India, with all the advantages that its possession confers on England, is the weak limb of the Imperial body politic. It is the point that is most vulnerable. But with a people awakened to a full sense of their capacities and prepared to stand by England, sharing the privileges as well as the duties of citizens of the British Empire, and feeling a pride in admission, through Britain, to the comity of nations, it can be the strongest weapon in the Imperial armoury. We have often received with pleasure from the lips of English orators the compliment that India is the brightest jewel in the British crown, and some eminent Indians have followed suit in making use of this happy phrase. You will perhaps be surprised, therefore, when I say that I am not quite satisfied with this expression. I wish Englishmen looked upon India as something more than a “jewel.” A jewel is more of an ornament than an article of daily use. It is only brought out on great occasions. It is meant for show. It has comparatively little intrinsic value. So we find this bright jewel shining with a lustre all its own in coronation rejoicings and other State ceremonies, but at other times old England prefers her simple black bonnet to the heavy crown and the dazzling Koh-i-noor. That is why I would like India to fulfil a less brilliant but a more useful function

in the paraphernalia of England. It should become—and it can very easily become—the staff on which the aged Mother of Empires may lean in her times of trouble. Who can stand before an England having at her beck and call three hundred millions of people, if she sets to work to make so many Britons of them—*i.e.*, British subjects in the true sense of the term, and not, as they are now, British subjects for some things and nobodies in other things—for example, in the treatment they receive at the hands of their fellow-subjects in South Africa?

It has been possible to allude but briefly to the chief aspiration of educated Indians, and through them of the rest of India, to see their status improve in the eyes of their own Government, and consequently in the eyes of the world abroad. They desire to raise the country to a higher level of social, educational, and industrial progress. Their efforts have hitherto been mainly confined to endeavours for political progress in the case of some and for educational advancement in the case of others, but they are now turning their thoughts to other urgent needs of the country as well, and therein lies the great hope of the future. They are expanding the sphere of their duties, and this new tendency may be said to be almost coterminous with the new century. If this wholesome inclination proves lasting and fulfils the promise that it seems to give, the historian of the future may date a new era in India from the dawn of the twentieth century. The movement that had been slowly going on during the last five years has gathered considerable force in the year which has just ended. This year has seen greater attention towards industrial and commercial development. Home industries have been encouraged. The need for technical education has been more emphatically recognised than before, and the number of smaller institutions for such training is multiplying fast. A large number—much larger than that of any previous years—have come to England for studies other than literary or belonging to learned professions, and a good many have gone out to

Japan and America for a similar training. The average stay-at-home Indian merchant has of late ventured out of his shell and travelled abroad, visiting England, France, and Germany in quest of better openings for his trade, and for establishing direct relations with European firms to avoid the demands of the middlemen. Larger orders than before have been given for the purchase of different kinds of machinery in Europe for use in India, and even the slow-going agriculturist has in some cases—for instance, in the Punjab—shown a willingness to try improved agricultural implements on the farms, and to form combinations for the protection of his interests. Travelling for the sake of information has also been more largely resorted to, and a remarkable characteristic that Indians visiting the West have recently shown, and which offers a great contrast to the case of many who preceded them, is that they seem to be free from that slavish imitation of the West for which we were so often rightly blamed and held up to ridicule. I have come across a large number of my countrymen who, while adapting themselves with admirable elasticity to their surroundings in this part of the world, adhere firmly to the essential principles of religion or ethics taught them in the East, and do not regard it necessary to lay down all their ancient possessions at the altar of Western civilization.

These are hopeful signs, but what strikes me as most hopeful is that greater benevolence and public spirit than before have characterized the donations that have been made to educational work, and that the encouragement of female education has received a place side by side with the education of the boys in the programme of many an educational reformer. Among the Mussulmans the first place in attention to this work is due to our Bombay friends, who, under the able guidance of our chairman of to-day (Mr. Justice Badrud Din Tyebji) have long been fighting the cause of female education. What is more welcome still is that at the Conference of Mohammedans held at Aligarh in last Christmas funds were collected for founding

a training-school for lady teachers, as it has been found by experience that one great difficulty of conducting girls' schools in India is the want of suitable lady teachers. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has evinced a very deep and practical interest in this scheme, which fact raises hopes of its success. In connection with the Conference has been held a very successful exhibition of the art and needle-work of women, exhibits to which came from Bombay and from the Punjab, and at which Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and the Maharanis of Patiala condescended to show their own work side by side with that of their humbler sisters. The splendid reception which the ladies of Bombay gave to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales the other day, graphic accounts of which were published by the London papers, has shown that they are now alive to a sense of their civic duties. This indicates that the awakening among men is beginning to have some effect upon women as well, and the other half of young India is by no means quite asleep. Several journals meant particularly for ladies have come into being, and are accelerating the advancement of Indian women. The *Ladies' Magazine*, the excellent monthly in English coming out from Madras; the *Tahzib-i-Niswan*, the useful weekly of Lahore; the *Khatoon*, a high-class monthly in Urdu, published at Aligarh, besides many in Bengali, may be mentioned for the information of those interested in this branch of work and desirous of studying the direction things are taking in the enlightenment of females.

Let us, in conclusion, sum up briefly the facts to which I have invited attention. We have seen that the sentiment that actuates Young India is a desire for advancement—intellectual, commercial, and political. We have observed that the idea, though primarily agitating the educated classes, has reached the masses as well, and is beginning to be shared by that important section of the population that has hitherto led its life in seclusion away from the gaze of men, and has not brought its influence to bear on the public life of the country as the woman in the West has

done. We have also noticed that this sentiment has found expression at first in movements of social and political reform, and later in the promotion of industrial and commercial enterprise, which, though in its commencement at present, is full of vast potentialities. The desire to travel abroad, and to move to distant corners of the world in search of fresh fields and pastures new, is also manifesting itself in larger proportions than before, notwithstanding the obstacles that are placed in the way of Indians by people who have had the good luck of being a little early in the field. And last, though not the least, the spirit of independence and self-help that has come into existence is an asset the value of which can be scarcely over-estimated. These are all matters justifying a hopeful view of the situation. But there are directions in which the outlook is not very promising. The differences between various sections of the community in India have long stood in the way of progress, and though of late there have been some indications of a desire for co-operation, at least in the lines of education, social reform, and commerce, there are forces at work among the younger generation of India that render all united action difficult. The great magnitude of the country adds no little to the difficulties of the task that India has before it, and the very circumstance that would constitute her strength, if she is once welded into a great whole, now forms her weakness. But the facilities of communication are drawing different parts of India more and more together; the comparative freedom of contact between various provinces is removing many an old barrier of prejudice, and the press is contributing its share to the work of consolidation. The prospect, on the whole, strikes me to be far from gloomy. There is no height which Young India may not be able to reach with wider education and a greater co-operation between the communities inhabiting the land, especially if those in whose hands God has placed our destinies give us their full sympathy, and encourage the efforts of the people to better their fortunes.

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL AND THE BENGALI LANGUAGE.*

BY S. M. MITRA, M.R.A.S., LATE EDITOR "DECCAN POST."

IN connection with the reconstruction of the Province of Bengal and Assam, better known as the Partition of Bengal, the public have heard a great deal about the Bengali language. There are some who profess to fear the severance of the linguistic ties of the people of Bengal as a result of the Partition. About fifty millions of British subjects speak the Bengali language. Its growth, therefore, has a most important bearing on the political discussions which affect the largest Province in the British Indian Empire. Among Englishmen of the present day, Dr. Grierson, Mr. Beames, and Mr. Gait of the Bengal Civil Service are considered authorities on the Bengali language and literature. Other Englishmen who have carefully studied the Bengali language have also been struck with the beauties of the language. Mr. F. H. Skrine, author of "The Expansion of Russia," a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, who served in Bengal for about a quarter of a century, says : " Bengali is a true daughter of ancient Sanskrit, and approaches its parent more nearly than any Indian language in the qualities which have rendered Sanskrit so unrivalled a medium for the expression of the highest ranges of human thought. It unites the mellifluousness of the Italian with the power possessed by the German of rendering complex ideas." Another retired member of the Indian Civil Service, who has very carefully studied the Bengali language, says : " You cannot speak too strongly of the beauties of the Bengali literature or the charms of one of the most euphonious languages in the world."

The Bengali literature of the present day is rich in history, philosophy, biography, travel, poetry and drama.

* The discussion of this paper will appear in the report of the East India Association in our next issue.

The Bengali, not satisfied with ordinary dictionaries, has tried to imitate the "Encyclopædia Britannica" and the modest Bengali production called the "Visva Kosha," though not edited by experts, is a monument of literary industry running into many volumes. At present there are over fifty Bengali periodicals, devoted to literature, science, art, religion, poetry, medicine, agriculture, etc. English literature and Western enlightenment have had a direct effect on the growth of the Bengali language and literature. To-day Bengali occupies the foremost place among the numerous vernaculars of the British Indian Empire. It is enriched with translations from the French, German, Arabic, and Persian languages. The young Bengali lady of to-day, even if she knows not so much as the alphabet of any European language, can read Guy de Maupassant's stories, discuss the poems of Heine and Victor Hugo and the comedies of Molière. She can enjoy a hearty laugh over the good-humoured banter in that masterpiece of Persian literature, "The Vizier-i-Lankaran." She may not know the "aliph" or "be" of the Arabic alphabet, and yet may follow the discussions of learned Maulavis as to whether the Arabic word "Budn" in the Koran, when used with reference to the Eed Sacrifice, means a camel only, or includes cattle also. She may compare the philosophy of Herbert Spencer and Mill with that of her own national "Gita." She can tell you whether Schopenhauer's conception of the Hindu philosophy of Karma and Nirvana was right. The Röntgen rays and wireless telegraphy are known to her through the medium of her own language. In fact, in expressiveness and copiousness the Bengali language of to-day has all the qualities found in the most literary languages of Europe.

A cloud of obscurity hangs over the origin of the Bengali language. The city of Dacca was a flourishing capital in the days of Pliny. History shows that a well-known Buddhist temple was built in Sagar Island, at the mouth of the Hughli, so far back as 430 A.D. A map of "Bengal

in the Fifteenth Century," still carefully preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, is of considerable interest ; but Bengal is also mentioned by name in the Raghuvansa a thousand years earlier (500 A.D.). Before the English occupation of Bengal, Gaur and Navadvipa (Nadiya) were the centres of Bengali culture. According to Rennell, Gaur (the modern Malda) was the capital of Bengal in 750 B.C. Tamralipta (the modern Tamluk) was the Mecca of the Buddhists about nineteen centuries ago. Fa Hian, the Chinese priest, visited Bengal in the third century A.D., and lived there for two years. Professor Wilson, in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, refers to Fa Hian's visit to Bengal as a historical landmark, and as fixing one of the few dates in Indian history. Bengal and the Bengali language have always attracted a good deal of attention from European scholars. Dr. Müller's "Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and aboriginal languages of India" offers philological disquisition regarding the Bengali language. Dr. Müller says that Bengali is a direct offshoot of the Sanskrit.

Some scholars are of opinion that the Bengali alphabet is derived from the Indo-Pali or the South Asoka characters used in India before the Christian era. Max Müller, Roth, Bühler, Goldstücker, and Lassen all hold different views as regards the Indo-Pali alphabet. Whatever may be the origin of the Bengali characters, they were evidently in existence five centuries before Christ. According to the Lalita Vistara, Vishvamitra taught the great Buddha the Bengali characters. The Bengali characters are a set of symbols, like the Devanagri, though of a somewhat different shape, yet based essentially on the same principles. The Bengali characters are bold and simple. They are easy to remember, and, unlike the Arabic characters, easy to read and difficult to mistake. Bengali, the daughter of Sanskrit, has much of her mother's stately charm and beauty. Many colloquial words in Bengali are, however, of distinctly Magadhi-Prakrit origin. Bengali

owes as much to the Sanskrit as French and Italian owe to Latin. The supple and beautiful rhyming metres of Bengali, though perhaps not direct descendants of the Sanskrit couplets called Slokas, are no doubt derived from the Sanskrit metrification. They are divided into Tripadi and Chaupadi metres. Not otherwise can the rhyming metres of French prosody be traced through old Christian hymns to the hexameters of Rome. For all its resemblance to the parent Sanskrit, Bengali has only few of the blemishes which characterize Indo-Germanic tongues. Its structure is simple, and abounds in vigorous expressions. It is not the result of a coalition of clashing languages as is modern English—that hybrid of Saxon and Norman French. Bengali, notwithstanding the influx of Semitic words and phrases, due to Muhammadan influences, owes its structure entirely to Sanskrit. Literary Bengali consists almost wholly of Sanskrit words, the “bibhakti” or final letters (suffixes) being generally omitted. In short, with a single stroke of the enchanter’s wand, as it were, all the difficulties, such as sex epithets, etc., peculiar to Sanskrit, have disappeared in Bengali. In pronunciation, however, Bengali differs from Sanskrit. The clear brief Sanskrit A in Bengali becomes a dull O, like the “å” of Scandinavian speech. The semi-vowel Y is invariably pronounced as J, and there is no distinction between the pronunciation of V and B.

Before the twelfth century, though Bengali was spoken, it was regarded as vulgar to write Bengali. As the Italians of the period of Dante wrote in Latin, as the Anglo-Saxon writers, even so late as the time of Alfred the Great, wrote in the language of Rome, the Bengalis in olden times wrote in Sanskrit. There was hardly any Bengali literature before the twelfth century. It was in the twelfth century that the songs of Manik Chand roused the Bengali nation to a sense of the beauty of their language. In these songs Buddhism still governs the poet’s imagination. It is evident that caste was then less powerful than in our

own day. The Bengali then travelled widely, and took an active interest in the outer world. Several Bengali Pandits visited Tibet. Rockhill, in his "Life of Buddha," writes: "In 1042 the famous Atish, a native of Bengal, came to Tibet. He wrote a great number of works which may be found in the Bstanhgyur, and translated many others relating principally to Tantrik theories and practices." The Bengali line of the Sena Kings ruled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and encouraged every literary movement in Bengal. Up to 1203 no foreign invader had penetrated as far as Bengal. All literary efforts were therefore confined to Sanskrit culture. There was then not a Semitic word in the Bengal language.

Jayadeva, a native of Bengal, created a revolution in the literature of Bengal. He was, according to Bühler, born in the twelfth century. His "Gita-Govinda," composed in Sanskrit, immortalized the amours of Krishna and Radhika, and has been called the Indian "Song of Songs." He dealt allegorically with the relations of the soul to God in describing the passionate love which Radhika bore to the man-God Krishna. Sir Edwin Arnold has rendered Jayadeva's song into admirable English verse. Chandi Das lived in the fourteenth century. Jayadeva of Bengal was imitated by Vidypati of Mithila (Behar), and Chandidas imitated his contemporary Vidyapati. Vidyapati, though really belonging to Mithila, is accepted as a master of singers in Bengal, where his verses are still read, although the dialect in which they are written resembles Hindi rather than Bengali.

The great Sanskrit epics—the Mahabharata and the Ramayana—are, of course, well known to Western scholars. They were early translated into European languages. For instance, the Ramayana was translated into French by Hippolyte Fanche, and an Italian version by Gorresio was published at the expense of the then King of Sardinia. Both the great Sanskrit epics were translated into Bengali verse in the fifteenth century, and became very popular.

All over the East, whether in Persia or in India, poetry is widely read even by the humblest classes. Incidents in the life of Rama and Krishna are as well known to the millions in Bengal as the tales of Wallace and the Black Douglas to the Scotch peasantry, or as Robinson Crusoe to English children. The Bengali translations of the epics are by no means perfect ; indeed, they are rather naïve paraphrases of the heroic tale rather than translations properly so called. But they have a simple charm which appeals even to cultivated readers, and may be compared not inaptly to such popular European epics as the "Chanson de Roland" or the "Morte Arthure."

The translators made sundry concessions to popular taste which amuse the modern scholar. For instance, Krittibas, the Bengali translator of the great Sanskrit epic "Ramayana," introduced the stories of Mahi Ravan and Ahi Ravan, and the monkey-god Hanuman hiding the sun under his arm, which are not in the Sanskrit original. But Krittibas, the translator of the "Ramayana," and Kashiram Das, the translator of the "Mahabharata," laid the foundations of the Bengali literature. Though good Bengali translations of these great Sanskrit epics have since been published, yet the old editions, in tattered volumes on primitive wooden tablets, are still the staple literary food of the Bengali masses. The masses being illiterate, a Brahman, known as a Kathak, is employed to dole out the ancient mythology to an admiring crowd squatting on a palmyra mat under a canopy of date leaves. The institution of the Kathak, or Bard, like that of the Bhat, is perhaps as old as Indo-Aryan civilization. The masses of Bengal delight in repeating from these epics a priest's curse or a warrior's vow, perhaps because of the forcible language and its quaint impressiveness. Except the Sanskrit couplets, known in Bengal as the "Chanakya Sloka" (the couplets of Chanakya), nothing is more popular than quotations from these two great epics. The "Chanaka Slokas" were handed down from father to son by oral repetition, as was the case with Sadi's verses

in Persia. The Slokas represent the concentrated wisdom of ages in a nutshell. Dr. Haeberlin has collected some of these apothegms in his well-known Anthology. Their universality is beyond doubt, and they contain rules for guidance in critical positions in life. Chanakya is to Bengal what Sadi is to Persia, and perhaps what Lord Chesterfield was to educated English youth a century ago. We shall give the translation of a couple of Slokas to give an idea of ancient Bengal wisdom. Friendship is thus described : "The man who stands by you in the day of feasting and in the day of calamity, in famine and in war, at the King's gate, at the resting-place of the dead, that man is a friend." The English rhyming proverb contains the same sentiment in brief :

"In time of prosperity friends will be plenty ;
In time of adversity not one in twenty."

Enmity is thus summarized : "A father who runs into debt is an enemy, so is a dissolute mother ; a handsome wife is an enemy, and so is an uneducated son." Some of the Slokas are full of homely yet keen common-sense ; others might almost be the work of a rustic La Rochefoucauld. In the sixteenth century, however, is the birth of a true literature. With the advent of the religious reformer, Chaitanya (born 1485), the thought and language of Bengal entered upon a new phase. Chaitanya may be regarded as the Bengali counterpart of Buddha, for Vaishnavism embodies in Hindu phraseology the doctrines of equality and brotherhood preached by Sakya-Muni. The religious reformer in every country has always used the vernacular of his country in preaching to the people. Wycliffe in England, St. Patrick in Ireland, Calvin in France, and Luther in Germany, all used the language of the people for the diffusion of new ideas. The Bengali reformer was no exception to the rule. Chaitanya's teachings gave a great impetus to the Bengali language. The "Padakalpataru," "Rasamanjari," "Gita Chintamani" and "Padakalpalatika" refer to no less than 150 Bengali poets who sang Chaitanya's

doctrines. Some wrote under feminine *nom de plumes*, like Siva-Sahachari, etc. The Chaitanya philosophy became so popular in Bengal that even Musalmans vied with one another to compose songs in the fashion of the day. The verses of at least a dozen such Mahommedan poets exist to this day. The Hindu system, though in theory opposed to proselytism, appears to have thus made proselytes. The Bengali Chaitanya cycle of song has attracted some attention from Western scholars. Professor Newmann quotes: "If thy soul is to go on into higher spiritual blessedness, it must become a *woman*, however manly thou may be amongst men."

In the seventeenth century appeared Mukundaram, whom Professor E. B. Cowell, of Cambridge, called the "Chaucer of Bengal." Mukundaram is better known in Bengal by his title of "Kabi Kankan." Bharat Chandra, a master of mellifluous verse, and Ram Prasad, a famous songster, lived in the eighteenth century. Kabi Kankan and Bharat Chandra were long the favourite poets of Bengal. Unhappily, indelicacy has been one of the characteristics of Eastern literature, and the works of Bharat Chandra, though they display real poetical talent, are often coarsely sensual in idea and expression. The "Annada Mangal" of Bharat Chandra is, however, still popular, while Kabi Kankan's "Chandi," once a highly popular work in praise of the goddess Durga, has lost some of its prestige. Both these poets enjoyed the patronage of the Mæcenæ of Hindu literature, Raja Krishna Chandra Roy, of Nadiya. During the régime of Krishna Chandra Roy, Nadiya became the literary centre of Bengal, a kind of Bengali Oxford. In the study of Hindu logic Nadiya still retains its ascendancy, and attracts Brahmin pupils from Benares, and even from distant Dravida (Madras), and Maharastra (Bombay). There is almost as much difference between the Bengali of a hundred years ago and the Bengali of the present day as between Rabelais and Anatole France, between Chaucer and Tennyson. Modern Bengali is fitted

alike for the philosopher and the man in the street. But the Bengali (especially the official Bengali) of Warren Hastings' time (1772) had not reached its full development. It was written in Bengali characters, it is true. Except the concluding verb, the rest of the sentence had very little to do with the parent Sanskrit. Bengali was largely intermixed with Arabic and Persian, and the vagaries of Muhammadan pronunciation often grated on the offended ear of the man of culture. Even now pronunciation varies as one travels from the banks of the Hugli to the banks of the Padma and further east. In Eastern Bengal *sh* is pronounced as *h*; in Sylhet the sound is labial, in Chittagong nasal, in the Sunderbuns palatal, and in Assam guttural. A man from Eastern Bengal even to-day, though a master of the Bengali language in writing, yet will disfigure it in speaking, as the Scotsman, by his Doric accent, offends the English ear. Those who learn Bengali through "the cold medium of books" can hardly be expected to appreciate the capacity for music possessed by the most harmonious of Indian tongues. The Bengali language is tolerably easily learned by foreigners; thus the majority of Muhammadans in Bengal not only speak, but write Bengali. The Bengali Musalman usually prefers Bengali to Hindustani, and at present there is more than one Bengali monthly review conducted by Bengali Musalmans of light and culture. The Bengali Muhammadan, when speaking, indulges in a language which is more or less a mixture of the phraseology of Kalidasa and of Abul Fazl, of Manu and of Abu Hanifa. The "Muhammadan Bengali" thus fashioned has acquired an inelegant stiffness which would have shocked Panini or Bhatti. But we are glad to notice that the present generation of the Musalmans of Bengal are trying to improve their patois by introducing a larger number of Sanskrit words into their vocabulary; and this gives more life and vigour to their tongue.

A hundred and fifty years ago the Bengali language did not possess a single dictionary or grammar. There was

hardly a prose work of sterling value. It was the missionaries of Christianity who created a revolution in the language and literature. Carey and Marshman found Bengal so much caste-ridden as to make any intellectual effort impossible for the nation. But as Voltaire and Rousseau shook the fabric of the priestly and aristocratic despotism in France, so did Carey, Duff, and Marshman in Bengal. Before the days of these eminent missionaries, as we have already seen, Bengali could not boast of a dictionary or a grammar in the language. In 1778 the first Bengali Grammar was published. It was Halhed's Bengali Grammar, and was printed at Hugli, twenty-four miles from Calcutta. There was then no Bengali type. Sir C. Wilkins prepared the first Bengali type with his own hands. He afterwards edited the "Bhagavat Gita." In 1800 the Marquis of Wellesley founded Fort William College (Calcutta). His masterly minute on Bengali literature is published in Rocbruck's "Annals of the College of Fort William." By pecuniary and other encouragement, he gave an impetus to the cultivation of Bengali which produced remarkable results. It was under the patronage of the College of Fort William in 1801 that Dr. Carey published his Bengali translation of the New Testament, which was followed by his well-known Bengali Dictionary, in three volumes, quarto, containing 80,000 words. In 1816 a Bengali translation of the Gospels, by John Ellerton, of Malda, was published at the expense of the Calcutta Bible Society. The Countess of Loudon founded and endowed a Bengali school at Barrackpore (about nine miles from Calcutta). In twenty years, under the patronage of the Fort William College, in addition to over sixty Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian works, a number of Bengali books were published. Among them were the "Hitopadesha," in 1801, Sergeant's Bengali translation of four books of the "Æneid," and Monkton's Bengali translation of Shakespeare's "Tempest." Most of these books were issued by the Serampore Mission Press. Dr. Carey was to the Bengali language what Dr.

Gilchrist was to Hindustani. In 1813 the East India Company, at the instance of Lord Minto, the great grandfather of the present Viceroy of India, fostered the revival of Oriental letters by an annual grant of a lakh of rupees (£6,600). The result was the discovery of many Oriental books and manuscripts, which made the improvement of the Sanskrit and the Bengali languages possible. The Calcutta Bible Society came into existence in 1811; which received the compliments and approval of the Asiatic Society of Paris. In thirty-eight years it issued no less than 602,266 copies of the vernacular Scriptures, of which about one-fourth were in Bengali. As a result, the Bengali language improved considerably. But the tone was not yet healthy. The Marchioness of Hastings, finding that the Bengali nations could not supply a single native child's book in Bengali, established, in 1817, the Calcutta School-book Society. At that time the Bengali language could no doubt boast of about sixty indigenous works, but most of them discussed only mythological and amatory subjects, quite unfit for the rising generation. It was Englishmen, as Bengali teachers, who filled this gap in Bengali letters a century ago. The names of Mr. Stewart, the founder of the Burdwan Church Mission School, of Mr. May and Mr. Pearson of the Chinsura School, are still remembered with gratitude. Their publications, if not exactly literature, themselves, served to train a new school of writers. They worked with the enthusiasm of crusaders in the malarious and depressing climate of Bengal. They published Bengali books on history, geography, and other educational subjects.

In 1818, the *Digdarshan* (*Compass*), a Bengali magazine, was published. The first Bengali newspaper the *Darpan* (*Mirror*) was started at Serampore on May 23, 1818. The Marquis of Hastings wrote a letter with his own hand congratulating the editor, and directed that a large number of copies should be subscribed for at the public expense, and should be sent to the various native

courts. The postage of the *Darpan* was reduced to one-fourth the usual rate—no small matter in those days.

The Serampore College was founded in 1818, and did much useful work in educating the future authors of Bengal. In 1821 Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of Brahmaism, started his *Brahminical Magazine*. Its main object was to oppose the spread of Christian doctrines. It, however, disappeared in a very short time. In 1823 the Calcutta Tract Society came into existence. But the Bengali language soon after sustained a severe blow in the death of Felix Carey. Among Carey's Bengali translations the following may be mentioned: "On Anatomy," Goldsmith's "History of England," "The Pilgrim's Progress," etc. The *Timir-nashak* (*Destroyer of Darkness*) in 1824, and *Banga Dūt* (*Bengal Messenger*), in 1829, were among the newspapers that, before the Calcutta University was established, tried to stimulate the indifferent and instruct the learner. Subsequently the *Prabhakar*, *Tatvabodhini*, *Bangadarshan*, and various other magazines came into existence. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the first Bengali prose-writer. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagara (1850) and Akhay Kumar Datta (1850) gave Bengali prose a classical dress, and it was left to Bankim (1860) to simplify prose style and adapt it to popular narrative.

Professors Derozio and Richardson, of the Hindu College, in the early forties of the last century, created a revolution among the young men of Calcutta. Michael Dutt, one of the students of the Hindu College, was among others permeated with Western thought, and visited Europe in 1848. After his return to Bengal, in 1861, he published an epic known as the "Meghnād Badh," which won for him the distinction of introducing blank verse into the Bengali language. In the last twenty years the Bengali literature has made great strides. There are now Bengali poetesses, and a leading Bengali magazine is edited by a Bengali lady. The name of Srimati Kamini Roy, the talented author of "Alo o Chhāya" (Light and Shade), and of

Srimati Mankumari, writer of "Kusumanjali" (Offering of Flowers), are well known to every educated Bengali. Bengali widows sometimes express their grief in poetry. The authors of "Asrukana" (Teardrops) and "Nirjharoni" (Waterfall) are young widows. Their pictures of the woes of the Hindu widow are among the most pathetic and moving lyrical poems that have ever been written in India.

The Bengali language, full as it is of words expressing different degrees of family relationship, has hardly any words that have a political origin. A single Bengali word expresses family ties, to express which in English one requires a long periphrasis. The word "Jethai" at once points out the good lady who has married your father's *elder* brother. The word "Kaki" tells you that she is the better-half of your father's *younger* brother! The every-day conversation of the average Bengali begins with, and is sometimes limited to, inquiries after the health and welfare of the various members who represent the most distant ramification of the family tree. But one searches in vain for colloquial words for "liberal," "conservative," or other most ordinary political words of every-day use. Of course, we have recently introduced into our literature pedantic translations of some of the modern political terms; but they are known only to the few, and seldom used even by them in conversation. Though the lives of Mazzini and Garibaldi have been translated into Bengali, the national literature of Bengal contains no political works. As to representative Government in the modern sense, the idea was, of course, unknown to India. A Government evolved out of the wishes of the people was a thing never dreamt of by our ancestors. Implicit obedience to the ruling power was alike inculcated by religion and precedent in India.

The nursery songs and ballads of Bengal are very interesting. Notwithstanding the present Sivaji demonstration at Calcutta, the nursery rhymes of Bengal clearly indicate the hatred felt by the Bengali for the Mahratta—

the "bargi" (bogie ?) of the national nursery rhymes. In Bengali ballads we can see the Bengali feeling towards the Musalman conquerors, and it is by no means always friendly. It is difficult, however, to find a single ballad or nursery rhyme in Bengal uncomplimentary to the English. Nothing could be stronger evidence of the friendly feeling of the Bengali masses towards the English.

In the Bengali language there is always present one strong impress of nationality, the spirit of Hinduism. The Bengali literature is Hindu; it is sometimes saturated with Hinduism even in the writings of men who got their literary inspiration from Musalman or English writers. The poems of Christian Michael Dutt are Hindu in inspiration; the admirable novels of Bankim, though collecting ideas from the Musalman as well as Christian literature, are Hindu. The poems of Nabin Sen are also Hindu, though he has sung of the romance of the sea with a Swinburnian enthusiasm. Bengalis delight in calling their popular authors by English names. Michael Dutt is called the "Milton," Nabin Sen the "Byron," and Bankim the "Scott" of Bengal. The educated Bengali likes his own literature only when there is Western thought mingled with it. This may appear paradoxical, but it is true. In Sanskrit erudition all Bengal will admit that Taranath Tarkavachaspati and Bharat Chandra Siromani were much superior to Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar and Swami Vivekananda of American fame. But Vachaspati or Siromani did not receive a tenth of the homage from the Bengali that Vidyasagar and Vivekananda did. Vidyasagar's and Vivekananda's knowledge of English helped them to mix Hindu ideas with Western thought, and hence their popularity. Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the "Scott of Bengal," is another very popular Bengali writer. His "Gita" discusses the views of Western savants like Lassen and Weber. His "Dharmatatva" is practically Mill's philosophy in Bengali garb. Thoughtful Bengalis clearly see that they must try to harmonize Bengali ideas with Western thought.

The *Sahitya Parishad* (the Bengal Academy of Literature) of Calcutta, which numbers among its 600 members eminent High Court judges, members of the Indian Civil Service, barristers, doctors, etc., is now engaged in the study of the bibliography of the Bengali language. It is introducing a scientific system of transliterating Muslim words into Bengali characters. Preference has been given to Grimm's law above the rules of Panini. The new system of transliteration will be on the lines of the one established by the International Oriental Congress of 1894, and adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society.

It will be seen that, as Sir George Birdwood has pointed out in the *Times*, the Bengali language and literature in their modern evolution, extension, and influence, are, so to say, and without paradox, an English achievement. No administrative measure, such as the "Partition of Bengal," will have any injurious effect on the growth of the Bengali language and literature. Burns and Scott are not less English authors, because Scotland is, in a sense, separated from England. In fact, the intellectual eminence of Edinburgh was due to the fact that it was the capital of Scotland. Who knows whether Dacca, the capital of the new Province of East Bengal and Assam, may not yet be another Bengali Oxford, and compete with the Navadwip (Nadiya) of former days? Several of the best Bengali authors hail from Eastern Bengal. Michael Dutt, who is called the "Bengali Milton," and Nabin Sen, the "Bengali Byron," are both from Eastern Bengal. The best history of the Bengali literature extant is written by a native of Chittagong. Administrative divisions have not interfered with the development of the Hindustani (Urdu) and the Marathi languages, and there is absolutely no reason why any administrative separation should affect the language and literature of Bengal.

“MADRAS IRRIGATION AND NAVIGATION”— A REPLY.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

IN the ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW for October, 1905, there is an article on the above subject by Mr. W. Hughes, M.A., M.I.C.E., in which I am taxed with having written certain articles in the same Review, “based on incorrect information to a large extent,” and against the Indian Government in general, and more particularly against the Madras Government. As regards the matter of writing against the Government, there is no evidence whatever in existence, and I repudiate the charge entirely. That I have commented on the doings of their servants in the discharge of their duties in some important matters I freely admit, and will reproduce the instances by-and-by; for Mr. Hughes very carefully omits all these, and in no instance does he show at all clearly that my information was incorrect except in what he is pleased to call his own opinions.

The manner in which Mr. Hughes argues in general can be gathered very easily from the following statements taken from his article. He says at p. 244: “*It is not the fact* that it is governed in the interests of a priestly caste”; and at p. 249 he says: “We have struck at the root of *caste ascendancy* by *offering* the same educational facilities to all.” If it is a fact that caste ascendancy did not prevail at all in South India, what object was there to strike at its root? Mr. Rogers says he heard a Madras civilian declare the Brahmins would not let him make some reductions in favour of the common people, and everyone knows this practice prevails all over South India, under the authority and influence of the Head Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue, Madras; but according to Mr. Hughes, this priestly caste has no existence or influence! His experience

of Indian affairs and district administration must be very small indeed.

Mr. Hughes is in error when he says the Department of Public Works was formed *after* the Mutinies; it was instituted about 1854-55. The Mutinies broke out suddenly in 1857, so his long dissertation about *Kudi Maramut* is more whimsical than anything else, for he himself did not come to India for years after the Mutiny had been suppressed, I believe. At this time the Department of Public Works was greatly reduced on account of the state of the finances; all new works, except military, were stopped, but "repairs" were allowed to be proceeded with; and during the years 1857-59, with the assistance of the *old Kudi Maramut*, which had been left to us, I set to work to put the old tanks and channels in the old Bellary districts, having then an area of about 11,000 square miles, into good order. We expended in these three years Rs. 360,000 in improving these works, *storing more water*, etc., with the cordial *cooperation of the ryots*, who never failed in *one single instance* to perform the work they had promised to do, without any stamp agreements, and they also paid a water-rate of Rs. 5 per acre for all lands for which water was provided. By these operations we brought an additional 85,000 acres of land into cultivation, yielding a revenue of over 4 lacs of rupees, so all the original outlay was soon recovered. The cost of maintenance was reduced by Rs. 25,000 a year from the sum which had been usually allowed for the district, and the works were allowed to be in far better order than they had ever been in before even by those who were most hostile to the new Department of Public Works. I always found the members of the *old Kudi Maramut* very useful. None of them were highly educated; some could not read or write their own language; but they were good practical men of experience, and soon learnt to do well with a little assistance and instruction. I consider their method of tamping in an earthen bund much superior to our usual practice; and I

believe, for India, their placing a good thick backing of stiff clay *behind* the stone-facing of tank bunds is far better than the clay puddle-walls in the middle of the bund we usually adopt. The clay in such a position is preserved from cracking by the presence of the water in close proximity to it, and in hot weather the stone-facing preserves it from the heat of the sun. Some of these old people could make a cement of the common "kunker" of this country quite equal to any Portland cement. So, as far as my knowledge of them goes, such people were not to be despised if only properly treated.

Now, if Mr. Hughes can show that by the large outlay on the tank restoration scheme during the years of its existence, with a special extra establishment (its cost is never mentioned), any additional revenue has been secured to the Government, the storage of water greatly improved, and the extent of land irrigated greatly increased, he will have established something in favour of this extraordinary establishment; but so far as the published reports of its working show, there is absolutely nothing to indicate that any great advantages have been secured by it, either for the Government or the people. In fact, it does not appear that this establishment has been employed at all in maintaining even registers of the rainfall. How, then, can it have been of any great use for improving hydraulic works? If I may be allowed to tender some little advice to so great an authority as Mr. Hughes on hydraulic works, I would respectfully advise him to study Sir A. Binnie's paper on the Nagpore Water-works in the *Proceedings* of the Civil Engineers' Institute, London, and he will then learn how necessary it is to maintain registers of the rainfall for as many years as possible in order to be able to execute hydraulic works efficiently. In none of Mr. Hughes' papers does he show that this matter has been properly attended to in Madras by himself or any of his predecessors, and it is, therefore, quite impossible for their works to be in good order or as efficient as possible.

The expenditure on works is no indication that the works are being properly attended to. *The results* for all this outlay should be clearly shown, and a comparison annually made of the cost of establishment, with the outlay on works; otherwise any amount of money can be spent in India, as was done in the old régime, and no results attained, and the accounts were always several years in arrears. A bare assertion that I am mistaken without any proofs is a strange way to dispose of serious public interests.

Mr. Hughes asserts, on his own authority, that my quotation from a letter of Mr. Ragoonatha Row's is "very incorrect and misleading." That letter appeared in the *Madras Mail*, which is a strong supporter of Mr. Hughes' opinions and ideas, has never been contradicted publicly, and as Mr. Ragoonatha Row is a retired deputy collector of the Government service and a large landed proprietor, his statements cannot be set aside in the supercilious manner Mr. Hughes treats a respectable native gentleman.

Before going into further details it will be as well to dispose of the subject of main and cross roads in South India. The two following letters appeared in the *Madras Mail* of October 21, 1905.

MADRAS ROADS.

SIR,

May I suggest that if their Royal Highnesses could be induced to drive at least once over all the principal roads of this city they would, in all probability, confer substantial benefit upon its citizens? There would be a chance, at least, of some of the roads which badly require attention, other than those which their Royal Highnesses will traverse, being seriously taken in hand by the municipality.

KILPANK.

I would thank you to publish the following few lines in the columns of your largely-circulated paper, calling the

attention of those who are in charge of the repair of public roads, New Town, which are a disgrace to any municipality, especially the end along the factory. The road is so full of mud ruts that even the wheels of a light carriage sink half their height. The horse drawing the carriage I was riding in along this road had even to stop three or four times to get its wind, it being such a hard pull—and the horse was by no means a weak animal. I would ask those in charge of the repair of public roads to do their utmost to repair this road, even for the sake of the poor animals.

SUFFERER.

If the roads in the chief town of the Presidency are in the condition described by these writers—and here, in the principal military station, these are little better, if at all—it is easy to imagine what must be their condition in the Mofussil, where they are hardly seen by Europeans. It is well known that the good roads made by Sir Mark Cubbon in Mysore are in the most ruinous condition, and that in Travancore they have never existed at all. Mr. Hughes should show very clearly how much the cost of transport has been reduced by the works he so praises. As to "the incalculable benefits" claimed for the railways, that is an old song which is now as stale as a parrot's single note. These works have introduced no new industries into this country; the towns and villages they run through are all in the same condition they were in 2,000 years ago, and the bazaar rates for lending money have more than doubled since their introductions; so it is very easy to estimate "the incalculable benefits" they have conferred on the community, especially as an "expert" employed by the Government has declared their freight charges for passengers and goods are over 80 per cent. too high for the present industrial condition of India, whilst Mr. Hughes declares them to be probably the cheapest in the world! How, then, does it appear the railways are the most profitable works for a miserably poor agricultural community? And

they have never increased the value of real estate by a farthing.

Mr. Hughes states the great imperial systems *now* irrigate 3,000,000 acres, and the larger provincial works irrigate 700,000 acres. He takes care not to give the dates when these works were originated. Of the former more than 80 per cent. belong to the delta works, designed by Sir A. Cotton, and of the latter very much belong to his energetic endeavours. I expect, if the dates are properly looked up, this is another instance of his making bare assertions without any proofs. Mr. Hughes charges me with making a statement in the *Review* of October, 1904 (p. 259), that India, with its most abundant water-supply, is declared to be unable to irrigate more than some 20,000,000 acres of land, and adds : "*no such statement was made.*" *The statement was made* by Lord Curzon, as I said, when he assumed the government of this country, and was based "*on a carefully prepared estimate,*" which had been prepared for his lordship, as can be seen by a reference to my article in the *Review*. All this Mr. Hughes omits, and in the most abrupt manner contradicts me—on his bare assertion, as usual. In the same way he asserts the area irrigated in *British India* from all sources is about 44,000,000 acres. In the last review by the Government of India for the year 1903-1904 this area is given at 21,500,000 acres, being an increase of 1,500,000 acres *in all British India* over the previous year. So much for the correctness of Mr. Hughes' figures. Mr. Pennington (*Review*, July, 1905, p. 181) states : "We have over 44,000,000, or more than a fifth of the cultivated area, actually under irrigation *at the present time*, exclusive of well cultivation." As the Government of India *in their last review* of irrigation in India, for the year 1903-1904, state the extent was only 21,500,000 there is a good opportunity for these gentlemen to correct the errors and mistakes of the Government of India.

Mr. Hughes declares (pp. 250, 251) that I quoted and

misunderstood his statement that “the Godavari cannot be utilized except in the delta.” I very much regret if I made any mistake, but I said he *apparently* did so; for when he spoke of the Godavari, I naturally inferred that he meant the whole basin of that great river. When we speak of the Thames, we do not refer to that portion of the river *below* London Bridge. Mr. Hughes informs us that, “in fact, about 200 projects for irrigation in the Central Provinces were brought to the notice of the Irrigation Commission”; but *he omits* to state that these same Commissioners declared it was impossible to carry out any such works in those territories on account of the Zimindari tenure of the land prevailing in them! And this is his way of promoting the public interests of the Government and the community in general, by withholding all the real facts which prevent agriculture being successfully carried on. Mr. Hughes is graciously pleased to tell the public he has not been able to verify the evidence I gave before the Irrigation Commission in 1901, as he has not had any opportunity of consulting the volume of evidence taken before the Commission. This is rather strange, for when it suited his purpose he quotes their report freely—for instance, when he wrote all that “farrago of nonsense” about *Kudi Maramut*, and in many other instances. His surmises about my connection with the Toongabadra project are as fanciful as they well can be. It is quite true this project originated many, many years ago with Sir A. Cotton, and in 1856 the papers were sent to me for investigation. I then pointed out to the Government his proposal to carry the large volume of water over the Huggri River, across the watershed in the Bellary district, to supplement the supply of the Pennar River, was most expensive, and I suggested the Pennar should be supplied by the Khoondar Valley below Kurnool from the Toongabadra River. The Government ordered this proposal of mine to be submitted to Sir A. Cotton on his return to India, and in 1857-58 Sir Arthur at once approved of my suggestions, and directed me to investigate his project for a reservoir on the Toonga-

badra, and to convey the water from it by a canal, so as to form a junction with the Kurnool works. I found the site for the reservoir, which Sir Arthur was much pleased with, and was making my investigations for the canal in Bellary, when these were stopped by order of the Government, as they considered the Kurnool works were quite sufficient to begin upon. There is the whole matter in a nutshell, and I explained this fully to the Irrigation Commission, and as I was leaving the room Colonel Smart, R.E., introduced himself to me, and said he had never seen the Toongabadra project explained in the manner I had just described, and he thought it was quite feasible, and would remove all difficulties, so I do not see how *he* could have anticipated me. I admit that I did not suggest the tunnel through the hills to the Commission, as I had long considered the subject, and thought the cost far too great for this country, and its execution would occupy many years, when we wanted to relieve the district of all fear of famine as soon as possible. I am not sure, but I think a tunnel of less than two and a half miles in length can be executed in that part of the country. I insisted upon the navigation being made quite through to the coast, and I maintain my opinion as before that the project will not be a success unless through navigation is adopted. On this subject I acted in entire concurrence with Sir A. Cotton's views and opinions. In connection with this Toongabadra project, when Mr. Hughes had described it as being “on a much grander scale,” etc., I wrote in this *Review* in October, 1904, as follows :

“Now will it be believed that he and all his predecessors in office for more than forty years condemned this project *in toto*, and *advised* the Government to abandon it altogether, as all ‘official’ records can prove ?” To this question Mr. Hughes makes no reply, but slurs the matter over, though by his own admission the Government had lost in twenty years some 6 crores of rupees, and in forty years under similar circumstances this loss was not less than 12 crores of rupees, exclusive of the loss of lives and live-stock, simply

for want of this water-supply, *which was always at hand*, but which neither he nor any of his predecessors *took the least trouble about* to save the Government and the people from suffering all these fearful losses and the frightful horrors of famine; and now Mr. Hughes says, at p. 251 of this *Review* for October, 1905: "It is difficult to treat seriously *my vague ideas* regarding the possibilities of extending irrigation in Madras," when he was well aware that the Irrigation Commission had readily accepted my suggestions and proposals as explained to them for carrying out this same Toongabadra project, and had *at once* recommended the work to the Government of India for adoption! However vague my ideas about extending irrigation in Madras may be in Mr. Hughes' estimation, they were very readily accepted by the Irrigation Commission, and in the course of my service in India under Generals Sir A. Cotton, R.E., C. A. Orr, F. H. Rundle, R.E., and Colonel Anderson, R.E., all my proposals were highly approved of and accepted generally. Their incapacity perhaps was not so great as Mr. Hughes', who has not left a *single work* of any importance in Madras, as originated and carried out by himself, on record. The value of his judgment on irrigation can be easily appreciated, as I will proceed to show in reference to the Mopand and Nagawalli River-projects. The Mopand project is a proposal to construct a reservoir on the Manera River, in the Nellore district, and this river is *south of the Pennar and has never had anything done for it*, although Mr. Hughes had declared that 70 per cent. of its waters had been fully utilized. I pointed out that similar rivers in the North Arcot district, south of the Pennar, and, in fact, all similar rivers north and south of the Pennar River all along the Coromandal coast, were in flood in that season, and doing immense damage to the railways, etc. So there was no ground for Mr. Hughes' assertion that there is very limited scope for impounding more water in them, for they were already fully utilized. When the report on the Mopand project was published, it contained

no description of the Manera River, no account of its catchment area, nothing to show what the general incline of its bed might be, or if the gathering ground was composed of hard steep ground or flat soil in general; no observations or calculations of the ordinary or heavy flood discharges of this river were given, and not a single year's register of the rainfall in this basin or in the district accompanied the report. And Mr. Hughes declares my ideas about irrigation are vague!

I assumed the rainfall might be the same as in the adjacent district of North Arcot—viz., 36 inches on an average—and sketched out a project for utilizing this river more fully; but the chief points I insisted upon were that it was very dangerous to construct an earthen dam at such a site, and the peculiar character of the rainfall on this coast. This latter has been just confirmed, for in this very year Nellore reports that over 15 inches of rain fell there in three days. Of this quantity 8·5 inches fell on the first day, and 5·7 inches on the second. There was no cyclone or hurricane about; the storm was apparently one of those frequently occurring at this season on this coast. Mr. Hughes gives the average rainfall hereabout at 28 inches, so that more than half fell in three days, and in the tropics everyone knows what floods such rainfalls create in all rivers, and my contention is that we should make reservoirs large enough to secure as much as possible of this abundant rainfall. In this instance the river has a catchment of upwards of 1,200 square miles, and when over 15 inches of rain fell in three days, it is not too much to assume that 12 inches of it ran off in its floods. During the time these prevailed; this river, then, was conveying 1,200 million cubic yards of water waste into the sea, and I submit it is the duty of an engineer to provide by all possible means to utilize such abundant rainfalls in the interests of the Government and the people, and that is the idea of the engineers in the arid regions of the United States of America. With the data given for the Mopand project as published, I do not think it ought to have been

sanctioned at all. How long this project was in preparation I do not know, but a very similar project for the Nagavulli River in Vizagapatam took *no less than sixteen years* to prepare, under Mr. Hughes' own supervision, during a part of this time. In this case no catchment areas are given, no discharges of the river in ordinary or heavy floods, the rainfall registers *for four years only* out of the sixteen the project was preparing, and in two seasons some observations of the floods were noted, but no calculations of the quantity of water running off appear to have been made. No reservoirs are proposed to be constructed in this river basin, and it is not expected to irrigate more than *one crop* in favourable seasons. Why it has been sanctioned on such data I do not know, but there is no chance of the project ever paying, for no endeavour has been made to utilize the abundant runs-off along this coast in any satisfactory manner. From the peculiar character of the rainfall on this coast, it is absolutely necessary to have large storage reservoirs on all such streams. I may also add that not only did Mr. Hughes and his *confrères* take *sixteen years* to prepare this project, but they want six years to carry out the work, estimated to cost about 8 lacs of rupees. In Sir A. Cotton's day it took three years to build the Godavari Anikut, and he had to go away for a year on sick leave ; and in about the same time the Kistna Anikut was built, and the people then were in gross ignorance and darkness. These are the two largest rivers in South India, draining between them nearly 200,000 square miles of country, more than three times the area of England and Wales, having heavy tropical rainfalls prevailing in them. Nowadays Mr. Hughes and his associates, after sixteen years' consideration, want six years to deal with a common jungle stream ! I am indeed truly thankful I have lost all touch with such doings and practices—in fact never soiled my fingers with them. I should have liked to see a man go up to Sir A. Cotton, or even General C. A. Orr, and tell them it would take sixteen years or more to deal with a common jungle stream. I do not think anyone

would have attempted to do so a second time, after the blessing he would have received. As projects are generally prepared in such a manner in South India since Sir A. Cotton left the country forty-five years ago, it is perfectly absurd to say irrigation has been properly attended to—for :

1. The catchment areas of river basins in which it is proposed to construct reservoirs are not given, and no description of their physical character, soil, steepness, etc., or the general incline of their beds.

2. No observations or calculations of ordinary or heavy flood discharges, or their duration at certain seasons.

3. No registers of rainfall for as many seasons as possible, nothing said about the intensity of the fall or the rapidity of its run-off, particularly in the tropics. How great this may be is recorded by Sir A. Binnie, C.E., in his paper on the Nagpore Water-works, when he actually measured it was 98 per cent. of a shower of 2·2 inches in one hour and twenty minutes. What, then, is likely to be the run-off in a locality where more than 50 per cent. of the average annual rain falls in three days? No uncommon event this all along the whole Coromandal coast. And then Mr. Hughes tells us it is only possible to store about one-seventh of the *average* rainfall on this coast ! Of course, if he constructs earthen dams without any consideration of the peculiar character of the rainfall, or any records of this for a series of years, and maintains that this, and this only, is the proper way to execute hydraulic works, he differs from all common hydraulic engineers, such as the late Mr. Bateman, the present Sir A. Binnie, C.E., and many others ; and the *Madras Mail*, and all others who think he is *the only one* capable of giving an authoritative opinion about such works, are perfectly welcome to accept his ideas. Of the progress of irrigation in Madras since Sir A. Cotton left India in 1860, Mr. Hughes himself gives a very good illustration, when he says, at p. 252, that in 1898 a special officer was sent on duty into the Nellore districts *after* the collector had most bitterly com-

plained, loudly and publicly, of *the total neglect of all irrigation works* in his district, and especially of the seven large rivers in it, which were conveying immense volumes of waste water into the sea. When Mr. Ragoonatha Row, a respectable retired native servant of the Government, makes a similar complaint of the state of irrigation works in general throughout the whole Presidency, Mr. Hughes characterizes such statements as being "very incorrect and misleading" (p. 245). On his own bare assertion, why does he not treat the collector of the Nellore district in the same way? Is this the way he did justice and judgment to all His Majesty's subjects in India, as declared should be the rule for public servants under the proclamation of Her late Majesty, without reference to creed, caste, or colour?

Mr. Hughes charges me with making "sweeping assertions of neglect of duty in extending irrigation," etc., and then, omitting the several instances of this given by me, he goes off into a long account of the finances of India, without refuting any of the instances I had produced. To vindicate myself I must reproduce them :

1. The unnecessary delay made in submitting my estimates for the central delta, Godavari district, by which the Government and the people suffered immense losses ; for the Government of India had sanctioned my estimates on the same lines for the eastern and western deltas, with their cordial approbation and thanks, and no revision had to be made for the central delta, *except* to omit my name and substitute another man's.

2. The abuse of the Government's confidence in the matter of the Bangalore water-supply, in giving a prize for a most worthless essay on the subject, in order to secure the best and cleanest water-supply for the late Dewan, who had secured this project for himself in the most disgraceful manner. In consequence this station has been saddled *for ever* with a most unnecessary burden of taxation for water obtained from the filthiest catchment in its vicinity.

3. The deplorable mismanagement in the execution of the Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal, which is almost useless as an irrigation work, and *utterly* worthless for all navigable purposes, thereby entailing a loss of 4 per cent. a year permanently on the country for all the outlay on its hydraulic works.

4. The Toongabadra River project, which Mr. Hughes and all his predecessors totally neglected and condemned for forty years, and the only explanation Mr. Hughes now offers is that I had been anticipated by his successor, when the records of his own office would show him, if he had ever properly studied them, that this statement is "very incorrect and misleading," as Colonel Smart, R.E., admitted to me in a personal interview already described.

This project as originally designed by me for Sir A. Cotton provides for protecting four large districts permanently from famine, provides the means for raising all crops with the greatest security in all seasons, provides an ample water-supply for maintaining man and live-stock in good condition and fit for any work, and, if made thoroughly navigable, as Sir Arthur always insisted upon, the people would have secured to them access to all the markets of the world at *the cheapest* possible rates of transport. According to Mr. Hughes' own figures, the Government have lost already *by the neglect of this project* upwards of 12 crores of rupees. At the rate works are now being executed in Madras, it may take a century to complete this project, for they require six years to deal with a common jungle stream like the Nagavalli River, after expending *sixteen years* in preparing the project! What qualifications Mr. Hughes possesses for passing judgment peremptorily on irrigation projects can be gathered from the way he treats of the Manera and Nagavalli Rivers. He gives no catchment areas of these rivers; no account of their physical characteristics; of soil—if steep or otherwise; no observations or calculations of the probable, ordinary, or heavy flood discharges of these rivers. In

one instance only is the register of rainfall given, and that *for four years only* out of the sixteen years the project was under consideration! and not a single observation about the peculiarity of the rainfall all along the Coromandal coast during storms or cyclones, which are so common throughout its whole length, and have been noted for years by all observers. How heavy these may be we have an instance in this year, when there was no cyclone or hurricane blowing. Nellore reported 15 inches of rain as having fallen in three consecutive days, or more than half the average annual rainfall of the district. As long droughts always prevail after such heavy rains, lasting for six or eight months, Mr. Hughes declares I am wrong in proposing to utilize such abundant supplies of water as much as possible, in order to preserve the lives of the people and their live stock as well as possible, and to secure the Government from all losses as much as possible in famines. Well, he is entitled to hold his opinions, but we never worked so under Sir A. Cotton, and always did our best to promote the interests of the Government to secure their revenue by affording the people the best means to pay it, without its being too great a burden to them. And this is quite clear if we take but a casual view of Sir A. Cotton's great works in the Tanjore, Godavari, and Kistna districts. *Before* these works were established those districts could not pay 60 lacs of rupees a year *securely* to the Government as revenue, they *now* pay 320 lacs a year with perfect ease, without fail, and are the most prosperous districts in all India. Compare this fact with the results obtained by much larger outlay on the Kurnool and Cuddapah canal, whereby a loss of 4 cent. a year permanently has been caused in the returns from all the other works in Madras, by sheer mismanagement and most deplorable incompetency, ever since Sir Arthur left India in 1860; and in this lamentable fiasco Mr. Hughes had a considerable hand. It is therefore useless for him to say so many hundreds of lacs of rupees have been spent in this time,

when he can show no good results whatever for the outlay. And as regards the tank restoration scheme, there is nothing to show that the works have been so well improved as to yield any return whatever for the outlay on them. The cost of extra establishment on this account is never exhibited so as to compare with the annual expenditure. I certainly do not think it worth while to make any reply to Mr. Hughes' observations on inland navigation. I have carefully perused my article in this *Review* for July, 1905, have given the authorities on which it was based, and in no single instance has Mr. Hughes shown that foreign countries have failed to secure great advantages for themselves against us by utilizing waterways as much as possible; and Mr. Hughes carefully ignores all the facts, and tries to throw doubts on the cheap means of transport prevailing on German rivers and canals, though I have shown that on the Aire and Calder navigation at home the rates are far cheaper even than in Germany. His methods of arguing are as follows: He says (p. 260), "The great advantage which Germany has, that most of her waterways *are navigable rivers*," etc., whereas I have shown in the *Review*, pp. 6 and 7, that during the last twenty years more than £1,000,000 has been expended on the Rhine alone to make it as navigable as possible. Many of its tributaries have been improved in the same manner, notably the Main, on which £400,000 has been expended to make it navigable for twenty miles up to Frankfort. Again, at p. 259, he says; "2,400 miles of State canals had to be closed because they could not compete with the railways." At p. 12 of my article in the *Review* for July, 1905, I quoted from "Indian Engineering for the United States": "No figures are given because the *enormous sums* spent yearly by the Government *in improving rivers and in making canals* are too well known for it to be necessary to more than mention the fact." And Mr. Hughes does not hesitate to state publicly that in those States waterways are being discouraged nowadays. What credibility can

attach to his bare assertions? At p. 261 he says: "Taking 8 feet as the economic lift for a lock"—as the limit I presume he means. Now, he must be well aware that in the Godavari canals 10 feet lifts have been most successfully adopted for more than thirty-five years, and my own opinion is that 12 feet lifts can be very easily and economically adopted. What useful object can be obtained by arguing with a man who distorts facts in this manner for no other purpose than to mislead people deliberately.

Mr. Hughes says (p. 250): "The Godavari is the only river, I said, can be made navigable"; but he does not say for what kind or size of vessels. And then adds: "Former proposals have been reported on fully and condemned as impracticable." On what data Mr. Hughes totally fails to show. Sir A. Cotton and Colonel Haig, who had both long studied the subject for many years on the spot, were of opinion the project was quite feasible, if large storage reservoirs were constructed in all the tributaries of this great river, and with them I quite agree. If the project has been fully condemned, is it not rather absurd for Mr. Hughes to ask me to say what kind or size of vessels I would propose to use on it? If I were to do so, I do not know how he would be able to see more clearly than he is able to do at present. In Germany they *first* made their rivers and canals as navigable as possible, and *then* increased the size of their vessels. Mr. Hughes says at p. 261: "It appears to be the almost universal opinion of irrigation engineers that only in very exceptional cases is it advisable to combine navigation and irrigation." Now, I have shown in this *Review*, from official records, that the Ramchendrapooram taluk in the Eastern Delta, which had been furnished with five navigable canals and a cross-cut from Man-Jair to Covoar, affording the easiest access to Cocanadah and all the markets of the world by water transport, was able to pay an assessment of Rs. 9 per acre, whereas the Central and Western Delta, not possessing the same facilities of cheap transport, paid on an average only

Rs. 6 per acre, or 50 per cent. less ; and I pointed out what the difficulties were which prevented the Government obtaining a better revenue in them, and how these could be very easily overcome in great part. It is only a very poor native idea to say the soil in Amlapur and Narsapur taluks, in the same Delta formation, are less fertile than in the Eastern Delta. Of these facts and circumstances Mr. Hughes takes no notice in his comments on my articles, showing he knows next to nothing about the law of production from land, and that there are but two methods only by which the limitations of this law can by any possibility be overcome, so as to work the land economically ; but these are well known to all land surveyors, and very carefully attended to in estimating the value of real estate.

To show the value and importance of making canals navigable I must mention another instance. In the Western Delta, the Uttali Canal was cut to irrigate 30,000 acres of land about 1852-1853. On my return to the district in 1869-1870, I found this canal did not irrigate, on an average, more than 7,000 acres, although passing through good delta-soil. As soon as my estimates were sanctioned, I ordered this canal to be made navigable at once, in spite of very strong opposition. Before we got in the foundations of the first lock the ryots asked if the navigation was to be completed, and, being fully assured of this, they at once took up an additional 10,000 acres of land for irrigation, and promised to take up all the rest of the land as soon as the second lock was finished. This same canal has since always irrigated about 43,000 acres for first and second crop, and its ramifications are very large, as can be seen in Walsh's "*History of the Godavari Works*," under whom the works were executed *by my orders*, and very much against his opinion, so he takes good care to omit these facts in his *so-called* "*veracious*" history. Much the same kind of thing occurred soon afterwards in the Undi taluk, when the navigation was extended into it. And if Mr. Hughes has any doubts in his mind about the matter,

I refer him to the present Major-General Sir A. R. F. Dorward, R.E., K.C.B., for confirmation of my statements, as he was then employed in that part of the Delta. When Mr. Hughes and other irrigation engineers can show by the *results* of their labours that, by omitting navigation or all other means of transport for conveying the products of the earth *cheaply* to all the markets of the world—for a tree is known by its fruit—it will 'be time enough for them to claim to have done better than Sir A. Cotton did in India. At present they have failed to produce one single instance in which their works have yielded any good results at all, and Mr. Hughes is only attempting to go on stilts before he has learnt to toddle.

When Mr. Hughes says " But, after all, charges of two or three pence per ton-mile are not very onerous for *moderate* distances," and omits to state what are *moderate* distances in his opinion, he makes a very serious mistake as regards production from land. Anything which tends to increase the cost of this is certain to reduce rents or assessments, as all land surveyors well understand. If the Government of India then demanded that the rates on the canal traffic should be increased for revenue purposes, etc., they were very ill-advised, and acted very injudiciously, as all experience shows such a measure would certainly result in throwing lands out of cultivation; and I believe it has done so already, as I stated in my article, for the figures were taken from a review of irrigation by the Government of India. The irresponsible authority Mr. Hughes taxes me with following is the *Madras Mail*, a paper which always supports his views, and therefore he ought not to declare the information it publishes is unreliable. As regards the fluctuations in second-crop cultivation in the Godavari Delta, I showed in the October number of this *Review* for 1903, at p. 20, that these were very serious indeed. In three years there had been a decrease of no less than 167,376 acres, and a probable loss in revenue and value of produce of 25 lacs of rupees. Of this very impor-

tant matter Mr. Hughes takes no notice whatever. As reservoirs in the Upper Basin of the Godavari would prevent all these losses, keep the Delta canals navigable throughout the year, and allow this great river to be made navigable for 400 miles inland, I showed it would be worth while to spend 625 lacs of rupees at a moderate rate of interest to secure such very great and important objects, for it is almost quite certain the second-crop cultivation would be greatly extended as soon as a good and certain water supply was established. But Mr. Hughes declares my ideas on this subject are *too vague for him* to consider ! When Mr. Hughes declared, in a number of this *Review*, that "there *must be* many sites for reservoirs, in which an *abundance* of water can be stored for water-power purposes and *for improving the irrigation* in all parts of the country," he was about right, for his opinions have been fully confirmed by the experience of the two seasons of 1903 and 1905, when, from the abundant rainfall, all the drainages were discharging immense volumes of water, waste, into the sea, and doing great damage to the railways, telegraphs, etc., north and south of Pennar River ; but when he stated that 70 per cent. of all the rivers *south of the Pennar* had been *so fully utilized* there was no room for further improvements, he made far more "incorrect and misleading" statements than Mr. Ragoonatha Row ever did, and much more inexcusable, for he had been the Chief Engineer for Irrigation in Madras, and *ought* to have known much better than any non-professional man how to develop irrigation from such sources, as he himself admits, have abundance of water in them for reservoirs. But the only works he appears to have designed are those for the Manera River, *south of the Pennar*, and the Nagavalli River, north of the same, and, from the manner in which these projects have been worked out, and the fearful delays in their preparation, it is quite evident they cannot possibly pay, and will most probably result in such fiascos as the Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal has done, as above detailed. And these are

apparently all the fruits of irrigation in Madras by Mr. Hughes, his predecessors and successors, since Sir A. Cotton left India in 1860.

Mr. Hughes says, p. 261, in effect, that it is almost impossible and *inadvisable* to combine navigation and irrigation; that it had been *attempted* in the Godavari and Kistna works, as the cases of these deltas was exceptional, but, as usual, he fails to explain why or how; that the navigation has been of *immense benefit*, but it has *always* been carried on under *difficulties*. There he also, again, fails to explain these, and treats the subject much in the way he spoke of the German rivers being *naturally* navigable, omitting to say anything about the insuperable difficulties existing in them by ice in the winter months, and heavy floods from the melting of the snows on the Alps in summer, as well as from long droughts, etc., and assumes to himself the right to dictate to the world on the subject of inland navigation, when it is quite clear from his own statements he does not understand the importance of the subject at all.

I was in charge of the Godavari works for six or seven years, and found them to be almost ruined by sheer neglect; I persuaded the late Colonel Anderson, R.E., to let me have 3 lacs of rupees to put the Cocanadah and Narsapur canals into good order for *navigation* and *irrigation* purposes, and I would then send in estimates for the whole Delta. The Government of India at once acceded to this proposal, and sanctioned the money. These works were then put in hand at once, and in about *twenty months* I had prepared all the plans, surveys, levels, and estimates amounting to 35 lacs of rupees, together with all necessary information about revenue returns. The estimates for the eastern and western Deltas were entirely approved of, and sanctioned at once for execution as soon as they were submitted to the Government of India; I am not responsible for the delays and neglect in submitting to them the estimate for the central Delta, but when at length it was sent up to them *just* as I had prepared it, this project was readily approved

of and sanctioned, so there is no reason in attempting to blame the supreme Government about funds, etc.

The results attained by this outlay in the eastern Delta generally and the western Delta, by making *all canals* as navigable as possible, have been already described, and more particularly as regards the Uttali and Undi canals, but the most remarkable success of combining navigation and irrigation is shown in the Narsapore canal. I began this work many years ago under Sir A. Cotton ; it had been fitted with temporary locks, and was in a very poor condition. It was at once taken in hand, fitted with permanent locks, 150 feet by 20 feet, and 10 *feet lifts*, which can be very easily filled or emptied in less than two minutes. How long a time does it take in India to pass a goods train through a station ? About a couple of days perhaps ! whilst the boats lie in the chambers *in perfectly smooth water*. By the way, Mr. Hughes says the success of the German waterways is due to their being able to use large boats of 200 tons burden ; he ought to have been well aware that in the Godaveri canals the people have used native crafts of 200 and 300 tons burden for more than thirty-five years. So much for the care and attention he paid to hydraulic works in India. This canal runs on a watershed, and irrigates, right and left, over 75,000 acres of land for first and second crop, and, like the Uttali canal, yields an annual income to the Government far in excess of the capital expenditure on them, and then Mr. Hughes says it is most inadvisable to combine navigation and irrigation unless in very exceptional cases ! It is quite evident he never learnt how to do so, or took any trouble about it.

In the year 1872-1873 all the works in progress were inspected by General F. H. Rundle, R.E., the Inspector-General of Irrigation in India, who toured with me all through the Deltas and up the river, and he reported in most favourable terms on their progress and prospects ; in 1877-1878, when I was at home, I had long and intimate conversations with Sir A. Cotton about his great project,

and he was not only perfectly satisfied with all I had done to save the works, and the progress I had been making in developing them, but in the kindness of his heart he said far more to me than it would be becoming in me to repeat, and now Mr. Hughes, who cannot show that he ever did any work of any importance in India to promote the interests of the Government or the welfare of its people, comes forward to sit in judgment on Sir A. Cotton, and to condemn the principles on which he worked, on his bald *ipse dixit*, although the success of Sir Arthur's works have been abundantly acknowledged on all hands, and proved by the good results obtained, as shown in the several instances above detailed. The current in a navigation canal must indeed be bad if it is a greater obstacle to traffic than the steep gradients so common on Indian railways. The ease with which irrigation and navigation can be combined has been amply proved by the success of all the Godaveri canals under proper management and careful supervision.

There is a fact recorded in Walsh's history of these works, on the authority of the collector of the district, which Mr. Hughes, as usual, ignores, and which ought to have enlightened him, if it is possible to do so. Some years ago the head lock of the eastern delta was destroyed by a heavy flood in the river, and through navigation was stopped *for four months only*, whilst it was rebuilding. By this interruption the trade of the port of Cocanadah *decreased* by 33 lacs of rupees, and, in the face of this fact, Mr. Hughes wants us to believe navigation is of very little or no importance to an agricultural community whose products are of great bulk and small value. The French, Germans, and Americans think very differently.

On the evidence I gave before the Irrigation Commission in 1901 the Toongabadra River project, though condemned by Mr. Hughes and all his predecessors, was entirely revived, and at once recommended to the Government of India for adoption. It has now been investigated—on what lines I do not know—and accepted by the Madras

Government, and recommended for sanction ; but, as the navigation has been entirely left out, I can only repeat my *firm conviction* that it will be a failure. It may afford some protection from famine, *but* without affording the people the freest, easiest, and *cheapest* means of access to the most extensive markets of the world, the industries of the population cannot be promoted, and the project cannot possibly answer all good purposes, so as to secure the fullest benefits to the Government and the people, as we have done in the Godavari district, by combining irrigation and through navigation with the greatest success ; and there is absolutely nothing to prevent the same principles being carried out on the Toongabadra project by judicious professional skill and management. When I took charge of the Godavari works in July, 1869, the irrigation had *decreased* by 40,000 acres in the eastern delta. The extent of land irrigated in the whole Delta was about 430,000 acres, and the total revenue of the district about 55 lacs of rupees. By my estimates, amounting to 35 lacs of rupees, it was provided to make all the canals fit for irrigation, and all as navigable as possible, *and there was no difficulty whatever in doing so*. The results, as far as I am able to judge now, have been to extend the irrigation nearly, if not quite, to 900,000 acres of land, the revenue of the district has increased to upwards of 110 lacs of rupees, and we have seen above how important the navigation had become when the stoppage of it *for four months only*, reduced the trade of the port of Cocanadah by 33 lacs of rupees. All accounts agree in showing that the district is now one of the most flourishing in India. I do not know what the total outlay up to date may be on the lines I had laid down, but I do not suppose the expenditure has exceeded 40 lacs of rupees, whilst the revenue has been permanently increased by 55 lacs of rupees. Compare these results with those obtained on the Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal during the time Mr. Hughes and his confrères have been employed on it—nearly half a century. The capital outlay is between

200 and 300 lacs of rupees, and the *grand result* is that the returns on all the capital expended on irrigation in Madras has been permanently *reduced* by over 4 per cent. This canal has been laid out so as to be almost useless for irrigation, and is *totally* worthless for all navigation purposes, and this is what Mr. Hughes considers as the great progress Madras has made since Sir A. Cotton left the country in 1860. As the largest work carried out since his day is such a miserable fiasco under the management of the new régime, there is no reason for believing minor works have been better attended to, for if the blind lead the blind, everyone knows what the consequences *must* be ; and it is worse than useless to say hundreds of lacs of rupees have been expended on irrigation in this time when not a single good result has been, or can be, shown.

P.S. In *Indian Engineering* of November 4, 1905, p. 304, it appears from the Board of Trade's report on British railways for the year 1904 the total receipts amounted to £111,000,000; the net receipts were £42,000,000, so working expenses, maintenance, etc., amounted to £69,000,000 or 62·2 per cent. The dividend on ordinary stock was only 3·25 per cent., the lowest return of recent years. It is instructive to note that in the growth of railway receipts England has even been passed by Germany, when for the year 1903 they amounted to £113,000,000; while the return on the capital invested in the German railway system in 1903 was 5·95 per cent. against the 3·39 per cent. of the British railways.

From the above it would appear that though the German railways have to contend against river and canal transports, their returns on capital invested are 2·56 per cent. better than the British railways yield when every endeavour has been made to benefit them by obstructing canal transports. It is very well for Mr. Hughes to deny this on his own authority, but a Committee of the House of Commons has admitted the fact that this policy has been allowed to

prevail far too much, and there can be no doubt this same policy has been introduced into India by the same class of people under cover of the excuse that the receipts for navigation did not cover the expenses of the establishment maintained in the Godavari canals, overlooking the fact that this same establishment has to attend to the distribution of the water for irrigation as well as many other duties, such as seeing the banks, etc., are kept in good order. From my own experience in working the Godavari canals, I would reduce the license fees to 4 annas a ton a year for mere registration purposes, and have only one tax as a water-rate; the curse of all Indian administration is that rates, cesses, etc., are multiplied at the caprice of small-minded officials under pretext of making revenue for the Government, without much thought about harassing the people who are engaged in cultivating the land. The Government of a great country ought not to act as a petty landlord to get all he can out of his little holding for his own private purposes; they ought to consider what will be most beneficial to the society in general as Adam Smith so often says. As the railways did not till very lately pay for the guaranteed interests, why were they not taxed to make up this deficiency?

NORTHERN NIGERIA.*

SIR F. D. LUGARD has presented a full and very interesting report on the state of affairs in Northern Nigeria. It has been prepared for the Intelligence Division of the War Office. His notes of inspection cover fifteen provinces, whose capitals he has visited and otherwise settled on the grounds of health. The distance travelled in this connection is over 2,000 miles by land and over 1,600 miles by water.

The general organization of the administration, both central and provincial, has made considerable progress during the year. Political and intelligence sections have been created in the High Commissioner's office, which have greatly increased efficiency, and enabled him to cope with work which was becoming too heavy. He was thus able to visit the head-quarters of every province, except Sokoto, and personally to confer with the residents and the native chiefs on subjects of administrative or political importance; and, with the advice of the principal medical officer and the director of public works, to settle the question with respect to the permanent site of each Government station. The opportunity was also taken to formally instal the ruling Emirs who had been appointed under Government sanction, and for the first time an oath of allegiance and fidelity was administered to each. The personal interview with each Emir, and discussion with each Resident on administrative problems in each province, were of great value in promoting a knowledge of the policy of government, while to the High Commissioner it was an incalculable advantage.

In regard to provincial organization, six out of the seventeen provinces into which the Protectorate is divided—viz., Sokoto and Gando, Kano and Katagum, East and West Bornu, have now been formed into double

* Collated from the recent Parliamentary Colonial Report, No. 476, for 1904, presented to Parliament November, 1905.

provinces, under the charge of three "First-Class Residents," selected for their special ability and long experience. The desire of the High Commissioner is gradually to extend this system, and thus to relieve the central administration of the direct supervision of the seventeen separate units, and to devolve upon the officers who have proved themselves most fitted for increased responsibility, a larger measure of administrative control. The admirable qualities of the Fulani as rulers—when once they have realized that former evil practices must cease—will enable the administration to be carried on efficiently with a less number of British officers. The progress of the native chiefs in methods of civilized rule is very marked and satisfactory. During the year an event of unusual and political importance was the personal visit of the Emir of Kano to Zungeru, and the Embassy of the Waziri from Sokoto. The latter who formerly opposed us in arms made this voluntary recognition of the British rule. The head of the Mussulmans sent his Waziri to salute the Governor, and had intended to come himself, but has expressed a desire to do so in future years.

The staff is in every way capable and devoted to the service. The higher grades of Civil Service are becoming experienced administrators, to whom large responsibilities can be rightly entrusted. The administrators' staff is still insufficient for its numerous duties, and it has been found impossible to obtain an adequate supply of properly qualified native clerks. A scheme for introducing some subordinate officials from India is now under consideration. A matter of almost vital importance is the knowledge of the local language, and, in this respect considerable progress has been made alike on the civil and the military side. A language test to qualify for promotion in the political department has been established, and for this reason the higher posts are almost invariably filled by selection from among the junior ranks, and not by introducing officers from outside.

With respect to taxation, the High Commissioner is of

opinion that while indirect taxation by means of customs on the coast is an ideal way of raising revenue (especially when, as here, exports are limited to raw materials and imports consist wholly of manufactured goods), nevertheless, the principle of direct taxation, though it should be cautiously applied and should at first be very light, should not be wholly set aside in laying down the lines which are to govern the future development of the country. Northern Nigeria has no sea-board on which to collect custom dues, and, owing to its distance from the sea and consequent transport charges, it offers less attraction to trade (on which alone customs are levied) than the Southern Protectorates. Northern Nigeria has also to maintain a powerful military force and derives no revenue from trade spirits, the importation of which is entirely prohibited. Internal fiscal frontiers were abolished, when the Niger Company's territories were transferred to the Crown. The basis of taxation must depend largely on direct contributions, if the country is to pay its fair share of the general revenue. Such a system has been in operation from remote antiquity ; and the first step towards raising a revenue by such means consisted in studying the existing systems, so that Government, when instituting its scheme, might act in harmony with the traditions of the country, and, while providing a revenue, should at the same time assure to the native chiefs a fair proportion of the proceeds, and introduce only such reforms as should simplify and cheapen the collection, regulate its incidence upon the people more fairly, and reduce as far as possible the opportunities for extortion and oppression. As the native chiefs have lost their income derived from slave raiding and from taxes on traders, it has become necessary to arrange for revenue, in another direction, in order to meet this loss and to secure their loyal services. This change has had the beneficial effect of bringing the British staff into close touch and relations alike with the peasantry and with the ruling classes. Thus, the rulers learn to recognise that their interests are identical

with those of the administration and a close co-operation is established, while the peasantry look to the British officers as their guardians and protectors against irregular demands and oppression. The security afforded for life and property and the certainty that the amount fixed as payment will not be arbitrarily increased, are a blessing so great that the payment of a reasonable tax falls lightly on them, while the direct payment of each village through its own chief to the district head-man will gradually have the effect in practice of emancipating the greater part of the rural population from slavery, or serfdom, and promoting a sense of individual and communal responsibility to take the place of slavery, as the institution gradually expires. Moderate taxation seems to supply an incentive to industry and production, which is needed in a country where pressure of population does not exist, owing to the depopulation of large areas caused by former misrule, and where the fertility of the soil and the employment of women in manual labour leave the male population ample leisure when debarred from the "pass-time" of inter-tribal quarrels. In carrying out the scheme referred to under the Land Revenue Proclamation of 1904, the reports of the Residents have been satisfactory, but it is stated that an increase in the political staff is absolutely necessary to give proper effect to it, and thus to assure to the native chiefs the payment of such dues, which they cannot now collect for themselves, as will enable them to maintain their position, while assuring a growing revenue to the Government. This scheme has met with general approval and satisfaction.

The total number of slaves liberated during the year 1904 was 564. The constitution and working of the native courts, of which eighty had been established at the end of 1904, have made progress. The returns of the principal cases are submitted to the Residents, and are examined by the High Commissioner with the object of making suggestions and promoting uniformity of sentences. The courts deal almost entirely with civil causes and petty criminal

cases. Since the abolition of the punishment of mutilation and the Government requirements of decency and humanity in imprisonment the native tribunals have been deprived of their most effective punishments for serious crime. It appeared, moreover, to be advisable that the powers of each court should be limited until it had proved that former abuses had ceased. Increased confidence in the impartiality of the native courts appears to be shown by the people, in as much as there has been no complaint of unjust judgments, or of bribery. The High Commissioner hopes to be able to establish a school of law for the training of Mallams at Sokoto. The appointment of a native judge to review the sentences of all native courts would probably be of great value, and would, he thinks, give much satisfaction alike to the native Emirs and to the Alkalis as proving the intention of Government to uphold the dignity of the courts, and non-interference with the law of the Koran. The courts in Bornu have not proved very successful, and in pagan countries but little progress has yet been made.

The population of the various provinces is estimated to be 9,161,700. The proportion per square mile in some of the provinces is about three ; in other provinces, such as Bassa, it is nearly 143.

In regard to trade, the institution of caravan tolls has enabled the administration to collect a quantity of detailed information as to the nature and quantity of articles carried by traders. At first the Government "caravan tolls" in substitution of the exorbitant levies at every turn were levied on "down" caravans ; but now they are levied both on "down" and "up" caravans. After careful inquiries from all the Residents, the High Commissioner has received from every province reassuring reports to the effect that the traders pay the dues most willingly, and welcome this system of tolls as a great relief from the exactions of the past, and the enforced delays. He is not satisfied with this form of taxation and hopes to be able to largely modify it, if not to abolish it, by merging it in the general tribute tax.

In order to supplement the grant-in-aid by some local revenue, direct taxation has been instituted. The levy amounts to nearly £34,500, being one-third of the local revenue. Trade is increasing rapidly.

The imports of local origin are chiefly (1) salt from the North and East (Asben and Manga); (2) natron from Damageram and the East; (3) cattle and horses from Sokoto and Bornu; (4) kolas from Ganja and Lagos; (5) antimony from the Benue. Imports of European origin are (1) from Tripoli, English cloth, majenta-coloured thread in great quantities, beads, sugar, scent, mirrors, needles, spices, pepper, burnouses, horse-trappings, and a large quantity of writing-paper; (2) from the South, English cloth, salt, German dyes, and Austrian beads. Exports to Europe are leather, ivory, and feathers (the two latter from Bornu; feathers also from Sokoto). The bulk goes to Tripoli. Skins cost 6d. in Kano and realize 2 francs in Tripoli.

Regarding "economics," the first serious attempt to develop the economic resources of the Protectorate was in the year 1904. The High Commissioner, along with Mr. Elliott, the forestry officer visited various regions and made minute inquiries. His conclusions are "that there are very valuable areas containing rubber, which are either untapped, or are being destroyed by injudicious methods; that many other commercial products exist, and demand development; and that the prospects of a great cotton industry are good, the soil admirably adapted to it, and its cultivation well understood by the people. On the vast and little cultivated, lacustrine plain on the shores of Chad there were cotton bushes of such enormous size, that Mr. Elliott pronounced their measurements as almost exceeding credibility." The acacia forests of Bornu yield the gum most valued in European markets, and it may be found possible to develop this product by improved means of transport. Samples of cotton from each province were sent early in 1905 to the British Cotton-Growing Associa-

tion, and Mr. Hutton, an expert, writes: "I can say that the cotton appears to be of excellent quality, good long staple, and just the class we require in this country and which we are most short of, and there is no doubt that if we could develop trade in this class of cotton there would be a great future before Northern Nigeria."

With respect to minerals, it appears that limestone of excellent quality, suitable to mortar, which will replace the costly import of Portland cement for all masonry work, occurs in many districts bordering the Benue. The High Commissioner regards this discovery "as of the utmost importance, and second only to a discovery of coal in its value for the internal development of the Protectorate. The construction of bridges, culverts, and buildings of all kinds, will, by its means be greatly cheapened, and it is possible that its excavation, burning, and transport to the place where it may be required may become a native industry similar to that in natron, which is now so widely extended." The salt from the brine springs of Awe and elsewhere has been analyzed at the Imperial Institute, and it appears probable that a nearly pure salt could be prepared without difficulty. The present output is estimated at 277 tons per annum, obtained during the dry season only. The development of these springs is being investigated. "Among the minerals obtained by the Survey may be mentioned: Magnetic iron-ore of excellent quality, galena containing some silver, and tin-bearing sands, all of which are being investigated with a view to determining their commercial value. The examination of the sands of certain rivers has revealed the fact that small quantities of monazite occur. This is a valuable mineral containing thorium, which is now in considerable demand at high prices. These deposits will also be thoroughly investigated. No new prospecting licenses have been granted during the year; but the Niger Company have proceeded with the thorough investigation of the tin deposits in the area, for which they hold an exclusive prospecting license.

It is understood that their skilled experts have reported highly upon the probable results of this enterprise, and that the Company will shortly ask for mining licenses over specified areas."

The exports of "Kano leather" appears to offer prospects of a valuable development. "I am informed," says the High Commissioner, "that these skins are in very great demand in England, both in the bookbinding and the upholstering trades. It is probable that it will be more profitable to purchase these skins untanned, and to export them in this state. I am informed that while skins cost from 3d. to 6d. at Kano, as much as 7s. 6d. is offered for a good skin in this country; but the admixture of spotted, imperfectly prepared, or unequally strained skins reduces the value of a considerable proportion in each consignment. The development of this trade is likely to be taken up by a Company formed for the purpose."

Captain Harford, assistant resident in the Sokoto Province, having had much experience in South Africa and California, after careful inquiry and personal inspection, pronounces the district north of Sokoto to be "an ideal ostrich-breeding country; it has all the qualifications necessary, sandy soil, dry atmosphere, and no frost." He proposes to start a small model ostrich farm in the district, and also in North Bornu, in order to show the natives by actual results the value of better methods in farming, and thus greatly to increase the value of this industry.

The actual revenue collected each year, apart from Customs dues which are collected by Southern Nigeria and Lagos, is steadily increasing. For example, in 1900-1901 it was only £2,180; in 1904-1905 it was £89,604; and it is estimated that for the year 1905-1906, £93,589. Customs stations have been instituted on the frontiers towards French and German territory, and each Resident is a Custom's officer. The imports from Southern Nigeria and Lagos have free entry into the Protectorate, with the exception of salt, which pays a duty of 1s. per cwt. The

customs accruing on all goods entering from these Protectorates are collected at the coast ports of entry, and are included in the revenue of those governments. The Tripoli Arabs have availed themselves extensively of the parcel post, and Customs' dues amounting to about £600 have been collected on articles thus imported. The revenue from Customs, which had been *nil* in the previous years, amounted to £6,463 in 1903-1904.

The establishment of a coin currency has made progress, especially silver. This amounted in 1901 to £90,000 ; in 1904, £198,000. The Niger Company has now agreed to purchase produce with cash if demanded by the natives, and this will, of course, greatly promote the circulation of coinage.

The question of transport has engaged the attention of the High Commissioner for the past four years, and he now expresses the view that the best way of meeting the difficulty involved by the use of carriers along the main route between Zungeru and Kano, would be the construction of a very light surface rail or tramway, and by the provision of cart-roads and the introduction of wheeled transport. During 1904 some progress has been made in this direction. The railway surveyors, sent out by the Secretary of State, have completed their work, which may lead to the construction of a light and very cheap line from Baro on the Niger to Kano, which the Commissioner has long advocated. The section already constructed between Zungeru and the Kaduna at Barijuko (twenty-two miles) has proved invaluable. The construction of cart-roads is progressing in various departments, as well as transports by water, both for goods and passengers. Also the erection of telegraph lines is proceeding to the extent of 564 miles.

Medical and meteorological services continue to be sustained, as well as police and prison arrangements.

The total revenue, including local Parliamentary grant contributions, from Southern Nigeria and Lagos amounted

in 1900-1901 to £135,729; it is estimated that in 1904-1905 it will be £519,945. The total expenditure, under various heads, in 1900-1901 amounted to £96,457; and for 1904-1905 it is estimated that it will amount to £505,282.

In regard to elementary schools, they are chiefly carried on by the Church and other Missionary Societies. But "a school conducted under Government auspices is greatly needed, where the sons of chiefs could be taught English, and fitted in various practical ways for the responsible positions they may later occupy, and where they might learn to understand the habits of thought of Europeans and to grow more in touch with them. There is also a great need for an establishment where educated Mallams might be taught English, and the reading and writing of Hansa in the Roman character, without prejudice to their religion, so as to fit them for employment as interpreters and political agents, etc."

“ZARATHUSHTRA, PHILO: THE
ACHÆMENIDS AND ISRAEL.”*

THE author of this work announces it as being, when supplemented by a second volume, in substance his University Lectures for 1901-1904. He was led on to the subject, as he states, by a request which he received some few years ago from the trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation Fund of Bombay to write a book on the antiquity of the Avesta. The occasion of the request was the sudden change of opinion on the part of Dr. Mills' own colleague, Professor Darmesteter, who startled the world some years before by recalling his views as to the age of even the oldest portions of the Avesta, the Gāthas.

Dr. Mills seems to be placed in a somewhat delicate position. He expresses himself in a very complimentary manner with regard to his singularly acquired opponent. After introductory matter, he devotes considerable space to a close discussion of the document called “Tansar's Letter,” which was brought into prominence by an admirable edition by Professor Darmesteter, with a translation by Ahmed Bey Agaëff, a young Musulman from the Caucasus, at one time Darmesteter's pupil.

This was published and translated, apparently, in order to suggest that sufficient culture existed at the date of Ardashir for much Avesta to be written; and as collections and redactions of the Avesta documents must certainly have taken place at a time when the Zoroastrian religion was being formally re-established as the State religion of the Persian Empire, the composition of matter which might well deserve the name of Avesta may have taken place there and then. To this Dr. Mills fully accedes;

* “Zarathushtra and the Greeks,” Vol. I., pp. xiii + 208; being in substance University Lectures delivered in 1901-1903 by Dr. Lawrence Mills, Professor of Zend Philology in Oxford.—This work may be had from F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig.

indeed, he does not attempt to limit the lateness of the age at which portions of the now extant Avesta may have been composed, and even suggests that such persons as Tansar could not well have helped writing or rewriting religious documents of the kind indicated. He opposed his colleague, chiefly, though not exclusively, as to the matter of the Gāthas. The French savant held at the latter period of his valuable life that even the Gāthas were composed at so late a period as about the time of Christ, not precisely stating their exact date.

Both Professor Darmesteter and Dr. Mills recognise this alleged letter of Tansar's as containing, as it now stands, large portions of later interpolated matter, and both of them hold that there exists in it a nucleus of truth ; that is to say, Dr. Mills holds that its nucleus corresponds to what we would term nowadays a "political pamphlet" ; but he, Dr. Mills, carries his excisions far beyond those of the editor. In fact, he finds nearly the entire bulk of the piece in its present shape to be impossible as a composition of A.D. 226 or thereabouts. He is particularly struck with allusions to "predestination," etc., which have the familiar look of the religious discussions of Perso-Arab authorities from the ninth century on.

Dr. Mills repudiates the idea that the Gāthas could have been written as late as the time of Christ, first and chiefly on account of their personal and passionate tone. He does not think that sentiment of the kind expressed would be contained in a dead language once spoken in Iran ; and the Avesta speech had ceased to be a living tongue for centuries. He does not forget that much personal feeling has been expressed in a Sanskrit language which had long ceased to be spoken ; but he does not think that the two cases afford a parallel. He can see no evidence that Iran possessed such centres of artificially cultivated literature as India did ; and he deems it to be highly improbable that any persons situated as the Zarathushtra of the Gāthas was, together with the other members of his circle, would

have made use of a dead language in addresses, some of them especially prepared for public recital. Two of the Gāthas, as he shows, were introduced by expressions addressed to gatherings of the people, and were evidently composed to be memorized by the various local priests, and taught in their homes, "from near or from afar."

This likewise, as he thinks, disposes of the theory of intentional misrepresentation. He thinks it extremely unlikely that they could have been forged as impostures at so late a period as the Christian era. He seems to rest his case for their antiquity almost entirely upon internal evidence, and even says in one place that, "if any passage occurred in the Gāthas which asserted that they were composed at any given early date, he would reject the place with contempt" (see his Preface to the Second Edition of the Gāthas, English Verbatim and Free Metrical, 1900). This is going rather far. He probably means to emphasize his own extreme position in the critical school.

To lose sight of all external evidence seems to be out of all keeping with prevailing ways of looking at such things. In the case of the Gāthas, however, he has what would seem to be enough to mislead anyone in this direction, for next to the Behistun inscriptions, which strongly resemble the Gāthas in this respect, they are, perhaps, the most "personal" of all equally ancient compositions of their kind. To imitate such pieces in Ancient Iran at the late date of A.D. 1-226, so as to make them appear to be the compositions of a contemporaneous living person, seems to Dr. Mills to be a task beyond the power of any composer then present in that country, where literature did not flourish till much later.

The author devotes the rest of the book to a comparison of Vohumanah or Asha with the "Lógos" of the Greek philosophical writers, including Philo. This is done to controvert the opinion that these concepts, Vohumanah, Asha, etc., owe their origin to the suggestions of Philo
 Ἰδαεὺς.

Dr. Mills works up this part of the subject quite elaborately, both making use upon the well-known specialists as well as of the original texts, this last especially in the case of Philo. He recalls that the Greek "Lógos" often corresponds to Ahura Mazda, rather than to any of His creatures (see the places). But his sheet anchor seems to be the fact that the "Lógos" of the Greeks in the philosophically dualistical systems of Anaxagoras, Plato, etc., was evolved to abridge a supposed chasm between God and impure matter, an idea which existed neither in the imperfectly co-ordinated system of Zoroastrianism nor in the Greek Monism.

The author concludes with the argument that neither Vohumanah nor Asha could have come from the Philonian "Lógos," because they—Asha, Vohumanah, and the rest of those six ideas, as personified called Amshaspendes—existed superabundantly in the R̥ig Veda ages before Philo lived.

Several of the chapters in the book are rewritings of articles which have appeared in this *Review*, and some of them in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. We understand that the second volume of the work will be soon in the binder's hands. Its title will be "Zarathushtra, the Achæmenids and Israel." It will deal with the doctrines and internal animus of the inscriptions and the Avesta, and contains an approximately complete, though scattered, translation of the greater part of the first.

ARABIC VERBS.

BY A. H. KISBANY, B.A. (BEYROUT).

THE verbs are chosen for treatment in this short article in preference to nouns for no other reason than that, being uniform and regular in theory at least, they afford an easier method of demonstration ; and it will be seen that its main concern is with one class only, the Ayin doubled. In Arabic, as, indeed, in all the Semitic languages, the verb, more so than the noun, adheres to a standard rule in its radical and derivative forms ; and in theory every verb, without exception, is perfect and regular, and must agree with the paradigm. The actual irregularity of certain verbs arises from the nature of the letters that enter into their construction, and those irregularities are in their turn regular and governed by rules and provisions that are binding on every form.

The Ayin doubled verb is a class by itself, and it shows in the triliteral and derivative forms a wide deviation from the standard ; and like the weak verbs it starts with a loss, in its radical triliteral form, of one syllable, that seems to denude it from its verbal character. It will be contended, as school-books teach, that the loss of one syllable is superficial : one vowel is sacrificed, the second and the third letters are contracted into one, to secure harmony in sound, and avoid needless repetition of the same consonant. This much will be readily granted if it were proved beyond all doubt that the root originally consisted of three consonants, of which the second and third were alike in sound if not in vowel also. The writer hopes that it will not be considered inconsistent to question the correctness of this theory in its entirety ; and while admitting the triliterality of the root, the real identity of the second letter is, in his humble opinion, open to grave doubt.

In order to get at the real reason for the existence of

such contracted forms, and to determine their original consonantal constitution, it is necessary to look deeper, and go as far back as is possible to the early periods of Semitic speech, and investigate the causes and effects of circumstances and the evolution of voice. No records are available as sure grounds to build upon, but in such cases it is permissible to utilize results as bases for this sort of philological investigation.

From a study of etymology, as it is now constituted, it will be inferred that the Semites in their early stages of conveying thoughts and naming actions in compound tri-consonantal sounds—if this expression be allowed—have, with a wide field for choice before them, confined themselves in certain cases—Ayin doubled verbs are in great minority in their respective languages—to the mere repetition of the second sound. Unless there be a scientific reason why they should do so, this theory seems at its best an assertion with very little or nothing in its favour except an easy way of explaining away an anomaly. Or can it be that Ayin doubled verbs are remnants of the monosyllabic (two consonantal) dialect that preceded the dissyllabic (three consonantal), and that their inclusion in the latter category is a device resorted to by the compilers of the language in their great desire to regularize its study? This alternative is untenable. These verbs are triliteral, and any possible monosyllabic dialect does not come within the scope of this article.

Another explanation remains, and has much in its favour. It rests on what appears to be sound foundation, and to it the writer wishes to draw the attention of Orientalists. They may take it as a mere suggestion, and are invited to accord to it consideration as it deserves. It is this: That Ayin doubled verbs originally consisted of three absolutely different consonants, of which one or two—the second or the third—were, in the majority of cases, gutturals, either the Hamzah, H'a, Ayin, or Ha, sometimes liquids (Ra, Lam, Meem, or Noon), and rarely strong.

If we look into the human voice itself, and in the light of natural science retrace its growth, we find, judging by the sounds of the lower animals, that in its first stages it was prominently a throat voice ; the sounds emanating from the larynx were shaped and modified by the action of the muscles of the throat only, a process that invariably produces gutturals. The lingual and labial sounds are of comparatively much later date, for it must have taken man many long centuries to develop tongue and lip, and adapt them to the use of speech. If this be so, and science must decide the point, it follows that in the anterecord period gutturals were prevalent in the language ; and in the course of time, as man gradually developed tongue and lips and acquired a finer sense of hearing, and as separate and distinct tribal dialects took shape, and poets took liberties with many words and twisted them to suit their fancies, styles, and meters, and as defective mouths and ears were among the channels of conveying pronunciations, and to this added a great number of minor causes, many gutturals, which are harsh and repulsive to delicate ears, were dropped from use, and sweeter notes adopted. That so many gutturals still remain in the Semitic languages is due to the great importance that they (languages) have as integral parts of the religions of the race, and but for this reason they would have lost very much, not to say all, of their articulate value, and possibly vanished altogether. In this connection it is interesting to note the practical absence of gutturals from the Latin and Teutonic languages, and the precarious position of the "H." Also that in modern Hebrew the Ayin "Y" is in Europe used as a vowel letter, or treated as silent, except when beginning a word. The various grammatical rules improvised for the guttural verbs which Hebraists treat as imperfect are so framed that, when it does not clash with the inherent qualities of the consonants, as fundamental to preserve the verbal character, the proper pronunciation of the gutturals be avoided. Such rules were never recognised by the ancient

Hebrews, and are justly ridiculed by the Arabic-speaking man, who undertakes the study of this sister language. His instinct rebels against them.

After the advent of alphabetical writing, the language was compiled, as the Arabs say, from the tongues of men ; words were recorded as then spoken in tribal dialect, and as used and abused by the poets. If we compare the modern dialects of the Arabic-speaking countries, we find they differ materially from each other in the consecution and pronunciation of letters ; and if this be the case now, when the Koran rigidly defines words and sounds, how much more the early Arabs, divided as they were into many clans, must have differed, as we know they have, in this respect.

Therefore, in conclusion, the writer is of opinion that in the Ayin doubled verbs the contraction has not taken place between two similar letters, but between two absolutely different ; and that the suppressed letter, grammar notwithstanding, either the second or the third, was, in the majority of cases, a guttural, which, from its nature, is more liable than others to be dropped from sound (other letters in few instances have suffered the same), and a substitution was resorted to by doubling the other letter. We still find in the language many verbs of this class, existing in perfect forms.

Few citations will be sufficient to show the great probability if not the absolute certainty of this theory.

Compare Baththa with Baatha, Bashsha with Bahaja—the Jeem evidently was changed to Sheen (Wajh is now in the various dialects pronounced Wash)—Jadda with Jahida, Radda with Rada'a, Rajja with Rahaja, Shabba with Shahaba, S'abba with S'ahaba, Lajja with Lahaja, Hadda with Hadama, and so on to the end of the chapter.

The meaning has, in many instances, been modified to suit occasions and circumstances, but when fully examined both forms point to a common parentage.

What is true of the Arabic is also true of the other

Semitic languages, and the first has been chosen because it is a living language and is still going through the process of change ; and with demonstrating from more than one language, which the writer has not attempted, and comparing words common to two or three, a uniform phenomena unveils itself.

Finally, the writer hopes that scholarly researches on the lines here indicated will result in removing many of the difficulties attending the philological study of the Semitic languages, and a thorough investigation of all the imperfect and weak verbs will result in establishing the fact that a Semitic verb is and was by nature perfect and regular, without any possible exceptions ; and that the vowel letter verbs were originally, as the Ayin doubled, made of three strong consonants, one of which lost its sound, and its loss substituted for by the lengthening of the vowel of the preceding consonant.

"THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK."*

BY R. E. FORREST.

THIS work is written with full knowledge and deep feeling, from the heart. The "black folk" are the negroes of the United States of America, whose presence in that community constitutes so grave and ever-increasing a difficulty. The writer is himself one of them—and how his name stirs our speculations! This book of his, so excellent in thought, feeling, and expression—it is written in such admirable English, nervous and clear—constitutes the best argument in support of his earnest plea for the highest education—a University education—for his brethren. We think we can deal best with it by giving a series of extracts from it.

"Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question—unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it."

This never asked, but always implied, question is: "How does it feel to be a problem?"

"In a wee wooden school-house something put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting-cards—ten cents a package—and exchange. The exchange was merry until one girl, a tall new-comer, refused my card—refused it peremptorily, with a glance. Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others, or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil.

"Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house? The shades of the prison-house closed round about us all: walls strait and stubborn to the whitest, but relentlessly narrow, tall, and unscalable to sons of night, who must plod darkly on in resignation, or beat unavailing palms against the stone, or steadily, half hopelessly, watch the streak of blue above.

* By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. (Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., London.)

"One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a negro ; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings ; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the other selves to be lost. . . . He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face.

"This waste of double aims, this seeking to satisfy two unreconciled ideals, has wrought sad havoc with the courage and faith and deeds of ten thousand thousand people, has sent them often wooing false gods, and invoking false means of salvation, and at times has even seemed about to make them ashamed of themselves.

"Away back in the days of bondage they thought to see in one Divine event the end of all doubt and disappointment. . . . To them slavery was indeed the sum of all villainies, the cause of all sorrow, the root of all prejudice : emancipation was the key to a promised land of sweeter beauty than ever stretched before the eyes of the wearied Israelites.

"Years have passed away since then—ten, twenty, forty : forty years of national life, forty years of renewal and development—and yet the swarthy spectre sits in its accustomed seat at the nation's feast.

"The nation has not yet found peace from its sins ; the freedman has not yet found in freedom his promised land. Whatever of good may have come in these years of change, the shadow of a deep disappointment rests upon the negro people—a disappointment all the more bitter because the unattained ideal was unbounded save by the ignorance of a simple people.

"The ideal of liberty demanded for its attainment

powerful means, and these the Fifteenth Amendment gave him. The ballot, which before he had looked upon as a visible sign of freedom, he now regarded as the chief means of gaining and perfecting the liberty with which war had partially endowed him.

"A million black men started with renewed zeal to vote themselves into the kingdom. So the decade flew away, the revolution of 1876 came, and left the half-free slave wondering but still inspired. Slowly but steadily in the following years a new vision began gradually to replace the dream of political power: this was that of education, a full and complete education obtained through school and college and University.

"Up the new path the advance-guard toiled, slowly, heavily, doggedly. Only those who have watched and guided the faltering feet, the misty minds, the dull understandings of the dark pupils of these schools know how faithfully, how piteously, this people strove to learn. It was weary work. . . . To the tired climbers the horizon was ever dark, the mists were often cold, the Canaan was always dim and far away. If, however, the vistas disclosed as yet no goal, no resting-place, 'the climb' changed the child of emancipation to the youth with dawning self-consciousness, self-realization, self-respect: he saw in himself some faint revelation of his power, of his mission.

"For the first time he sought to analyze the burden he bore upon his back, that dead-weight of social degradation partially masked behind a half-named negro problem. He felt his poverty; without a cent, without a home, without land, tools, or savings, he had entered into competition with rich, landed, skilled neighbours. He felt the weight of his ignorance—not simply of letters, but of life, of business, of the humanitus; the accumulated sloth and shirking and awkwardness of decades and centuries shackled his hands and feet. Nor was his burden all poverty and ignorance." There was "the red stain of

bastardy, which two centuries of systematic legal defilement of negro women had stamped upon his race.

"The bright ideals of the past—physical freedom, political power, the training of brains and the training of hands—all these in turn have waxed and waned until even the last grows dim and overcast. Are they all wrong, all false? No, not that, but each alone was over-simple and incomplete; to be really true all these ideals must be melted and welded into one. The training of the schools we need to-day more than ever—the training of deft hands, quick eyes and ears, and, above all, the broader, deeper, higher culture of gifted minds and pure hearts. The power of the ballot we need in sheer self-defence, else what shall save us from a second slavery? Freedom, too, the long sought, we still seek—the freedom of life and limb, the freedom to work and think, the freedom to love and aspire. Work, culture, liberty—all these we need, not singly, but together, each growing and aiding each, and all striving toward that vaster ideal that swims before the negro people, the ideals of human brotherhood, gained through the unifying ideal of race. . . ." [He means race as distinct from colour.]

"The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line, the relations of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America, and the islands of the sea."

Mr. Du Bois does not share the views of Mr. Booker Washington, of the same race as himself, who has had a remarkable career, and is doing a remarkable work as a leader among his brethren.

"Mr. Washington's programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the negro race.

"Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things—(1) political power; (2) insistence on civil rights; (3) higher education of negro youth—and concentrate their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the con-

ciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palm-branch, what has been the return? In three years there have occurred :

" 1. The disfranchisement of the negro.

" 2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the negro.

" 3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for higher training of the negro."

But Mr. Du Bois, and "the other class of negroes who cannot agree with Mr. Washington, feel in conscience bound to ask of this nation three things :

" 1. The right to vote.

" 2. Civic equality.

" 3. The education of youth according to ability.

"They do not ask that ignorant black men vote when ignorant whites are debarred, or that any reasonable restrictions in the suffrage should not be applied; they know that the low social level of the mass of the race is responsible for much discrimination against it; but they also know, and the nation knows, that relentless colour prejudice is more often a cause than a result of the negro's degradation.

"Negroes must insist, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that colour discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys."

It is not our purpose, as it is not our business, to take part in this discussion. This is not the place for it. In the past the slave trade has produced some of the darkest, and one of the brightest, pages in the history of England. The present sad condition, the *impasse*, the irritating false position, the existence in the land of equality of a colour line of division as sharp and severe as the caste line between Brahmin and pariah in India, on the one side all advantage, on the other all disadvantage; the scorn and

disdain and abhorrence, the humiliation, the abjectness, the deep dejection, the foolish presumption, the continued antagonism, the fierce animosity, the evil passions, and the horrible evil deeds; the dread portent of the Americans having in their midst in the future—the near future, for the race is very prolific—an alien, and it may be hostile, community twenty or thirty millions strong; all these things concern England, and may concern her very deeply; they are the results of our own doings in the past; it is the sins of our fathers that are being visited upon their children, even unto the third and fourth generation. But these matters in themselves are outside the scope of this review, without its geographical limits, wide enough already. On the other hand, any lessons that may be learned from them with regard to the contact between a white and a dark race come within its scope, for throughout those geographical limits the great feature of the present, the resulting great problem of the future, lies in the contact between ourselves and dark races. The case of the American Negro is a special one, as the conjunction of the two words shows. We can make no deductions from it exactly applicable elsewhere: different places present different conditions; but we can draw certain general conclusions; we can enter into a general consideration of the matter; we can begin to think about the problems which will call for solution, for active action—action of great moment to ourselves and others, determining the future—at a time not very far off. The book should be read, therefore, by every Englishman, for every Englishman has an interest in those problems. It should be read by all those who have a political connection with the lands in which those problems are preparing, who may be called upon to take a personal part in their solution. Those whose interest in those lands is a religious one, through the missionary agencies on which so much of the life and energy, so much of the wealth of numbers of the English race is so worthily spent, should read the chapter about the negro Church, the wholly separate negro Church.

I now proceed to give some general considerations that have occurred to myself, some further extracts that seem to bear on some of the questions with which we have to deal elsewhere. Mr. Du Bois says: "We must strive for the rights which the world accords to men, clinging unwaveringly to those great words which the sons of the Fathers would fain forget. We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

But Mr. Du Bois does not seem to observe that these "great words," these self-evident truths, these unalienable rights with which men are said—it is not stated how the knowledge was come by—to be endowed by their Creator, do not support his cause; for when those words were said, those truths enunciated, those rights proclaimed, the Fathers held his own forefathers in slavery, and considered they had a "Divine right" to do so. They had little care for the right to life of the Red Indian or the negro. Their declaration was a statement of their own thoughts and sentiments, arising out of the conditions of the times, their own circumstances; of their own claims and demands, of what they held necessary for their own proper living. "What is truth?" asked Pontius Pilate. Locke said it was a definition. Circumstances and conditions rule. Are statements of truths and rights declarations of views formed on conditions and circumstances which vary? Are they deductions which vary with the conditions? What is a right? an achievement? an attainment? an acquisition? a demand? a claim? a concession? a *modus vivendi*? the utmost to be got? a need? a want? a desire? an advantage? the utmost advantage obtainable? being and well-being? that which conduces to the preservation, maintenance, and ennoblement of life? the full enjoyment of the fruit of one's own labours? non-disturbance? ancient manners? ancient customs? a settled mode of living? life? freedom? means of subsistence? health? happiness?

To the word right or rights are often attached the adjectives natural, eternal, inherent, unalienable, Divine. Apart from revelation it does not seem clear how a man can confidently set forth a knowledge of the will and designs of the Creator. Contradictory rights have often been declared Divine, and the issue decided by force of arms. The assumption, the full acknowledgment of a "Divine right," has not prevented the dethronement of Kings. Are these epithets used merely because they are strong words, to emphasize the claim, to display the claimant's own strong feelings, to work on the feelings of others? Has a man any right or rights? He has a starting possession—life. Life is necessary to his existence. Air, food, and water are necessary to life; these absolute needs and wants are often styled "natural," "inherent" rights. If a man is "endowed by the Creator" with life as an unalienable right, no provision seems made to guarantee him in the possession of it. In India droughts come; there is not the usual provision of water; there is no food. Man dies; millions perish. Has he been deprived of a right—an unalienable right? Man has to arrange for himself upon the earth; he is the chief immediate working force. He is the fighting force; he has to fight against the drought; he has to sustain and defend his life. Whatever existence life may have apart from the means of sustenance—air and food, solid and liquid—it is obvious that on this earth it cannot exhibit itself, continue without them. If it is declared, "It is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves," so is it declared, "If a man worketh not, neither shall he eat." Man has to exert himself, however lightly and pleasantly, with whatsoever severity and distress, to obtain the means of sustenance. He has to labour for his life, and, if necessary, fight for it. Passing emotions have been declared eternal principles. Present conditions have been called laws. Desires of the moment have been set forth as eternal rights. Fierce declamatory declarations of the rights of man and the laws

of Nature once convulsed Europe; but do rights mean more than desires, betterment? Does the most misleading expression "laws of Nature" mean more than existing agencies and their interaction?

Take a man and a woman by themselves. A man, whom we will call Settler, and his wife stand, like Adam and Eve, in the distant region into which he has penetrated as a pioneer. It is a fair land, an Eden; but the loaves do not hang upon the trees, nor is the water laid on. Here was corn land, but it had to be worked; pasture land, but it had to be fenced. He had to place his hut with reference to security and defence; the water had to be fetched from the spring, or, when that ran dry, from the deep-running stream. It was not a land in which water and vegetation and animal life held predominant sway; where fierce and destructive animals abounded; where man, unprovided with the additional skins which, in the shape of garments, civilization—*i.e.*, the higher, fuller, more organized exertions of man—supplies, or with the arms which it affords, and which augment his power so enormously, walks a pigmy. It was an open land, varied with hill and dale, with here and there a wood, with a temperate clime. There were on it deer, whose flesh and skins he could bring into his own use. There were not on it wild animals whose single force was enormously greater than his own; but there were wolves, and these hunted in couples or in packs. He had to defend himself and his helpless sheep against them. Worse—for the greatest enemy of man is ever man—in the fastnesses of the hills near were some savage people who lived by hunting, and there was danger that they might come down and kill him and his wife, or, more terrible, carry her away captive, destroy his hut, and drive away his flocks and herds. There was the more danger of this because to such conduct these people gave the name of glory. And so he had to go armed constantly, and the worst part of his situation was that it induced in him a spirit of fearfulness. If he had plenty of

freedom, he had little security. If he escaped competition, he lost co-operation. His gains were limited by the extent of his own powers. If his corn land gave forth produce beyond his own wants and possibility of use, he could not profit by the superfluity. He had full command of necessities, little of comforts, none of refinements. He could do what he liked, go where he liked, put everything about him to his own use and benefit. He had command of the field, the pasture, the spring, and the wood. He was "monarch of all he surveyed." Then the poem about Robinson Crusoe goes on to say, "There is none my right to dispute." But the word "right" was not known here; occasion had not risen to produce the thought or utterance of it. Finally, if he had command only of what his own labour produced, he had full command.

Then came a great rush of other settlers. A village rose up around the spring and by the wood; other villages rose up not far off. Settler now became a member of a community. He could enjoy social intercourse. He obtained the help of other brains and hands. The loaves now came from the baker's. The blacksmith and the wheelwright and the saddler and the shoemaker and the mason now helped him. He soon had a better dwelling-place. He could dispose of his surplus produce, sell his sheep and his lambs, his milk. He had more comforts. A band of men are stronger than one man, and he enjoyed the great blessing of security. But if the community can defend, it can also coerce. He could not now go where he liked, do what he liked—in fact, think or say what he liked; could not take or leave of all about him as he pleased. He had no longer command of the land and water, of the wood. There began disputes about the possession and use of these—not least with regard to the last, for fuel is as much a need of life above the brute stage as food.—I pause to remark that this fact has been greatly overlooked by our Government in India. No member of it has ever lived as an Indian peasant. In many parts the want of fuel is

greatly felt. Badly-cooked food is greatly the cause of a weak and miserable physical condition. Though the care and conservation of the forests was one of the most important duties the Government ever undertook, the too hasty and rigid curtailment of their former privileges of entry—which no doubt many of them abused—often pressed very heavily on the people, more heavily than the Government officials, from their want of knowledge of their domestic economy, could appreciate. The supply of fuel should become a direct care of the Supreme Government, like the supply of salt. All that is wanted is attention to the subject; no additional agency is needed; it could be carried out through the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, and the Forest Department. The officers of the Forest Department should not confine their work to the forests which lie in the uninhabited regions, but to the growing of plantations in cultivated regions. For instance, along the edge of the valley of the Jumna are long stretches of broken waste ground, which could be utilized for the growth of fuel. The Governments of France and Germany attend most carefully to this subject.—Then began the scramble which is called the "struggle for existence." Now began the use of the words "right" and "rights," which seemed here to mean claims. Now came powers and possessions, qualifications and disqualifications, privileges and disabilities. The strong men strove to obtain the fullest command of the natural advantages, of the produce of the labour of men's hands, of privileges. Then many cities, walled round, in which merchants and artisans congregated, rose up. The wolves and the robber tribes had been exterminated. The deer were now to be found only in the stringently guarded preserves of the various strong men who had obtained command of large areas of land and forest, and of the streams running through, which they claimed as their own individual property, and would not allow others to use, except on their own terms. These terms they called

rights. They could enforce them by means of strongholds and armed men, so that it was said that might was right. And so Settler's grandchildren found that they had not full command of the fruit of their own labours, as he had. They were not so free from interference. The amount of the produce of his own labour which a man shall be allowed to retain for his own use is a great problem in all communities, especially the agricultural, as we may observe in India. Here it was very little, so that the conditions of these folks were very bad, and their disabilities were very severe, and conditions were laid upon them that were degrading to their manhood. And so arose a great cry of wrongs and rights, and rights seem to be born of wrongs. They cried for their just rights. They called for a new arrangement of things, so that rights seemed to mean arrangements. And they proceeded to employ the means by which rights, like modes of living, are established, maintained, or disestablished, force. By combination among themselves, and with the men of the cities, they were able to overcome the strong men of the fortresses. And that condition of things was ended, and the towns and cities increased and grew larger, and manufactures and commerce flourished, and there was greater command of the comforts of life; but there were still disputes about rights and wrongs. Disabilities were still the fruitful source of enmity and strife, disputes and dangers, as they have been in every human community that ever was. The robber tribes had been exterminated, but round about had grown up other States, which acted the part of these. There was danger of loss of life and land and treasure from the nearest ones, for this had been suffered once or twice. And this was the more strange, as these were not savages, but Christian people, followers of the Prince of Peace. And they, too, called this conduct glory. And so in the time of his great-great-grandchildren, Settler, now a very old man, found that every man in the community was obliged to go armed, as he had been when by himself. And

the people lived in great fearfulness ; and so he said, "As it was in the beginning, is now——" and then he died.

This book enforces the old lesson that evil deeds have evil consequences, and that the reaping will be as the sowing.

It shows that the laws of morality cannot be set aside for immediate economic considerations ; if they are, the business will not be profitable in the end. Profit lies in righteousness. Whatever the immediate gain from the production of sugar, cotton, or gold by means of slave labour in the end will be loss.

It shows how deep is the division between men of a different race and of a different grade of civilization. Differences of race, of habitat, of physical construction, of up-bringing, of modes of life, must always tell, "make a difference," produce a separation. But this may be merely a natural aloofness, or a fierce animosity. In America, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, from the two races being at the very top and bottom of the scale of evolution and civilization, from the theory of equality, the contact is a confronting—not only an aloofness, but a waving off, a repugnance, abhorrence, animosity. "The ignorant Southerner hates the negro ; the working man fears his competition ; the money-makers wish to use him as a labourer ; some of the educated see a menace in his upward development."

It is said that the negro race, as at present constituted, is inherently disqualified from rising to a high level of civilization ; that the question at this moment is not of its soaring, but of its sinking, descending further into degradation and crime, swelling still more the criminal classes in the great towns ; that the first endeavours should be to save it from this ; that sloth and sensuality are at present too prominent in its character ; that with its mental and moral deficiencies is combined an extraordinary self-sufficiency and an absurd arrogance ; that its estimate of its own fitness is not for equality, but superiority ; that at the

moment the negroes need elementary, mental, and moral development ; that his sphere of activity, of bread-earning, lies in the lower class of industries ; that for political power he is quite unfit. Mr. Booker Washington, who is held in such high regard both by the whites and his negro brethren (or half-brethren, for his father was an Englishman), and who has done so much to bridge the gulf between the two, holds the same views. He is "striving nobly to make negro artisans business men and property owners" ; he "insists on thrift and self-respect" ; counsels "a silent submission to civic inferiority" ; he "advocates common school and industrial training, and depreciates institutions of higher learning." Mr. Washington's "work has wonderfully prospered ; his friends are legion. To-day he stands as the one recognised spokesman of his ten million fellows, and one of the most notable figures in a nation of seventy millions." But, says Mr. Du Bois further on, his "programme practically accepts the alleged inferiority of the negro races." Mr. Du Bois himself holds that they are capable of rising to the utmost height of manhood ; that they should be given help and opportunity to do so, so that they may come to stand by the side of the white men as fellow-citizens, fellow-workers, free from any social or political ban or bar. The means of the achievement lies, he holds, in education and the ballot-box, in the possession of political power. The opponents of the higher education of the negro say that it has been tried, and has proved a failure : "even though many were able to pursue the course, most of them did so in a parrot-like way, learning what was taught, but not seeming to appropriate the truth and import of their instruction, and graduating without sensible aim or valuable occupation for their future." This, word for word, with a most extraordinary similarity, is the indictment brought against our own higher education in India. But Mr. Du Bois says that statement is extreme and overdrawn. The number of the graduates who have gone forth from the special negro

colleges, or taken their degree at Harvard, Yale, and the similar institutions (often brilliantly), is not yet large ; but of these, while many have not, most have justified their higher education. They are doing excellent work in the professions, as teachers, lawyers, physicians, as clergymen in their own Church, as merchants and farmers, in the Government civil service. "College men are slowly but surely leavening the negro Church, are healing and preventing the devastations of disease, and beginning to furnish legal protection for the liberty and property of the toiling masses."

Whatever its defects on the side of culture, the results of our own higher education in India have been to raise men from a lower to a higher level, to improve the intelligence, quicken and strengthen the mental powers, give command of real knowledge, raise the moral sense, improve the tone of the mind ; to produce a new order of educated Princes and nobles and great landowners ; to raise up a new middle class of men, doing better work and enjoying better means, engaged in occupations needing intelligence and character, and improving intelligence and character ; men employed in the various departments of the State, in industry and commerce, in the various professions, as lawyers, physicians, teachers, journalists ; also to produce new moral and religious associations, a stir and change in the social and religious conditions of the land, to introduce a new leaven.

The "closer knitting of the negro to the great industrial possibilities of the South" is acknowledged important, and "the common schools and the manual training and trade schools are working to accomplish" this ; but "the foundations of knowledge in this race, as in others, must be sunk deep in the college and University if we would build a solid, permanent structure." The "training of deft hands, quick eyes and ears," is needed ; but "above all, the broader, deeper, higher culture of gifted minds and pure hearts." The aim of the education should be not to

produce pedants or artisans, "but a man ; and to make men we must have ideals, broad and pure and inspiring ends of living, not sordid money-getting."

In India we began with the higher education, the colleges ; then came the elementary schools ; then came the desire to supplement the purely literary or "classical" teaching of the colleges by fuller and more direct instruction in science, to have places for instruction in the industrial arts ; for this was held to be most important, not only by its bearing on the material interests of the scholars, as enabling them to earn a livelihood in other ways besides Government employ, but by its bearing on their intellect and character. Nowhere are the exact sciences wanted more than in India. True science is needed to displace false, so that facts should take the place of fancies, realities of phantasms, and knowledge and sentiment not be nonsensical. Science is needed not only to train the intellectual faculties, but to create them ; to curb exaggerations and extravagancies of thought and feeling, such as lead to absurd cosmogonies and ridiculous chronologies, to false and overweening conceptions of their own present powers and capabilities ; to teach, educe true judgment, certitude, exactness.

"Education among all kinds of men always has had, and always will have, an element of danger and revolution, of dissatisfaction and discontent."

Our giving of education in India has not been unproductive of such results. But we gave because we had to give, as the only course in accord with our feelings, with our views of our rule in India, possible to us Englishmen. The charge of India is no light one. It has its calls for sacrifice of life and health and strength, it has its difficulties and dangers ; but it is a high charge, and we have to fulfil it in a lofty and noble spirit. We hold its continuance to be necessary for the good of the land ; we hold that we should exercise it for the good of the land, the benefit of the people. There are European races ruling in

Eastern lands who work on the principle, Make the land fruitful, but keep the people ignorant ; irrigate, but do not educate. But that is not in accord with our ideas. We have given the people the finest works of irrigation in the world, but we have also set the waters of knowledge flowing ; we would have the mind and character of the people give forth their best fruits as well as the soil. We hold that the noblest is also the best policy.

This book shows the evil of the bestowal, of political systems suitable to one race on another wholly different ; at all events, prematurely, and without reference to want, or desire, or preparation, or capacity, or consequences. The bestowal of the vote on the negro immediately after his emancipation was the cause of great bewilderment and confusion and loss to himself, of disappointment and sorrow to his well-wishers. The North had once felt so keen an interest in his condition that it had led to a bloody war in his cause ; and even in the South before the war there had been "something of kindliness, fidelity, and happiness." But now he found himself in evil case, hated and shunned and kept under ; none for him, all against him ; "in a wide desert of caste and proscription, amid the heart-hurting slights and jars and vagaries of a deep race hatred."

"Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood," says Mr. Du Bois. But he says also : "To stimulate wildly weak and untrained minds is to play with mighty fires. . . . Thus negro suffrage ended a civil war by beginning a race feud.

"The better class of negroes followed the advice from abroad and the pressure from home, and took no further interest in politics, leaving to the careless and the venal of their race the exercise of their rights as voters. The black vote that still remained was not trained and educated, but further debauched by open and unblushing bribery, or force and fraud, until the negro voter was thoroughly

inoculated with the idea that politics was a method of private gain by disreputable means."

Great heights of manhood have been attained to under kingly and princely rule, under oligarchies, and under republics. Many have held the highest flower and fruitage of human life had been attained to in a small community of freedmen, having under them a working community of slaves—this was in ancient Greece. Even Mr. Du Bois says with regard to the South that there now material prosperity is beginning to be regarded "as the touchstone of all success. The fatal might of this idea is beginning to spread; it is replacing the finer type of Southerner with vulgar money-getters; it is burying the sweeter beauties of Southern life beneath pretence and ostentation." (All this is not to argue in favour of slavery, which is an accursed institution.) And he says with regard to America: "The perpetuity of republican institutions on this continent depends on the purification of the ballot, the civic training of voters, and the raising of voting to the plane of a solemn duty." Strong in man is the lust for power and greed. It is very sad for those to whom the extension of the suffrage and the use of the ballot-box seemed once the keys to Utopia, the means for the production of a perfect civil condition, that these have become the instruments of that lust for power and greed. It is sad to find that in America, where the system of free voting prevails on the largest scale, the best men keep aloof from politics, deeming it "a disreputable and useless form of human activity." It is sad to see it the mere engine of selfishness in some of our own colonies, where the people, the free and ruling people, seem to be in the condition of the Roman populace, when it cared for nothing but bread and sport. It is sad at this moment to see how in the first Parliament in which the direct representatives of Labour form a party they have taken up an ostentatious position of caring only for their own class interests. Every human institution, religious or secular, is degraded, put to its worse use, used for selfish

ends. Think of the beginning of Christianity and of some of the institutions that have grown up out of it—of the sweet heavenly flower and the rank, choking human weeds. Monarchies become corrupted into tyrannies, republics into oligarchies, plutocracies. It is the swing away from misused religious and secular institutions that lead to irreligion and anarchy.

The native of any portion of India has a preference for the clime which has produced the race, for the "air and water," which are "conformable" to him. He likes the help and comfort of known things and people. He is not enterprising, and does not care to move into other sections of the peninsula, where the physical and social conditions would be different from those in which he was born and brought up. To go beyond the limits of the peninsula, to cross the black water, is abhorrent to him, for it means infringement of that personal sanctity which is to him the matter of supreme concern in life—of supremest concern. He does not care to go far from his native village, and desires to return to it ere he dies. But the political divisions of his section of the peninsula are not a matter of life and death to him, as is that personal sanctity, as is his caste: now it may be divided thus, now that way; now the capital may be here, now there; now this race may rule, now that: the divisions of rice land, and corn land, and millet land are of more concern to him. He cares for the organization of his village, the longer-lived, and not of the State, the more evanescent. The one is of more personal concern to him—and his concerns are chiefly personal. And those concerns are ruled, his life directed and governed, his deepest sentiments evoked, not with reference to place of birth or political organization, with reference to fatherland, or nation, or State, as is the case with other peoples—peoples belonging to later forms of society—but wholly with reference to kinship and religion, to tribe, and class, and caste.

The people of India early attached a sanctity to the

primary wants of food, and water, and fire. These have entered into the sacred rites, the religious tenets and dogmas, of all nations, but nowhere more so than in India. A religious feeling has attached everywhere to eating and drinking and the use of fire, but never with such ruling, predominant force as in India. Everything connected with them—the act, the occasion, the instruments, the place—is holy. The divine, the inalienable rights, the immemorial privileges, for which he is ready to die, to a Hindu are the sanctity of his person, the divinity, "that doth hedge him round like a King," which is conferred on him by his caste; of his home, especially of the sacred women's apartments, of his hearth, of his cooking-place, his cooking-pots, his platter—to dip hands in which with him is the mark of brotherhood—and, above all (naturally, in a thirsty land), his lotah, his drinking vessel, the allowing of the use of which is the mark of full brotherhood, the disallowing the dread mark of ostracism. The recognition, the maintenance, of those rights was his one essential demand from any Government or ruler. It was the fear that we desired to deprive him of that essential concomitant of existence by means of the greased cartridge that caused the Mutiny. Security, the leaving to him of a fair share of the produce of his labour, non-interference with his religion and his caste—obtaining these from a Government, the name or form, or composition of it, is a matter of very little care or concern. It was a great Hindu chieftain, Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, who wrote to the Emperor Aurungzeb with regard to "his royal ancestor, Mahomed Julal-uddin, whose throne is now in heaven," that he "conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness," whatever their religious belief. Equity, firm security, ease, full religious toleration—these things given, the foreign ruler was lauded and accorded a throne in heaven.

In connection with politics an Englishman desires atti-

vities, a native of India non-disturbance. To the latter the ideal of life is the calm, still, little-changing, quiet lake ; to the former the flowing river. Running water and still each have their good and ill : in stagnant water weeds grow and foul gases are engendered ; the moving stream is more wholesome, and does work.

An Englishman takes his institutions and his games with him into other lands, and is very desirous to introduce both among people to whom they appear to involve too much fatigue.

It may seem to show how general principles did arise from personal feelings and special circumstances that Lord Cornwallis, being a territorial magnate, thought the English landlord system was the best for Bengal, and so inflicted a great loss on the revenues of the people under our rule, while Lord Ripon, an advanced Liberal, was all in favour of popular institutions and introduced municipalities.

I happened to be connected with the first of these that were introduced into the then North-West Provinces, the tract to which my experience belongs and my remarks refer. I can recall some of the points that arose in discussing these institutions with the natives of various classes. They were not in accord with their wishes or feelings. The assembly system was known, but only in the same caste. How could those of higher and lower caste work together? The men of higher position, of leisure, preferred the dignity and ease of aloofness to taking a share in public affairs. To canvass, to solicit the votes of low-caste men, to owe position to their suffrage, was abhorrent. The people thought their ancient ways with regard to sanitation and water-supply were good enough, the best for them, the ones they preferred. Men of position thought it undignified to be connected with such things as cesspools and public latrines ; it exposed them to ridicule. The new goddess Cloacina was strange to the people. They did not understand private persons carrying out public duties. Were there not public

officers, Government officials? Let the rulers rule. Why should not the magistrate, the head of the district, look after the town, as he had done before? Would not his will still be law? and was the new arrangement only a clever dodge by which the magistrate obtained more funds to carry out the works he loved so much, while the odium and hostility aroused by the new works and the new taxation would rest on the council? Why should men do work without payment? Above all, why not let them rest in ancient ways?

But notwithstanding the difficulties and troubles first encountered, it was determined to persevere in the establishment of municipalities, because not only was this desired for the same reasons as in England, but because of their stimulating and educative value; they were meant to arouse a new spirit. I am unable to speak from personal knowledge of what their social, political, economic effects have been, nor have I access at this moment to official publications that might give this information; but I have this information—there are now in the U. Province eighty-nine municipalities, instead of eight or nine, and that they are at work in places where their introduction would never have been dreamt of forty years ago.

There are now everywhere local boards and councils on which natives sit. There is now in that province a local legislative council, out of the thirteen members of which seven are natives. Natives have sat in the Supreme Legislative Council for many years. Natives have sat as members of the House of Commons, in the Supreme Council of the Empire. It is open to them to become members of the House of Lords. But the extraordinary sorrow awakened by the death of Queen Victoria, the extraordinary fervour aroused by the visit of the Prince of Wales, shows that what really stirs the heart of the people and awakens their enthusiasm in connection with our rule, is the monarchy, the Supreme Ruler.

What the black folk desire most, says Mr. Du Bois,

is sympathy. To so much of the colour prejudice "as is founded on just homage to civilization, culture, righteousness, and progress," they bow ; but "that nameless prejudice that leaps beyond all this, that personal disrespect and mockery, the ridicule and systematic humiliation, the all-pervading desire to inculcate disdain for everything black"—these awaken in them a savage wrath or a dull despair. The look of the eye may hurt as much as the blow of the hand, the tongue sting as much as the lash of a whip, the "proud man's contumely" be held worse than "the oppressor's wrong."

The natives of India are very sensitive to ridicule, and set great store on personal respect and courtesy, value good manners as highly as good deeds.

THE YUNAN EXPEDITION OF 1875, AND THE CHEEFOO CONVENTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF COLONEL (NOW GENERAL)
HORACE A. BROWNE.

(Continued from p. 156.)

January 18, 1875.—The Won seems gratified at my moving down from the Residency, and accepting his hospitality in the town. We have long conversations about the last and present expeditions. The difficulties of the last expedition are attributed by him partly to the Kakhyengs, and partly to imperious and overbearing conduct on our part. The last act of the expedition—viz., the sacrifice of buffaloes to please the Kakhyengs, in defiance of the religious prejudices of the Burmans, just outside the gates of the Won's house, still rankles in the minds of pious people here.

The Won would have liked us to go by the Central or Ambassador's route, as he has more influence over the Kakhyengs in this direction, and the King's embassy having passed by it, the line is now clear for us. I admitted that his reasons were good, but the Assistant Resident having already hired carriage for the Sawaddy route, we are committed to it. He replies that although this route is outside his jurisdiction, he will do all in his power to assist me, and will send a guard to accompany me to the limits of Burman territory at Mantsee. The
• Kakhyeng bullock drivers come in with their bullocks, and undertake to convey us six marches from Sawaddy to Kwon-loon or Kut-loon, which is in the jurisdiction of the Maing-maw Tsawbwa, a Chinese Shan chieftain, and well outside Kakhyeng land. The bullock men object to the size of many of our packages, which had been made up for mules that carry 50 viss, whilst bullocks take only 35 or

40 viss. Thus, a great deal of rearrangement will be required. The Mateng and other Kakhyengs of the Central route are present whilst we are talking with the Sawaddy men, and seem much disappointed at our choice of a route, though it is not easy to judge of sentiments from the expression of faces where a forbidding scowl is hardly ever absent. The physiognomy of the Mateng himself is an exception to the general rule. He has a pleasing, intelligent look, and is actually cleanly in his person. I took him for a Manipuri when I first saw him, and suspect that one of his ancestors must have captured a female slave of that race. He speaks Burmese perfectly, and converses fluently in Chinese with Margary. He seems now to be thoroughly under Burman influence.

January 19 and 20.—We are endeavouring to reduce our packages in size, so as to meet the requirements of the bullock drivers. I send Shan letters off to the Tsawbwa of Maing-maw, and Margary sends Chinese letters off to Li-ssu at Nan-teng and the Governor of Momien, announcing our visit. Two French priests, Father Lecomte and another now here, are preparing to start in a few days by the Upper route for Yunan to establish a communication between their mission here and that of Tibet and China.

January 21.—The Shwe-goo Won, in whose jurisdiction Sawaddy lies, sends word, as I thought he would, that having no orders from Mandalay he cannot assist us.

This is the Burmese "worship day," and for some reason or another (some say it is by "Royal Order") everyone here, from the Won downwards, is in an extraordinarily devotional frame of mind. A Scotch Sabbath is a time of revelry and riot in comparison with a full moon worship day at Bhamo. The few people to be seen in the streets are all telling their beads, and a hum of prayer is issuing from the Won's house. Our encampment has hitherto been the constant resort of a motley crowd of Burmans, Shans, Paloungs, Kakhyengs, etc., curiously

observing our movements, and on the watch for small presents and opportunities for picking up unconsidered trifles. To-day we are left to ourselves. Whatever may be the motive with Burmese and Shans, it cannot be religious fervour that has kept away the savages, so I am inclined to think there has been some recent decree for the better observance of worship days. Although we cannot make people sober by Act of Parliament, it appears that a Royal Decree here is sufficient to make people pious, outwardly at any rate. It is inconvenient for us, as it delays our work.

The Chinamen here are under the impression that we are going to make a railway straight off to China. One of them remarked to me to-day that though the Sawaddy route is longer than the others, it is much the best for a railway.

The arrival of Margary, the great Petching Meng (Pekin Mandarin), is still the great sensation of the day, both among Burmese and Chinese. He is a handsome young man, with very taking manners, and is a general favourite both among ourselves and the natives. He is accompanied by a writer of sedate and dignified appearance, whom, on account of his wearing phenomenally large circular spectacles, we have dubbed "Goggles." He is believed by the natives to be a Mandarin of high rank, sent to escort Margary from Pekin. The apparition of an English officer coming from Pekin, speaking Chinese, able to eat with chopsticks, and having in his suite an imposing-looking, veritable Mandarin, is something so new and unheard of that every Burman is bewildered. The Won invites Margary and his writer every day to see a new Burman play or dance, and every Burman or Shan who has picked up a smattering of Chinese is anxious to enter into conversation with them. To-day the Mateng Tsawbwa, between whom and Cooke there has been a considerable amount of coolness, stalked into Cooke's drawing-room, and without taking any notice of the master of the house

drew Margary aside into the verandah to have a chat with him.

From to-day I have dispensed with a cash chest. Not only is such an article inconveniently heavy to carry, but its appearance is likely to excite the cupidity of the savages. I have, therefore, distributed our money among the private trunks of the different members of the expedition. Gold, we have found, is not popular in these parts. It sells here at only Rs. 24 per tickal, and Margary informs me I shall get still less for it in Yunan. Rupees, too, are said to be no longer in favour among the Kakhyengs, who have been taken in by some of the Mandalay coins. I have, therefore, converted all my rupees and most of my gold into the lumps of silver which are current everywhere in the Kakhyeng Hills. There are two kinds of it, Nos. 1 and 2. No. 1 is used by the Chinamen, but No. 2 is good enough for the Kakhyengs.

January 23.—Our baggage is put on board boats to be taken down to Sawaddy, and we ride down there. We find it is a wretched village of about thirty houses. It used to be much larger, but has been desolated by Kakhyeng raids.

The Tsitkai of Bhamo, who has had military experience in Thiennee, has been appointed to command the escort which is to accompany us to Mantsee, on the border of Kakhyeng Land and China. His force consists of a lot of wretched ragamuffins collected from the neighbouring villages. Here the Tsitkai is out of his own jurisdiction, and feels rather helpless; the Shwe-goo Won, in whose district we are, having given no orders about us. The Tsitkai pulls a long face, and says that nothing has been prepared for our reception. He has had a rickety old zayat (rest-house) screened off with curtains for our accommodation, and has himself taken up his quarters in a hut, our horses and followers camping out in the open. The village headman looked morose and inhospitable, but promises of liberal payment soon produced the few things,

such as water, grass, and firewood, which we required. Everything has to be paid for at exorbitant prices. The smallest coin known here is the "moo," or two anna piece, and it is hard to find anything that can be purchased for one of these coins. The Shan women, our chief purveyors, bring a handful of grass and ask four annas for it. At this rate a pony will eat Rs. 2 worth of grass per diem. The Paloungto Tsawbwa, with the bullock men, is here. They seem to have quite enough bullocks, though they cannot, or will not, tell us the exact number. The Tsawbwa is an ordinary looking Kakhyeng, remarkable only for the enormous extent to which he has distended the aperture in the lobe of one ear to accommodate a roll of gold leaf about 2 inches in diameter. To communicate with these men I have only one interpreter, Mounng Mo, lent to me by Captain Cooke, who inspires me with anything but confidence.

January 24.—I commence making the baggage over to the Tsawbwa and his lieutenant or pawmaing. I find it will be impossible for our small Sikh guard to keep efficient watch over a straggling convoy of some 200 bullocks, so I hand over everything, with the exception of our clothes boxes, to the Tsawbwa, who undertakes to be responsible for them.

None but we ourselves are supposed to know that these clothes boxes contain also our cash; but probably the Kakhyengs have made a pretty shrewd guess on the matter by this time. Each box has to be fitted into a basket made expressly for it before it can be put on a bullock, and this basket-making process is a tedious one.

The Tsitkai informs me that royal orders have just been received that he is to escort us right up to the Chinese frontier—*i.e.*, to Kutloon, five marches beyond Mantsee, at which latter place he previously thought he was going to leave us to the tender mercies of the Kakhyengs. This news is not pleasing to the ears either of the Burmans or of the Kakhyengs. The Kakhyengs in their own lairs

are terrible bugbears to the Burmans, and the savages resent the presence of any Burmans in their mountains unless they come as traders who can be fleeced.

The Tsitkai grumbles at the increased expenditure which will fall on him, and his brave army may have to go back to their own villages to replenish their commissariat bags. I have been employing these poor, half-starved fellows as coolies; but as payment has to go through the Tsitkai's hands, I fear that most of it never gets any farther.

We have had a wondering crowd of half a dozen nationalities and tongues round our camp all day. The Tsawbwa and his followers have an insatiable craving for brandy, and our stock seems likely to run short before we are out of their clutches.

January 25.—The mornings are very cold, and the Kakhyengs cannot be roused to do any work before 10 a.m. They took over 100 boxes yesterday, giving receipts, and carrying them off to be fitted into baskets. Things worked so smoothly that I began to think they were not such bad fellows after all; but this was too good to last, and to-day they began to object to the size of some of the packages. I informed them that any which were too heavy for them I should send back to Bhamo, and on this they at once withdrew their objections. This looks as if they had an eye to plunder. Then the Tsawbwa appears with a long face, and says he has brought 336 bullocks, and expects to be paid for them all, though we require only about half that number. His only reason for this cool request is that when Elias visited his village he made a casual remark that the village did not seem large enough to furnish 300 bullocks, and to prove the contrary he, the Tsawbwa, had brought more than that number. He admitted that Cooke had contracted with him for the supply of 150 bullocks only, so I informed him I should stand by the contract, and not by the casual remark. He then calmly requested that I would pay down the whole of the bullock hire at once. This I laughed

him out of, but promised to pay half the hire if he is ready to start the day after to-morrow. I suspect that my rascally interpreter, Moungh Mo, is putting the Kakhyengs up to making these absurd requests. This has been a day of argument rather than of work.

January 26.—The Kakhyengs again assert that many of our boxes are too heavy for their bullocks, and suggest that we should unpack and place the things loose in their panniers. This arrangement for making theft easy I decidedly object to.

The Sikhs had some revolver practice to-day at a distance of 200 yards. It was quite good enough to astonish and impress the crowds who came to witness it.

January 27.—As it rained heavily to-day I purchased thatching grass to cover our baggage, but as soon as we had turned our backs the Kakeyengs used it to cover their bodies. The Tsawbwa appears to receive the promised advance. I require an assurance that we shall really start to-morrow morning. He replies sulkily that he requires money to purchase salt to load on the surplus bullocks. There is no salt to be had here, so he is evidently returning to the charge to compel me to pay for 300 bullocks. One result of the last expedition having been to gain us the reputation of being a very squeezable people, it is necessary to make a stand against these repeated attempts at extortion. Otherwise we shall be in a state of bankruptcy before we arrive at the Chinese frontier. So I replied that as there appeared to be no chance of my starting by this route, I should have to try another. On this the Tsawbwa got up in a huff and stalked away, saying that as the previous arrangements had been made with his Pawmaings, I might continue to negotiate with them. These men were more malleable, and at once said they would start the day after to-morrow, if I would give them one viss of silver and 10 rupees for each village. I called the Tsawbwa back to ratify this agreement, which he at once did. The money having been paid he pocketed it

himself, and with a grim smile remarked that we were brothers.

Let not those in search of the "Noble Savage" come to the Kakhyeng Hills, for they won't find him there. I have tried to discover some good qualities beneath the filthy exterior of these degraded creatures, but so far in vain. Until this race of robbers is thoroughly coerced, no regular trade over these hills is possible. A strong Government, however, would put down the nuisance in a few months. The Burman Government, though not strong, has succeeded in establishing some police posts along the Northern route, but here its influence is nil.

In the evening Clement Allen, the second Consular interpreter, sent from Shanghai, surprises us and himself, too, by dropping in among us. He had been provided with royal boats at Mandalay, and whilst going up-stream he noticed some Indians on the bank, and stopping to inquire who they were, found that they belonged to our party.

January 28.—The doctor gives the Tsawbwa a dose of medicine, which seems to improve his temper for a while. The Pawmaings and MOUNG MO, the Kakhyeng interpreter, have been hobnobbing together this morning, and the latter comes to me with very incoherent stories, winding up always with the remark that it is surprising that our Government rewards such a valuable servant as himself with only 20 rupees a month. While we were at breakfast the Kakhyengs make another attempt to carry off our clothes boxes, notwithstanding the well-understood agreement that they were not to have them. The Sikhs on guard refusing to allow them to pass, the Kakhyengs became angry, and fired off muskets over the Sikhs' heads. The Sikhs behaved with commendable coolness, and treated the aggressors like naughty children.

The Tsawbwa was displeased at being thwarted, and sent word to say he would not accompany us. This is really getting too bad. The sulky savage seems to consider himself the arbiter of our destinies. Another difficulty

now crops up. Our road lies through other territories besides that of this Tsawbwa. He gave Cooke to understand that he had made it all right with the other Tsawbwaws, and that we should be allowed to pass on payment of small sums to them. He now admits that there is one Tsawbwa, him of Poongan, whom he has made no arrangement with, and who is likely to be refractory. The Burmans state that this man is collecting a force to oppose us. Armed as we are we could walk through the whole of the Kakh-yeng Hills if unencumbered, but in case of opposition our valuable baggage train would have a poor chance of getting through.

The Kakhyengs, we find, have already begun to steal our rice and liquor, and have prodded holes in various packages to see what they contain.

The Burman Tsitkai and his brave army are in a state of fright, looking upon a conflict as inevitable.

Evidently the choice of this route was a mistake, as was also the desire to "work independently of the Burmans," which led to it. Some believe that the Burmans are at the bottom of our difficulties. Even Moun-Mo suggests that the Burmans have been "poking the Tsawbwa in the side" as he expresses it. I am not of this opinion. The Burmans have candidly told us that they are not in favour of this route, because they have not as yet obtained so much influence over the savages here as they have on the Northern route.

The way in which these Kakhyengs tyrannize over the peaceable Burmans in other neighbourhoods is lamentable. A characteristic incident has just occurred here. A couple of Kakhyengs got into a boat, and from it fell into the water and were drowned. The Tsawbwa sent word to say that if the boat had not been there the men would not have been drowned, and the village therefore must pay a fine of a certain amount of salt. The fine was paid to avoid worse evil.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of the members of this association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, February 19, 1906, for the purpose of hearing a paper by Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A., on "Young India: Its Hopes and Aspirations." The Hon. Mr. Justice Budruddin Tyebji (a Judge of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature at Bombay) occupied the chair. There were present, among others: Sir William Wedderburn, BART., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. C. A. Abdul Latif, Dr. Pollen, C.I.E., Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami, Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., Mr. F. H. Skrine, Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Mr. H. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. Husain B. Tyabji, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mr. Mussaldan, Mr. Albert Louis Cotton, Dr. Bhaba, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. P. D. Patel, Miss Hilda Malony, Mrs. Corfield Lambert, Mr. Lufti Ali, Mr. D. D. Kamat, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. A. S. Khan, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. W. F. Piper, Mr. A. E. Dakhyl, Mr. D. N. Basu, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. K. A. Bhojwain, Mr. E. Dalgardo, Mr. G. E. Ward, Mr. S. H. Swiny, Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Howarth, Mr. and Mrs. May, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mr. S. M. Ahmad, Mrs. Audy, Mr. Q. T. Husain, Miss Chapman Hands, Mr. K. L. Dhingra, Mr. K. A. Rahman, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

The CHAIRMAN said that he had much pleasure in introducing his friend Shaikh Abdul Qadir, who had been acquainted with the meetings of the association for many years; he was a first-class lecturer, and was not unknown to the audience.

The paper was then read.*

MR. PARMESHWAR LALL, in opening the discussion, said that Indians had an ancient reputation of being philosophers, and Mr. Abdul Qadir had certainly kept up that reputation by the disinterested and philosophic description he had given of the state of things in India; but there was something deeper going on which apparently he did not care to bring to the attention of the meeting. He (the speaker) understood that at these meetings political discussions were forbidden, and that was probably the reason why the matter had not been brought forward. Along with the growth of education in India, the poverty of her people also increased. The Indian of their grandfather's time who would have been horrified at their coming to England used to have more to eat and drink than the Indian of to-day. India had sent, and was sending, a very large amount of money every year to this country, and that amount continually increased, and a country that sent out such a large proportion of its revenue to a

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

foreign country, for which it got no direct return, was certainly not in the fair way of progress. The amount sent out of India at the present time amounted to almost £1 per head of the population of this country. India was, unfortunately, the poorest country on the face of the earth, and with that terrible drain on her resources, education, social reform, industrial reform, and political reform, were hampered. Some idea of the indifference of England to the real wants of India might be gathered from the King's speech of that day (a summary of which had been seen by the speaker on his way to the meeting), in which, although India was convulsed on account of the partition of Bengal, and the boycotting of British goods was raging fiercely, there was not one word about India. As long as that indifference lasted, the danger in India was very great indeed in spite of the very pleasant theories in which the lecturer had been indulging. After twenty-one years of meetings of the Indian National Congress, English public opinion was still as indifferent as it ever was, and under the circumstances what wonder was it that there was discontent in India; what wonder was it that they should get tired of continual blood-sucking. Englishmen should be alive to the gravity of the situation, and try to meet it because the growing poverty of the people, and the growing despair of any reform coming to them in the ordinary way, reforms might be made to come in the most frightful fashion. (Applause.)

MR. MARTIN WOOD, as one of the oldest members of the Association, expressed himself as much pleased with the Shaikh Abdul's paper, which, he thought, was essentially reasonable and comprehensive in its view and in the best possible tone. They had seen during the last six or seven years in India a certain expansion of self-help and self-reliance in various forms which had not been so prevalent hitherto, and which he trusted would go on increasing. At the same time there was much still to be desired in that direction. Another point, the awakening of the people of India to their position as British citizens was a very important matter; but he was very sorry to have to confess that that movement had not met from this side with as much fair recognition as could be hoped. In contrast to the antagonism which of late years the governing class in India had shown to various reasonable political movements, he thought it was well to recall the encouraging aspects in former times which had been so well explained in the paper. The last speaker had said that the Association was opposed to the discussion of political subjects, but that was by no means the case. It depended on how these subjects were discussed; and as far as the broad view taken in this paper of the relations between the Indian people and the ruling classes was concerned, it was entirely in accordance with the objects of the Association, and he expressed satisfaction that one of its original Indian members had done them the honour of presiding that day.

MR. YUSUF ALI, I.C.S., said that he thought he might at the outset congratulate Mr. Abdul Qadir on the excellent paper he had read to the meeting, and on the summary and analysis of the movements at work which made ideas filter from the educated to the uneducated classes. Most of those who had observed Indian life had noticed that things were moving in a different direction from that in which they appeared to be

moving on the surface. In many of the developments of popular ideas it had been found that the Indian Press exercised an amount of influence on the people which was not suspected originally by those who only looked at things from a conventional point of view. While therefore he entirely agreed with the analysis which the lecturer had given of the causes at work which tended towards the elevation of the people of India, he thought he had been less than fair to the amount of work that had been done by Government in the matter of elementary education and the sympathy shown towards political movements. He thought he detected somewhat of a sneer when the lecturer asked the question: What had Government been doing to neglect elementary education? He might be wrong, but his reading of the political history of India during the past few years was somewhat different. Not many years ago the Government were trying to drive the Indian population to take elementary education, and the people would not have it. He did not think he was exaggerating when he said that in the country districts, as opposed to the towns, it was the constant efforts of the Government through its educational and civil officers to impart elementary education that were in a large measure responsible for such progress as had been achieved in elementary education. He did not mean to assert that Government agency had been the only agency for the support of popular education, nor that at the present moment popular education was looked upon with indifference by the people. On the contrary, there was a larger demand for education than could be supplied by existing educational institutions and authorities. It was largely a question of funds. If they had sufficient funds to start a large number of schools, they would have as many students coming to them now as there would be room for. At the same time he thought the efforts that had been made in the past to encourage education ought to be recognised, and while the apathy of the lower classes of the population towards elementary education ought to be understood and appreciated, it ought at the same time to be recognised that the people had generally shown a greater inclination for higher and secondary education. He believed in many instances secondary education had not received the amount of attention it ought to have received; but in that matter things were now moving somewhat differently. The claims of elementary education having been recognised there was a good basis created on which a higher superstructure of secondary and of University education could be raised. He did not mean to assert that one should necessarily take precedence of the other, though it was an arguable point, but he thought it would be perfectly legitimate to say that higher education and secondary education would be a complete failure unless elementary education had been sufficiently instilled into the people.

As to the second point he was rather surprised to find the lecturer criticise the attitude of Government towards political institutions. It was too much to ask that Government should stoop down from its pedestal and say to all political movements: "Yes, you are perfectly right, and we want to welcome you." To a certain extent the Government always ought to welcome movements based on reasonable ideas and he believed there

were no popular movements based on reasonable ideas which would not ultimately assert their claim to recognition ; but he thought it was going too far to claim that those movements which had for their primary object the entire change of the machinery by which the Government was conducted should immediately and *ipso facto* receive a measure of Government encouragement which they did not receive in any other country. (Hear, hear.) In the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin the Congress itself received, he might almost call it, an enthusiastic welcome from the authorities in the capital of the country. He believed that Lord Dufferin invited the delegates of the Congress to a party at which he gave them full opportunity for social intercourse, and transmuted an official reception into a friendly reunion by his Irish geniality and charm of manner. Some people might say, "What about the speeches?" because Lord Dufferin criticised the Congress and called it "the representatives of a microscopic minority." That phrase had a certain amount of sting in it ; but they had to ask themselves : Was the sting based on fact or not ? If it was not, it would have been entirely indefensible. If it was, was there anything to be surprised at ? It was the business of the Government and of a responsible administrator like Lord Dufferin to point out what they conceived to be the fact, but if a popular movement were endowed with any vitality, or had the courage of its convictions, of course it would look facts fairly in the face. Government never took up an attitude of hostility to it, nor made an attempt to suppress it, and in his (the speaker's) own private opinion had absolutely no intention of showing any hostility. (Hear, hear.) He thought it was unreasonable to demand that the Government should encourage it in the same way that they would be expected to encourage educational or social movements. The lecturer had pointed out that the Aligarh College was an institution that had received a large amount of Government help ; but he should have gone further and said that had it not been for Government assistance the Aligarh College would not have occupied the position it did at present. Further, he did not think the Aligarh College was the only institution that had received Government encouragement. The lecturer would find, on reference to some recent correspondence in the *Pioneer*, about the Hindoo College in the United Provinces that Government had clearly been sympathetic as regards earnest private efforts in education. He believed the Government had done a great deal in collecting and preserving objects of art and antiquities. Government had also spent a large amount of money in collecting historical manuscripts, and Government had done a great deal to foster social movements as opposed to political movements. He, of course, expressed no opinion as to whether the political movements were right or wrong, but his opinion was that everyone in every country ought to enjoy perfect freedom of speech and ought to express the faith that is in him, and should be at liberty to organize in order to express it ; but he thought it was wrong to think that because official favour was not shown to any particular movement that therefore there was want of freedom. Freedom consisted in allowing you to do what was right. If a movement was suppressed by

law merely because it was critical and for no other reason, then there was no freedom. If a movement was allowed full scope to carry on its own propaganda, provided it was carried on within all reasonable bounds, he thought they were right in saying it was a free movement and entitled to live as long as it showed itself worthy to live.

There were only two more points he desired to refer to besides what he had said as regards the Government and the aims and aspirations of Young India. One of the greatest ideals they ought to have before them was the formation of character. He believed in India they had got as clever people as in any other country in the world; but he thought he was also right in saying that in India their weak point was strength of character, whether it took the form of not continuing a movement that had been started, or the form of intolerance of opposition, or the form of not taking themselves seriously. (Hear, hear.) It always amounted to this—that they were not able to show that strength of fibre, and that courage of their convictions, which were absolutely necessary before any movement amongst their people, social, political, or educational, could ever hope to achieve success. The next point they had to study was the difference between fractiousness and freedom, between slavishness and discipline, between sycophancy and a proper reverence of constituted authority. He thought they should gain in usefulness by showing deference to people with better experience than themselves instead of showing too great an impatience with those who were in authority. The sooner they placed those ideals and aspirations before themselves, the distinction between sycophancy on the one hand and that independent bearing on the other, which understood one's own position and the position of one's opponents, the sooner would it be possible for them to achieve their aims. In conclusion he strongly urged that in discussing these questions in the philosophic aspect mentioned by Mr. Parmeshwar Lal they should bear in mind the accomplished facts. It was no use taking up a certain attitude and running it for all it was worth; they must recognise that facts were facts, and on those facts their chief duty was to see how far they could use them for the furtherance of those objects which they all had at heart. (Applause.)

MR. J. D. PATEL said: I think we are all very much indebted to Mr Abdul Qadir for giving us a paper on a subject which is so very important and interesting. Gentlemen, India presents a problem which is most profound and interesting in the history of the world.

I must also congratulate Mr. Abdul Qadir for his paper, which is excellent in every way. When a subject is controversial, it is not an easy task to handle it so as to give it a fair and impartial treatment. Mr. Qadir, to his great credit, has got over all those difficulties which lay in his path.

Time being very short, I have to hurry on and come to the point at once. Gentlemen, I do not stand here to denounce the British rule. That is not my business. I stand as a fair and impartial critic. I admit that many legislative measures and social reforms have been passed to benefit the country. Laws with good intentions and sincere motives have been passed. But I am afraid their effects very often have been otherwise.

The machinery of administration, which was useful and necessary fifty years ago, cannot be and is not necessary and useful at the present time. Changes have taken place in the thoughts, ideas, desires, intelligence, and aims of the people. Progress has been made in material ways, and I think it is high time that they must have a proper and just share in the administration of the government of their own country. It is no use keeping them out of it. With your permission I will quote a couple of independent authorities to substantiate the truth of what I say.

Lord Curzon said: "Changes should be taking place in the thoughts, the desires, and aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country which no wise and cautious Government can afford to disregard, and to which they must gradually adapt their system of administration, if they do not wish to see it shattered by forces which they themselves have called into being, but which they have failed to guide and control."

The Marquis of Hartington, when Secretary of State for India, said: "that the exclusion of Indians from the government of their own country could not be a wise procedure on the part of the British people, as the only consequence could be to make the Indians desirous of getting rid in the first instance of their European rulers."

Gentlemen, talking of reforms I should suggest as the first reform the curtailment of military expenditure. India's cry of crushing military charges has been always sought to be hushed up by dangling before her eyes the bogey of a Russian invasion. In order to prepare her to meet Russia domestic reforms have been postponed, education starved, industries left stagnant, and the people taxed most heavily. In spite of this we always hear from Englishmen that the army is inadequate, and its organization not yet complete. Well, if the army is insufficient, why peril the safety of the country by sending Indian troops to China, Egypt, Arabia, and even to Europe (despatch of Indian troops to Malta, 1878). This shows that the country does not want such a big army.

I think this is a most conclusive condemnation of the system of government now pursued in India, that though practically hundreds of millions have been spent on the defences of the country during a period of more than twenty years, at the end of this period it should be said by the Englishmen themselves that the army is insufficient and its organization incomplete. Fancy India having spent millions for nothing more than this state of affairs.

I see my time is up, and with your permission, Mr. President, I will say one remark more before I sit down.

Gentlemen, very often it has been said by the opponents of progressive movement in India that the interests of the educated classes are not the same as those of the uneducated class. Can anything be more sham, hollow, unreal, and illusory? These people themselves in their heart of hearts know that such a distinction does not exist and will never exist. To hold that the interests of the educated are antagonistic to those of the uneducated I call an idle pretence.

This is why I would earnestly urge you, ladies and gentlemen, to give your active support and unceasing efforts for a better, more humane, more just, and, above all, more economical government in India.

The discussion was continued by Mr. C. Rai, Mr. Q. T. Husain and Mr. P. Narian, who criticised the defence of the Government by Mr. Yusuf Ali.

SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR, in replying to the criticisms which had been made on his paper, said that his task had been rendered easy, because most of the speakers had gone in for Mr. Yusuf Ali. He thanked Mr. Yusuf Ali for the relief he had thus afforded him. Practically there were two points he had to answer, the first made by Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, and the other by Mr. Yusuf Ali. With regard to the remark of Mr. Parmeshwar Lall that he had eschewed the political side of the question (which he thought had been rather unfortunately brought in by other speakers) in his paper, he had taken a higher stand than simply deference to the wishes of the Association. He had pointed out in his paper how many important lines of activity there were available for the different classes in India to co-operate in, and as the political side had already caused a good many differences of opinion, it was desirable that they should bring into prominence other institutions which gave more occasion for co-operation between the different classes of people inhabiting India, and also between the Government and the people. (Hear, hear!) The Industrial Exhibition organized of late by the National Congress itself afforded an instance of what could be done. (Hear, hear!) When that Industrial Exhibition was started the differences that had hitherto existed between Congressmen and some classes of the people were sunk in the cause of industrial progress, and Hindoos and Mohammedans had been working shoulder to shoulder in making that movement a success. (Applause.) It ought also to be remembered that that movement from the beginning had had the support of the Government. Wherever an industrial exhibition had been organized the Governor or the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province had rendered the organizers valuable assistance. With regard to the remarks of his friend, Mr. Yusuf Ali, the paper did not ask the Government to encourage a political movement like the Congress. The point was that the attitude of hostility to it was unjustified, and in defence of that Mr. Yusuf Ali had not stated anything. In fact, his argument that Lord Dufferin gave it a little recognition in the beginning made the hostility shown to it later on in official circles more objectionable. The details of that hostility could be given if required, but he did not think it necessary to enter into them at the far-end of the meeting. With regard to the state of primary education, and all other education, he thought that no sensible Indian could ever deny the debt of gratitude he owed to the British Government for giving India education (Hear, hear); but the complaint had often been made by the people and accepted by responsible officials and members of the Government that the Government had not done as much for education and had not given as much of its funds towards the cause of public instruction as was necessary, and as was done by other countries. (Hear, hear!) That was what he meant to invite attention to when he had said that perhaps the Government might have been sleeping pretty soundly for some time to have allowed primary education to be so little advanced, but he did not mean to deny the value of what had already been done.

On the contrary, he would be the foremost to give the Government credit for the work it had already done in that direction, but he should also be amongst the first to ask for still larger work to be done in the same direction. (Hear, hear !)

The CHAIRMAN said : I believe it has been the practice of the gentlemen who have presided at these meetings to say a few words in winding up the discussion, and I do not propose to depart from that practice, although I must say that I have very little to say upon the subject. In the first place, I must congratulate you upon the excellent lecture which we have listened to by our worthy lecturer. (Applause). Whether we agree with him in all he has said or not, I think we cannot but admit that the lecture which he has delivered displays a great deal of thought and deliberation, and a deep study of the subject on which he has spoken, and I think we must all admit that the expectations we had formed of listening to something that was worth listening to have not been in the least, at all events, as far as I am concerned, disappointed. Then, as regards the discussion, the lecturer has said that my friend Mr. Yusuf Ali really has come in for a good deal of the discussion and a good deal of the criticism which would otherwise have been directed to the lecturer himself ; but, after all, we are met here for the purpose of discussing, and, I suppose, for the purpose of criticising each other, and as so much has been said upon the freedom of speech that ought to be allowed by the Government of India and in other countries, certainly it would be highly inconsistent on our part not to allow the fullest freedom of speech here. (Laughter.) But, after all, really the question is one of practical administration, and we have met here not merely for the purpose of discussing it, but also for the purpose of saying something that might throw light upon the very great and very important questions which face the Government of India. In the first place, I think we must admit that no Government can deal with any questions of importance unless it is in possession of the ideas and aspirations of the people whom they are called upon to govern (hear, hear) ; and, therefore, so long as the natives of the country speak their minds with freedom, but, at the same time, with all due respect to the powers that be, and as long as they do not transgress those bounds of decent criticism, which I think it is the duty of all decent speakers to keep in mind, I feel perfectly certain, and I am sure, from my own experience, that the Government of India is just as willing to listen to any criticism of its acts as any Government can be. Of course, the natives of India in criticising the acts of Government very often forget to make those allowances which I think it is our duty to make for those who are our rulers. We forget oftentimes to remember that India is not one country, but that it is a conglomeration of countries ; we forget that India does not consist of one people, but it consists of a large variety of people ; and we also forget that the duty of the Government is not to any particular section of the community, but to all these communities. (Hear, hear !) I think it will be found that when there is some complaint by Mussulmans of the attitude of the Government towards them, it perhaps owes its origin to a desire on the part of the Government to conciliate, to a certain degree, the Hindoos ; and when the Hindoos complain that the Government is not

acting as fast as they desire, it possibly arises from the desire of the Government to see that they do not go too fast as far as the Mussulmans are concerned ; and I believe it is to a great extent, in this desire of the Government to conciliate the feelings of these various communities, that a good deal of explanation will be found of what appears to most of us the halting attitude which the Government have been taking,—looking at what has been going on during the last fifty years in India. Although I have oftentimes in former days criticised the acts of Government, I would ask my young friends to remember whether they have not very much to be grateful for, although they have no doubt also many causes to complain ; but in looking at the acts of the Government, it does not do either for young India or, for the matter of that, middle-aged India, or old India, always to fix its eyes upon the faults of the Government, and entirely to forget those blessings which we enjoy under the ægis of the British Government. (Hear, hear!) I have generally found that when any matter of public interest is brought forward before the authorities, if the memorials are couched in decent and respectful and proper language, they have always been listened to, and I have never yet had any cause of complaint with reference to the reception of any of these memorials and addresses that have been sent up from responsible parties ; but when people, instead of pressing their requests in proper language, use language which goes beyond the bounds of mere decency, I think one cannot be surprised if oftentimes the replies which they get from responsible authorities are couched in language which, perhaps, is not so pleasant to listen to. But, then, Governments, after all, are the same as private individuals. If a request is addressed to a private individual in a manner that appeals to him properly, I think we must all admit that there is much more chance of its being listened to and possibly assented to. If the request is addressed in another set of words, that request may be refused, and I have, therefore, always, wherever I have had anything to do with public work in India, impressed on my countrymen the desirability of keeping within temperate, modern language, and of addressing the Government in those tones which we ourselves like to be addressed in. (Hear, hear!) I feel perfectly certain, for example, that when the proceedings of the Congress are carried on on these lines, they are listened to with greater consideration than if they were carried on on different lines.

Now, as regards the attitude of Government towards the Congress, although we have been reminded that this is an occasion where political views may be discussed, it must be borne in mind that in the position which I occupy at present, I am not at liberty to discuss any political questions of a controversial character ; but I believe that Government perfectly understand and recognise that the Congress is not a seditious body. I believe they recognise that the Congress does consist of a large body of people speaking with authority upon the question, and although they do not like their acts to be criticised openly in the way that sometimes they have been, I believe that the resolutions of the Congress are really considered by Government in a sympathetic spirit ; and as far as they think any effect can be given to them, I believe that they are desirous of giving effect to them, and to the desires of the nation as expressed through

the Congress. But after all—speaking now for my own countrymen—I think we have to address ourselves more to the question of education and to the question of social reform, side by side with the question of political reform. I am afraid that young India has fixed its attention too exclusively upon politics and too little upon education and upon social reform. I am one of those who think that our improvement and progress lies not in our efforts simply in one direction, but in various directions (hear, hear), and that we ought to move side by side for the purpose of improving our social status and our educational status quite as much as our political status. It is no use labouring altogether for a representative Government of a very advanced type if the majority of our own countrymen are still steeped in ignorance, and experience shows that the majority of the Indian subjects have not yet appreciated the advantages of that higher education upon which I think the fate of our nation really rests. Look at the Mussulmans. I have often in my judicial capacity had to deal with wills made and executed by my own people, and I have found that a very wealthy individual who dies, if he has no near relations, his one idea is to devote his fortune to some old-fashioned charity, such as the feeding of fakirs, the building of old-fashioned tanks, or making pilgrimages to Mecca, or reading so many hundreds of times the pages of the Koran, or things of that kind—very excellent things in themselves, but which, unfortunately, do not advance the fortunes of the nation. Now if, when young India becomes old and is about to make its will, it will only remember, instead of leaving their fortunes to these old-fashioned charities, to devote their fortunes to the advance of education, I think we should have very much less cause of complaint against Government, because probably we should be able to do that ourselves which we now ask Government to do. As regards the employment of the people in Government service, I think it is a perfectly legitimate aspiration on the part of the natives of India to be employed in larger and larger numbers in the higher grades of the public service. Natives of India possess very high natural qualifications for employment in many branches, such as the judicial, the public works, the railways, the telegraphs, and I for one am unable to see why much larger numbers of the natives of the country should not be employed in these departments not only without prejudice, but with great advantage to the empire. (Applause.) Ladies and gentlemen, it is getting very late, and I do not wish to detain you any longer. I simply once more express my pleasure at the lecture which we have listened to, and I think I may take it upon myself to express on your behalf also, the pleasure with which we have heard this paper. (Loud applause.)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN: Ladies and gentlemen, a very pleasing duty has been assigned to me, which is to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman. I am sure we are very grateful to him for presiding, and for the interesting and judicious advice he has given; also, it gives me particular pleasure to propose this vote of thanks for personal reasons. One of them is that Mr. Justice Tyebji has been my friend for about forty years, and he is one of those men that the more you see of him the more you like him and respect him. Another reason that gives me pleasure is that Mr.

Justice Tyebji has had a most distinguished career in the public service, and a third reason I may give is, that he is one of those who has done more than most to direct and stimulate the energies and the aspirations of young India in a right direction. (Applause.) The lecturer mentioned that there are two directions in which progress has been impeded : one was from defects of education, and another was want of unity amongst the workers. In both those directions Mr. Justice Tyebji has been remarkably distinguished. His family for several generations has done in Bombay a great deal to assist education amongst the Mussulmans, which community, as regards intelligence, are in no way behind their brethren the Hindoos. The Tyebji family accepted Western education early, and have taken full advantage of it. As regards unity amongst the different classes of the community, I can say that Mr. Justice Tyebji specially represents that principle. There were three distinguished gentlemen who were my contemporaries in Bombay, who represented the Hindoos, the Mussulmans, and the Parsees. Mr. Justice Tyebji represented the Mussulmans, Sir Pheroz-shah Mehta the Parsees, and the late Mr. Justice Telang the Hindoos ; and those three gentlemen worked together in perfect harmony, and showed the very great advantages that ensue when high-minded men and the whole of the community, instead of advocating what we may call selfish interests, were working together for the public good. I have therefore the greatest pleasure in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN having seconded the motion, it was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting for the vote of thanks, the proceedings terminated.

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FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

A MEETING of this Association was held on Monday, March 5, 1906, at the Caxton Hall, for the purpose of hearing a paper by A. Yusuf Ali, Esq., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab), I.C.S., on "Civic Life in India." The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B., G.C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., presided. There were present, amongst others: Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.I.E., LL.D., Lady Lyall, Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.S.I., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Major F. H. Fink, I.M.S., Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. J. W. Fox, Colonel and Mrs. Altaf Ali, Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Mrs. and Miss Pollen, Syed Major Hasan Bilgrami, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mrs. Corbet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. and Mrs. T. W. Arnold, Mr. William Irvine, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. P. D. Patel, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. H. Nott, Miss A. A. Smith, Mr. R. L. Dhingra, Mr. N. Jacobs, Mr. A. E. Lorain, Miss Watson, Mr. K. A. Bhojwain, Miss R. James, Miss A. L. Major, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. T. Morison, Mr. S. A. Coad, Mr. J. Read, Mr. M. A. Khan, Mr. M. A. Z. Ali, Mr. C. A. Latif, Miss Gertrude Toynbee, Mrs. MacDonald, Mr. and Mrs. F. Wyer, Mrs. Mackenzie, Dr. Bhaba, Miss Chapman Hands, Miss Stevens, Dr. Oswald, Major G. Malet, Mr. K. C. Tyabjee, Mr. A. V. Gompertz, Mr. Kavel Krisna, Mr. R. Rai, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the lecturer, the paper was then read.*

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, we have had the advantage of hearing to-day an address on one of the most important problems that lies before those who are responsible for the Government of India. The lecturer has had the advantage of combining experience as an Indian official with the knowledge of his own country, which comes from being born and bred in it. He has evidently studied the history, and has given us a glance back at the past traditions of the country with reference to its constitution, and he is thoroughly acquainted, accurately in detail, with the present state of the municipalities. I think you will all agree that both in the form and in the substance of his lecture he has been most successful. (Hear, hear!) The lecturer has said, and rightly, that those who have dealt with an active civic life in India have fixed their gaze "on the predominating factor in the government of the country—the factor which has moulded its history for centuries past. That has always taken the shape of a central Government, responsible only to its own conscience, and to religious and moral sanctions, for its policy and conduct." In fact, that only amounts to this, that they are irresponsible—responsible to nobody at all. There really was no continuous growth, as far as I know, of political institutions in India. The grouping of the population—such grouping as there was—was not political: it was religious. They had their customs and their personal law. In early days they had no rights or privileges at

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

all as political communities. Another remark which the lecturer made is of great importance, and paramount in the history of the question. It is that the great towns in India, rich and populous as they were, have never had any sort of municipal autonomy. They have never had any such thing as European towns have had for centuries ; they have had no power of corporate action ; they played no part at all in the political history of India. I observe that as a remarkable and important fact. Though Abul Fazl, as the lecturer says, recorded a pious opinion as to the duties of a kotwal and his qualifications, evidently nothing came of it, and I think, if I am not wrong, the kotwal himself was never a political officer, but always an officer of the executive Government. Any idea of recognising local duties and authorities, if it ever germinated in the minds of the Mogul Emperors, was, as the lecturer says, to use his own phrase, "subdued in the martial clang of internecine warfare." That is, it was stifled in the confusion of foreign invasions, frontier wars, civil wars, and incessant rebellion, which filled the annals of the Mogul Empire till it declined and fell. It was impossible, under those circumstances, that municipal institutions could exist at all. Moreover, I am afraid the idea itself was quite foreign to the Constitution, and to the ideas and the atmosphere of the Mogul Empire. Although its rulers were brilliant and powerful, and had considerable notions of statesmanship, such a thing was not within their range, and this has been a most serious misfortune for India. The explanation, however, is not far to seek. The Mogul Empire which preceded the British power was in principle and practice an absolute despotism. It was like a great steam-roller which rolled flat all obstacles to arbitrary official authority. It enforced a dead-level of subordination wherever it was powerful enough to do so. I may say that all Asiatic despotisms have been of that kind, and that is the real reason why almost all these despotisms, brilliantly successful as some of them have been, have usually been unstable, short-lived, and top-heavy. The mainspring of all those Governments was military force, and when that mainspring grew weak and broke, the whole machine fell out of gear and the whole fabric collapsed. I would remark that I lay stress on this point to show the state of the country, and the difficulties which the British Government had to face when it took over the Government from the Mogul Empire. All India was in a state of confusion and anarchy, and there had been a complete levelling of every sort of local institution, except, as I say, the law of the country and the castes—that is to say, the religious grouping ; and, of course, to a certain extent, the separate jurisdictions of certain chieftains and independencies within the Mogul Empire, whilst their vast and imposing authority lasted. The British Government had to build on the foundations of their predecessors, and they found complete disorganization ; they had everything to begin afresh. There was nothing that they could keep up. There were no institutions or conditions or independent action in the towns, and for a long time the British rulers themselves were so much occupied in pacifying the country and consolidating their dominion that they could not possibly enter into local questions. The lecturer has shown, however, that the British Government, by various Acts and orders, en-

deavoured at last, as he said, fifty years ago, to plant the germs of municipal autonomy in the towns, though the idea of administrative progress really dates from the suppression by the Government of the great Mutiny in 1857. I may say briefly that I consider modern India dates from the year following that great convulsion. Since that time the great policy of administrative decentralization, which is the keynote of our policy throughout India, has been steadily gaining ground, and I quite agree that the main impulse and the practical application of that principle may be found, as the lecturer says, in the action of Lord Ripon's Government in 1882. That was Lord Ripon's policy. That was a principle he did his very best to enforce, and I think his action was both right and just, and I believe it has always been recognised as such by the natives of India. I speak with some knowledge of the subject, because in 1882 the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, now called the United Provinces, were under my charge, and I had to introduce these reforms as best I could ; but the very extensive modifications and improvements in all the working details that have been made in the last twenty-five years are, of course, due to my successors. I have no doubt at all that they are making excellent progress, and I am very glad to hear from the lecturer the condition of things at which we have now arrived. All political institutions, to take root, must grow gradually ; they must be adapted to the circumstances, and to the wants and conditions of the country, and that is the great difficulty. It is an ordinary mistake, made by the English as well as others, in proposing an institution for a new country, to imitate too narrowly the systems with which they are familiar at home. That is a natural thing. In the first place, it saves a great deal of trouble, and it saves thinking. Of course, it is possible to introduce machinery wholesale ; but it is another thing to those who have to work it. But when you consider that the whole thing in India was, at the beginning of British rule, perfectly new, and had no roots and no foundations, and when we look back in England and remember that the office of the person in whom all municipal government culminates, and who is, as it were, the illustration of it—the Lord Mayor of London—is 800 years old, you have some conception of the time it takes to build up, squarely and solidly, institutions of this sort in such an extensive country as India. The distribution of local jurisdiction to those who best understand local feelings and interests is, I trust and believe, fully recognised as the cardinal policy of our Government in India. It has been acted on in the larger sense by the establishment of legislative councils, by greatly enlarging their powers, by spreading broadcast throughout India such institutions as the district boards, rural boards, and the 790 municipalities mentioned by the lecturer. I am as confident as anybody can be that where there are municipalities, whether they are in towns or rural boards, the devolution and distribution of power of jurisdiction and of authority in a vast Empire, such as we have in India, is not merely the best policy, but it is the only policy, and the only thing you can do ; but you must always remember that it is the exact reverse of the policy of our predecessors. Our predecessors went on building up a top-heavy Government, piling it up, and that is the reason why it collapsed. We are broaden-

ing the base. They put too much on the upper story; but the difficulty is in constructing steadily and patiently, and I would say that there is a slight tendency in India to expect too much from the people. I only say to those who criticise the municipal Government of India, and who suppose that even in England the government of the boroughs and the government of the towns is perfect, and worked in the best way, and does not run wrong sometimes, and does not need watching and supervision, that experience would show this to be a mistake. The great thing is to have patience in India, not to expect too much—to work slowly, and build up a system that will attract the people and engage them in one great policy for the government of that vast Empire. Political interest and capacity has been in the last generation certainly greatly increased. If you want evidence on this point, I do not think you can have any better proof than the very intelligent and practical appreciation of this important subject which has been to-day given us by the lecturer. (Applause.)

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have no desire or intention of making a speech to you this afternoon, and my only object in rising is to submit an appreciation of two of the earlier workers in the municipal field, long before the arrival in India of Lord Ripon, of whom our chairman has spoken. I would invite you to remember and acknowledge the enlightened efforts of two great Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab, Sir Robert Montgomery and Sir Donald McLeod. The real birth of municipal institutions in India is, I think, more due to the initiative of Sir Robert Montgomery than to that of anyone else. We possessed full-blown and active municipal committees in all the large towns of the Punjab in the early sixties. I myself, I hope not too autocratic a magistrate, was at the head of the municipal committee of Amritsar, the great religious centre of Sikhism, in 1868, fourteen years before any decrees were issued on the subject of municipal government by Lord Ripon. Sir Donald McLeod followed most loyally and sympathetically in his predecessor's footsteps. With reference to these chiefs, under whom I served, and whom I very much honour, I am anxious to declare how much municipal institutions (from which all those who love India expect so much) owe to those two Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab. (Applause.)

SIR FREDERIC FRYER said that his experience of civic government in the Punjab dated from much the same time as that of Sir Lepel Griffin. He remembered that they had municipalities in the Punjab when he joined the province in 1865, and even in those days great interest was taken in municipal work. When they started district boards he was Deputy Commissioner of Azara Hazara, and he recollected that they had an election of members of the board. A complaint was brought to him by one candidate that, though he had a very large majority of votes in his favour, another candidate had been returned instead of him. An inquiry was held into the matter, and the Tehsildar said that the statement was correct; but he considered the other candidate the best man, and therefore he had torn up a sufficient number of votes in favour of the successful candidate, so as to bring in the man he thought more fitted for the post.

He failed to see that his procedure was in any way improper. He (the speaker) quite agreed with what the previous speaker had said about district boards not being very useful. They had very little to do, and took very little interest in the matter. Municipal boards in Burmah certainly took great interest in their work. The high proportion of loans came principally from loans incurred by big towns. In Rangoon a great deal of money was borrowed, and was spent in a very useful way in procuring a proper water-supply, a very excellent system of drainage, and generally on works which would be most useful to the town, to the present population and future generations. That money had been exceedingly well spent, but his experience was that in the small towns no money was borrowed as a rule, and they generally contrived to keep their expenditure below their revenue. It was only where works were very large and could not possibly be constructed out of revenue that loans were justifiable. In such cases the resort to the power of borrowing by municipalities was most serviceable. The municipal government of many towns with which he was acquainted was most praiseworthy, and he certainly thought that as a rule members of municipalities, both European and native, took much interest in their work, and as time went on the idea of local government would develop more and more, and be a great benefit to India. (Applause.)

MR. WILLIAM IRVINE (late of the Bengal Civil Service) said that the lecturer had very naturally divided the subject into ancient history and the present time. The ancient municipal institutions of India in the English sense were non-existent, and therefore he would say nothing about them, except that in studying native history he had been very much struck by the great strength of local institutions. Very few of the commercial or social disputes of the towns ever travelled any further than the communities themselves; and there was a very strong body of local government of a sort, though it did not extend to what they would consider municipal institutions in the way of roads, drainage, and water-supply. The kotwal was an officer of the central Government—in fact, a police rather than a municipal officer—and he had under him certain local headmen, who collected his dues and helped him in his duties. Turning, then, to the present day, he had been for three years secretary, and at times the chairman, of a large municipality, and for ten years chairman of other municipalities, and therefore he had had considerable experience of the working of those institutions. There was a tendency to date things from one's own recollection, and unfortunately his went back a little further than Lord Ripon's days. With all respect to Lord Ripon's good intentions, he did not think he advanced municipal institutions in the United Provinces. His (the speaker's) connection as secretary with municipalities preceded the year 1882, and he did not think from his subsequent experience of several years the municipal institutions were any better after that time than they were before. The only time the new legislation told was when we defied the Commissioner. A dismissed clerk appealed, and the Commissioner ordered his reinstatement. It was pointed out in the humblest language that we could only be reported to Government: our orders could not be heard in appeal. The case went up

to Government, our view was upheld, and we became a "leading case." So far as he remembered, that is the only instance in which Lord Ripon's legislation gave increased independence to any municipality with which the speaker was concerned. If he were to explain how elections were conducted, it would hardly meet with the views of the free and independent electors of England. Further, he was certain that the sub-district board project of Lord Ripon fell flat from the very day it was issued. These sub-district boards, he supposed, still existed on paper, but he had never attended a meeting of one, nor had he ever read the proceedings of one in the whole course of his official experience; they died still-born. As for the district boards, they foundered principally on the question of income, having to live on money doled out to them by the Government. They were too much nursed, and could do little effective work; they could only administer the orders from the central power, and the members could not be made to take any interest in that system. These boards had no vitality, for the reason that there was no possible interest; the members were told exactly what they were to spend, and what upon. They were entirely in the hands of the superintending engineer and his subordinate, the district engineer. The educational work had formerly been attended to with a good deal of effect. Then it happened that they came under a very strong centralizing Director of Public Instruction, and he took the whole thing out of the hands of the districts; he directed from the centre what they were to do, and the last state of things was worse than the first. There was little life in the district Boards, and he did not believe there ever would be unless they were given an income of their own to administer and expend on plans and projects of their own. (Hear, hear.) Then there was the perennial difficulty that the native of India was very limited in his notions. He wanted a road to his own town, but he could not see why one fifty miles away was needed. So much for district boards. On the other hand, he (the speaker) was a great believer in municipal institutions. He had worked them for twelve or thirteen years, and found there was a lively interest taken in them. He had seen the most wonderful personal zeal displayed; but he was very much surprised to observe from the paper that the borrowing powers had been so largely exercised, and he thought that was an extremely dangerous feature, that should be carefully considered. Indian towns were very poor places, and could not stand heavy taxation, and 50 per cent. of the income spent on the repayment of debt seemed to be monstrous. The pace had been too fast by far, and they should be pulled up. It was all very well to say they must have modern institutions; but if they could not pay for them, they must do without them. He thought that in the last ten years they had been doing too much. (Applause.)

[NOTE.—I may add a word or two that has occurred to me since the meeting on (1) the Act XX. or *chaukidari* towns, (2) the octroi tax, (3) English officials as chairmen and secretaries. The small towns under Act XX. of 1856 suffer greatly from the narrowness of their income, the first charges on which are for watch and ward and scavenging. Still, in

a small way the *panches* do much good work, and it is pleasant on an inspection tour to see the pride with which they show you a bit of pavement or roadway, a newly-cleaned-out and repaired well, or a freshly-planted corner of the camping-ground. The small brick-built towns with which both sides of the Jamnah are dotted from Delhi to the foot of the hills have benefited greatly by the unobtrusive work done in them, so far as funds allow, by their headmen, under the guidance of the district staff. As for the octroi, our lecturer, Mr. Yusuf Ali, has dwelt too exclusively on the obnoxious side of this tax, which as an academic thesis I am not prepared to contest. But even in taxation imagination plays its part. Surely the goose may choose the sauce it is to be cooked with. The fact that indirect taxation is tolerated, while direct taxation is abhorred, must weigh greatly against any theoretic objection to an octroi. The population decidedly prefer it; even if it takes a little more out of their pockets, it takes it insensibly in small sums, and at a time which suits them. On the question of official chairmen and secretaries, there is one aspect of the question which I do not think has been discussed. Municipal work and the charge of a Court of Ward's estate are perhaps the only spheres of his activity in which the English official gets rid of his attitude of tax-gatherer, punisher of evil-doers, or decider of disputes. On a municipal board he and the members meet as men working for a common object. I wish to record the fact that the pleasantest part of my official work was that connected with municipalities; and to this day I feel grateful to one of my official superiors, who forced me, much against my natural bent, to take an active part in it, greatly to my eventual benefit, and, I hope, without detriment to the boards themselves on which I served. What a pity, then, that this avenue to good-feeling between Englishmen and Indians should be definitely closed by the abolition of all official chairmanships!]

SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD said : I am glad to avail myself of the invitation to address the meeting, as it gives me the opportunity of publicly expressing the pleasure and admiration with which I have listened to the delivery of Mr. Yusuf Ali's truly admirable lecture. It has been full of instruction and interest for me. But that is not what I so particularly desire to say of it, but rather and advisedly and pointedly this, that what has most moved me has been its remarkable literary quality, the simplicity, ease, and amenity of its expression, and the sanity and serenity of its whole inspiration, and, I would add, the grace and effectiveness of its delivery. Nothing gives me more genuine or greater delight than the discovery of literary ability in any of its true forms among Indian students of the English language, and Mr. Yusuf Ali's command of the tongue that Shakespeare taught and Milton upheld in its loftiest phrasing, and his facility and persuasiveness in its use, whether in writing or speaking, might well be the envy and inspiration of even practised English authors and orators. Of the subject of his lecture he had no practical knowledge, and no title to address an audience of Anglo-Indian experts on it. But the subject had always interested him. In the very first year of his return to India, in 1854, he had in a quite accidental way, come upon Sir George Win-

gate's "Reports" on the Revenue Survey of Bombay, and Goodine's little tract on the "Village Communities of the Deccan," and had been at once and permanently fascinated by them; and he had lived in the Deccan and Concan villages, and as a villager for the time, and twice as the guest of village *patels*, or rural mayors; and all this had led him to the conviction that there was still much more of the civic life and the civic spirit in India, the India of the Hindus—at least, in the Bombay Presidency—than was dreamt of in this country. The communal villages of India, each a self-contained little republic, had indeed proved the salvation of the immemorial *sano-sanet* civilization of India through the 2,000 years of outrageous military devastation and political anarchy anterior to the British pacification of the country; and, with the best intentions, we had in truth done India a dubious service in interfering, in our strenuous manner, so radically as we had with the indigenous communal life of the people. The people of each village regarded it as the very hub of the universe, and all beyond it, even across the hedge, or road, or river; separating it from the immediately neighbouring villages, as the foreign soil of outer barbarians; and they had ever looked on at the struggles of successive armed invaders for the conquest of the country with as little concern as we might at a military tournament in the Agricultural Hall at Islington, or a battle scene on the colossal stage of the Empress Theatre at Earl's Court. It was a pageant which only interested them in so far as it amused them. When in 1857, at Sattara, the only place in Western India where the Mutiny came to any serious head, the native regiments there broke away from their European officers and looted the bazaar, the ryots in the fields within earshot of the city knew little of it, and practically nothing; and to a stranger, who out of mere curiosity questioned them on the matter observed, and without turning from their work, "Oh, it's only some of those blackguards in the town kicking up a rumpus!" The municipal feeling was, indeed, strong in India—that is, among the Hindus—and instinctive, through nearly 3,000 years evolution of it; and I have always felt that it was a calamity we did not endeavour to do more to foster this, so to say, natural instinct, and to develop the civic institutions already existing in the country, particularly in Western India, and, I understand, even more completely in Southern India, rather than attempt, so energetically and inconsiderately, to force on the country the exotic European forms of these communal organizations. The path of the plague had closely coincided with the course of the succession of spheres over which we had established our modern district boards and councils throughout British India.

DR. JOHN POLLEN said Sir George Birdwood had said most of the things he (Dr. Pollen) would have attempted to say much more ably than he could have said them himself. He wished, however, to express his cordial appreciation of the very picturesque and graceful lecture they had been favoured with. He envied Mr. Yusuf Ali his easy flow of words and the correct rounding of his periods, and he could not help recognising also that the lecturer's "terminologies" were not only picturesque, but, what was somewhat unusual in these times, "exact." (Laughter.) He also desired to claim for the memory of Sir Bartle Frere due appreciation for

foreign country, for which it got no direct return, was certainly not in the fair way of progress. The amount sent out of India at the present time amounted to almost £1 per head of the population of this country. India was, unfortunately, the poorest country on the face of the earth, and with that terrible drain on her resources, education, social reform, industrial reform, and political reform, were hampered. Some idea of the indifference of England to the real wants of India might be gathered from the King's speech of that day (a summary of which had been seen by the speaker on his way to the meeting), in which, although India was convulsed on account of the partition of Bengal, and the boycotting of British goods was raging fiercely, there was not one word about India. As long as that indifference lasted, the danger in India was very great indeed in spite of the very pleasant theories in which the lecturer had been indulging. After twenty-one years of meetings of the Indian National Congress, English public opinion was still as indifferent as it ever was, and under the circumstances what wonder was it that there was discontent in India; what wonder was it that they should get tired of continual blood-sucking. Englishmen should be alive to the gravity of the situation, and try to meet it because the growing poverty of the people, and the growing despair of any reform coming to them in the ordinary way, reforms might be made to come in the most frightful fashion. (Applause.)

MR. MARTIN WOOD, as one of the oldest members of the Association, expressed himself as much pleased with the Shaikh Abdul's paper, which, he thought, was essentially reasonable and comprehensive in its view and in the best possible tone. They had seen during the last six or seven years in India a certain expansion of self-help and self-reliance in various forms which had not been so prevalent hitherto, and which he trusted would go on increasing. At the same time there was much still to be desired in that direction. Another point, the awakening of the people of India to their position as British citizens was a very important matter; but he was very sorry to have to confess that that movement had not met from this side with as much fair recognition as could be hoped. In contrast to the antagonism which of late years the governing class in India had shown to various reasonable political movements, he thought it was well to recall the encouraging aspects in former times which had been so well explained in the paper. The last speaker had said that the Association was opposed to the discussion of political subjects, but that was by no means the case. It depended on how these subjects were discussed; and as far as the broad view taken in this paper of the relations between the Indian people and the ruling classes was concerned, it was entirely in accordance with the objects of the Association, and he expressed satisfaction that one of its original Indian members had done them the honour of presiding that day.

MR. YUSUF ALI, I.C.S., said that he thought he might at the outset congratulate Mr. Abdul Qadir on the excellent paper he had read to the meeting, and on the summary and analysis of the movements at work which made ideas filter from the educated to the uneducated classes. Most of those who had observed Indian life had noticed that things were moving in a different direction from that in which they appeared to be

moving on the surface. In many of the developments of popular ideas it had been found that the Indian Press exercised an amount of influence on the people which was not suspected originally by those who only looked at things from a conventional point of view. While therefore he entirely agreed with the analysis which the lecturer had given of the causes at work which tended towards the elevation of the people of India, he thought he had been less than fair to the amount of work that had been done by Government in the matter of elementary education and the sympathy shown towards political movements. He thought he detected somewhat of a sneer when the lecturer asked the question: What had Government been doing to neglect elementary education? He might be wrong, but his reading of the political history of India during the past few years was somewhat different. Not many years ago the Government were trying to drive the Indian population to take elementary education, and the people would not have it. He did not think he was exaggerating when he said that in the country districts, as opposed to the towns, it was the constant efforts of the Government through its educational and civil officers to impart elementary education that were in a large measure responsible for such progress as had been achieved in elementary education. He did not mean to assert that Government agency had been the only agency for the support of popular education, nor that at the present moment popular education was looked upon with indifference by the people. On the contrary, there was a larger demand for education than could be supplied by existing educational institutions and authorities. It was largely a question of funds. If they had sufficient funds to start a large number of schools, they would have as many students coming to them now as there would be room for. At the same time he thought the efforts that had been made in the past to encourage education ought to be recognised, and while the apathy of the lower classes of the population towards elementary education ought to be understood and appreciated, it ought at the same time to be recognised that the people had generally shown a greater inclination for higher and secondary education. He believed in many instances secondary education had not received the amount of attention it ought to have received; but in that matter things were now moving somewhat differently. The claims of elementary education having been recognised there was a good basis created on which a higher superstructure of secondary and of University education could be raised. He did not mean to assert that one should necessarily take precedence of the other, though it was an arguable point, but he thought it would be perfectly legitimate to say that higher education and secondary education would be a complete failure unless elementary education had been sufficiently instilled into the people.

As to the second point he was rather surprised to find the lecturer criticise the attitude of Government towards political institutions. It was too much to ask that Government should stoop down from its pedestal and say to all political movements: "Yes, you are perfectly right, and we want to welcome you." To a certain extent the Government always ought to welcome movements based on reasonable ideas and he believed there

interest. If some measure could be devised by the Imperial Government, when, as happened some time ago, it had a very good surplus to dispose of, by which part of the immense debt of these bodies could be cleared off once for all, and their capacity for usefulness enhanced by being able to use a larger part of their ordinary income, it would be a measure of great usefulness. The expenses the municipalities had to incur on works like waterworks were particularly entitled to a demand on the Imperial exchequer, because he felt that works of that character, though from one point of view works of local good, were from another point of view of Imperial good. For instance, when the plague broke out, or any other epidemic came on, the Imperial Government had to incur enormous expenditure to stamp out the epidemic. If, instead of that, works like waterworks and a good system of drainage were to be provided for the large towns in times of freedom from disease as preventive measures, and the Imperial Government took a larger share of that expenditure than it did at present, he thought the money would be well invested. (Applause.)

COLONEL C. E. YATE, owing to the lateness of the hour was not able to address the meeting, but has recorded what he was going to say—viz., as follows: There is just one point in the able and well-worded lecture given us by Yusuf Ali to-day that I should like to touch upon, and that is his complaint that too little money is expended on education by the municipalities and District Boards of India. My time has mostly been passed out of British India and away from municipalities, and I am not an authority on District Boards, but from what I have heard I should say that these Boards should not be urged on to spend more money upon education than they do at present. I have heard of District Boards who were spending 25 per cent. of their total income on education alone, and there was not enough money remaining for other works that were urgently required. I should have thought that these Boards required rather to be cautioned against spending too much in this way, especially in the smaller places, where the children of the municipal commissioners and their friends sometimes form a considerable portion of the total number of children to be educated.

The last speaker, Shaikh Abdul Kadir, has dwelt on the lecturer's remarks about the tendency of municipalities throughout India to elect their district officer to be their chairman, and has deprecated the custom, and urged that it should no longer be permitted. Surely the fact that municipalities do so elect their district officers shows of itself that they realize that they still require a trained and experienced officer to guide their deliberations, and to hold the scales even between opposing interests, and, far from urging the abolition of this custom, I should say that the longer it is continued, the more chance we have of municipal government proving the success in India that is hoped for it. As Shaikh Abdul Kadir himself has just said, municipal institutions are a product of the West that have been suddenly planted down in the East, where, as has been shown, the population has had no previous training in the working of them.

The discussion here to-day has demonstrated the fact that barely forty years have passed since municipalities were first inaugurated in India, and what is forty years compared to the 800 years of the Lord Mayorship of London that our chairman has told us of? We cannot do better than pause and think well of the sound and able advice to go slowly and patiently in this matter that Sir Alfred Lyall has given us in the address that has been such a treat to all of us here who have been privileged to hear him to-day. Even after 800 years the action of municipalities in England is far from being free from criticism, and the longer the newly-formed municipalities of India have a trained administrator to guide them, the better for them, I should say.

This expression of a desire for the freedom of Indian municipalities from official guidance is, however, only part and parcel of the present cry of young Indians for a greater share in the administration of India. I was at a lecture here in this very hall only a fortnight ago, when Shaikh Abdul Kadir himself gave us an excellent paper on "Young India: its Hopes and Aspirations," which I listened to with interest. I also well remember the sound advice given to the young Indians then present by our lecturer to-day, Yusuf Ali. I was sorry to see, though, that young India did not relish that advice. They cried aloud for the immediate necessity for higher employment in the Government service in India. One gentleman from Bengal even went so far as to say that if this reform did not come to them in the ordinary way, it would result in its coming in the most frightful fashion—a violent and threatening speech which, however safe and harmless in a London hall, only showed how ill qualified the speaker was to realize the true situation. I wondered at the time if any of the young men who then spoke had ever realized the large share in the administration of India that is now enjoyed by Indians. I wondered if they had ever taken the trouble to examine the Civil Lists of the various provinces in India, and to see how the numbers actually stood. Take the Civil Lists of the larger provinces, like Bengal, Madras, Bombay, or Punjab, for instance. These lists only give the names of those holding superior appointments under the Local Government, and do not include the hundreds and thousands of minor appointments held almost exclusively by Indians.

Well, in the Punjab, which is a much newer province than the others, supposing there are some 2,500 names in the Civil List, of these only about 1,000 will be European names, the remaining 1,500 being purely Indian. This means that for every two Britishers employed in the province there are at least three Indians similarly employed. Now, amongst these Indians will be found men holding the appointments of divisional and sessions judges, magistrates, deputy and assistant commissioners of districts, revenue settlement officers, police, postal, telegraph, railway and forest officers, inspectors of schools, professors of colleges, civil surgeons, superintendents of gaols, civil engineers, examiners of accounts, and officials of every branch of the Government service, in fact. Thus everywhere the Indian official is to be found working side by side with the British official, and in larger numbers than the British, and all on

good pay. Even the clerk on 100 rupees a month in India is far better off than the clerk on £80 a year in England, and his education has probably cost him much less.

I wondered, too, if the young Indian speakers had ever studied the difference of the employment in the Government service given by the Government of India and that given by other Governments. Had they ever realized what chance they would have of steady employment and good pay under such Governments as Persia or Afghanistan? Had they ever been across the Russian frontier in Central Asia, and seen what the chance of employment to Asiatics was there? Under Russian rule there is comparatively little Government education and little Government employment in Central Asia. The Russian *Pristav*, who is a sort of district magistrate and police officer combined, has perhaps one clerk, and that clerk is a Russian. Every appointment, down to the lowest clerkship, is held by a Russian. This is the case not only with administrative officers, but the Customs, postal, railway, telegraph, police, and every sort of official is a Russian. Had they ever been to Indo-China and seen what administration was there under the French Government? I have always heard that Saigon is full of French officials, and the same may, I believe, be said of German, Italian, Dutch, or any other territory in the East. How different this is from what it is in India! No other country in the world offers such a wide field for Government employment as the British Government in India offers to the Indians, and it is not only in India, but in other countries as well that this field is yearly widening out. It was only yesterday that a batch of some fifty Indians sailed from Liverpool for employment in the Government of Southern Nigeria, and as British subjects Indians are thus acquiring the right to Government employment both in East and West Africa, and right well they will acquit themselves, I feel sure. No, it is not the want of employment that India has to complain of at present. It is the intemperate clamour of young men like those I heard the other day that India has to complain of. Speeches such as those only bring down contempt and derision for the cause we have at heart. Old Indian officers like myself, who are deeply interested in India and the Indians, and who would welcome any means of giving a helping hand to the hopes and aspirations of young India, have to pause and wonder where we are to find young Indians really qualified by strength of character, moderation of language, common-sense, and soundness of judgment, to hold the appointments for which they clamour. Shaikh Abdul Kadir, I was glad to see, pointed out in his lecture that there was an ever-increasing number of Indians entering the higher grades of the public service in India, and this is as it should be. We desire that Indians who possess the qualifications for high administrative responsibility should possess that responsibility; but, as in municipalities, so in the public service, the pace should not be forced. Let us proceed slowly and patiently, and the result in the end will be all the better.

MR. YUSUF ALI, in replying on the discussion, said that with regard to the policy of the official chairman having become crystallized by practice,

and not by law, in most parts of India, which Mr. Abdul Qadir had said was not good for the future, he thought it would leave the door open for easy transition at any future time, when a municipality felt itself strong enough to elect a chairman of a non-official character; and, in fact, some of the municipalities did elect non-official gentlemen as chairmen. Another point made by Shaikh Abdul Qadir was that the Government of India ought to give doles and grants to the municipal funds. The Government of India had done that time after time, especially as regards the recent plague expenditure. He might be wrong in using the words "the Government of India," because the system of finance was such that the Government of India made contract grants to the local Government, and the local Government apportioned its grant among the different items of expenditure, including subventions to the municipalities; but the Government had certainly made large grants for purposes of municipal expenditure, and no doubt it would do so again. But it would introduce a wrong and dangerous principle to look upon doles as the means to set right the equilibrium of the municipal services. It would be better if municipalities tried to work within the limits of their own funds.

On the motion of SIR LEPSEL GRIFFIN, a unanimous vote of thanks was accorded to the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

Mr. Martin Wood writes:

In the discussion on Mr. Yusuf Ali's paper treating of Indian municipalities, Sir George Birdwood claimed to speak as having been one of the original members of the first "responsible" Corporation for the "town and island of Bombay." Having been myself one of that early group, as also, later on, a member of the first "representative" municipality of that city, it was my wish to have made a few remarks, but time did not serve. These would have been mainly by way of filling in two or three shades in the lecturer's brief sketch of the Western municipal methods somewhat hastily pressed upon the three Presidency cities in the middle sixties; and, later on, in less crude form, on two or three of the up-country large cities.

Quite true: much good work was done in these few early years by, or through these improvised corporations. This could scarcely be otherwise; seeing that the local Governments had much neglected their duties as conservators amidst the enormous communities for whose social well-being they were directly responsible. But no indication was given in the paper, and scarcely at all by the speakers who followed, of the severe strain thrown on the civic populations by this new and European sort of municipal work. No landed property or other permanent resources were assigned by the Supreme Government to assist these civic communities during the initial stages of their new and immense obligations. Power to "tax themselves" was given freely, and very freely was it used; so that tax-gathering itself became a heavy, and often a baffling burden. The Chief Commissioners and Health Officers, who had to learn the methods of Western civic administration, were necessarily expensive; but the Central authorities thereby found places for these highly-paid officers at other peoples'—that is, the

ratepayers'—heavy cost. Then the new water-supply conservancy and drainage works required expensive engineers and other specialists, mostly brought from England, the cost of whom has been ever mounting.

These local public works were alluded to with some pride, both in the paper and in the discussion; but no one has, or can compute the large sums lost or wasted whilst the Civilian and Engineering authorities, as also the citizens themselves, were feeling after, or fumbling their way through those large and somewhat extravagant undertakings. Nor must it be forgotten that those modern methods of water-supply, drainage, and sanitation involved large loans and burdens of prolonged debt, which the municipalities drag after them like a log, the weight of which can only be gradually lightened by the ratepayers "taxing themselves."

As to methods of this civic taxation, Mr. Yusuf Ali said much about octroi, and seems to regard that convenient but inequitable system with the customary Indian toleration. But the Bombay Corporation, at its start, repudiated that evil fiscal device. It was only after the "inevitable" extravagance had broken down its finances that this pressure on the poor was resorted to; and it was stubbornly resisted by the wisest of Indian members of the Corporation, also by two or three European members.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

AKBAR'S REVENUE SETTLEMENTS.

SIR,

My friend Mr. Irvine has called my attention to a statement of Akbar's revenues which is bound up with B.M. MS. Or. 1286 of Keval Rām's Tazkirat-ul-Umarā, Rieu's Catalogue II. 876*b*. This MS. at p. 334*b* gives the revenue (Jama') in the time of Akbar Bādshāh, according to Nizāmu-d-dīn's Tabaqāt Akbarī, as 3 *arbs* and 40 *krors* of Murādī Tanka, and states that this is equal to Rs. 170,000,000. In pounds this comes to £17,000,000. According to this statement, then, Mr. Thomas was right in regarding the Murādī Tanka as equal to $\frac{1}{20}$ of a rupee. But instead of 6 *arbs*, as taken by Mr. Thomas and given in Elliot (v. 186), it has only three. This is interesting, as it agrees with the India Office MS. No. 998, which has *sihsad u chahal* 340 *krors*. If the compiler of the calculations is right in regarding the Murādī Tanka as a Sikandarī Tanka, and as equal to $\frac{1}{20}$ of a rupee, his "three *arbs*" is probably more correct than the "six *arbs*" of the MS. relied upon by Thomas, for then the figures will closely agree with De Laet's statement—obtained from the Dutch Chief of Surat and quoted in Thomas's book, p. 20—that Akbar's revenues were 3 *arbs*, 49 *krors* of *tangas*, or 6 *arbs* 98 *krors* of *clams*. It is still a question, however, if the compiler was right in his view of the value of the Murādī Tanka.

The statement in the B.M. MS. above mentioned also gives the revenue in the times of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the former coming to about £22,000,000, and the latter to about £34,000,000.

H. BEVERIDGE.

February 12, 1906.

"BRITAIN'S DESTINY: GROWTH OR DECAY?" (SECOND NOTICE).**—M. B. F. MAJOR.****"INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION: ITS CAUSE AND CURE."—****ARTHUR KITSON.****"NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL CURRENCY?"—****FISHER UNWIN.**

We all know that money, whatever form it may assume, is merely a medium for the exchange of goods; and as the free exchange of the goods of all countries has generally been considered the ideal state of things for profitable commerce, it has also been generally supposed that an international currency, founded on some fairly stable metal, is of all the most desirable. Major Phipson, however, challenges the claim of gold, or any intrinsically valuable substance, to be a suitable medium of exchange, and contends that an absolutely valueless currency, one that is free from all possibility of becoming international, is the best for us, and, I presume, for all other nations. He points out with compelling cogency that even now, though our currency is nominally of gold, yet the overwhelming majority of all our payments are made by means of cheques, which are issued in practically unlimited quantities; and that, too, though the amount of gold in the country at any given time is probably not one-tenth of the amount of our transactions. Now, it is well known also that the amount of the currency should be regulated to suit the volume of our business, and that the regulation of it should in theory be kept in the hands of the Government; but with our system of practically unlimited banks, all issuing cheques to a quite indefinite amount, the Government of this country has, in fact, lost all control over the currency, and the banks literally coin money (or "credit," which answers the same purpose as long as there is no catastrophe), and we have, in consequence, continual fluctuations in prices, which are most objectionable and demoralizing. As Major Phipson points

out, there is only one real "standard of value"* in this country, and that is wheat (as in India it is perhaps rice), and the great object of our Government should be to keep its purchasing power as steady as may be. But with gold as the medium of exchange it is obvious (as he also points out) that it is entirely beyond the power of any Government to regulate the currency, because they have no means of procuring fresh supplies of it just as they want it, and have to rely on private enterprise to provide the material for the currency, and so, in fact, "put the monopoly of our currency into the hands of a comparatively small number"—the bankers. When, therefore, there is a shortage in the supply of gold, or a largely-increased demand for it in other countries, gold is "appreciated," and the unfortunate producer of our real "standard of value"—wheat—may at any time have to sell a quarter of wheat for 20s. instead of 40s. If the price could be kept steady at about 30s., as Major Phipson says it might if the volume of the currency were carefully adjusted to the demands upon it, he would have very little to complain of; but obviously this could only be done if the Government had the complete control which a paper currency would give them. As, however, at least 97 per cent. of all payments made in this country now are made by cheques, we have already evolved what is practically a paper, and therefore a valueless, currency; but the difference between a currency composed of unlimited cheques issued by private banks and a currency of cheques issued by Government and strictly limited to the volume of our transactions, each individual, moreover, being under the necessity of keeping strictly within his means (including, of course, his command of credit) is immense. The present system is practically one of book credits; and when I give a tradesman a cheque I am merely making a debit in my banker's books and a credit in his, no coin passing at all.

* This, of course, is merely a conventional expression, and only means that the "intrinsic value" of all commodities (if Mr. Kitson will allow us to use such a term) must ultimately be measured in food.

Nor, indeed, is there anywhere to be found in cash more than one-tenth of the money represented by this immense volume of cheques. Is this a sound system? It certainly seems a very convenient one; but, at the same time, one cannot help thinking that it confers upon a number of private bankers the privilege of issuing unlimited money without any real security in coin at the back of it. At the same time it seems to show that there is no necessity for a metallic currency, except, perhaps, for petty payments; and if all private banks were abolished and the State monopolized the issue of cheques, it is obvious what a splendid source of revenue we should have. What effect such a revolutionary change would have on our present system of commercial gambling is quite another question, but it could hardly fail to reduce the volume of business, and perhaps, also, *per contra*, the number of bankruptcies which are largely due to the reckless spirit of gambling in trade so often dignified by the name of enterprise, the bankers to whom we trust our money for safe custody being at the bottom of all this commercial gambling, and being actually guilty of using trust money for their own benefit.

It is surely a very curious thing that a serious, and certainly able, writer like Major Phipson should venture to charge the bankers of the country with systematic fraud on the most gigantic scale, and yet that no notice should be taken by anyone. One would have thought that in a great commercial country like this, where trade, after all, depends on honesty and good faith, such a statement would have been met with prompt denial. "Organized robbery," "embezzlement of £655,000,000" are strange expressions to apply to our highly respected and, within the limits of their business, no doubt honourable bankers. It certainly seems worth while to consider whether the position of trustee for all the money deposited with him for safe keeping is compatible with the banker's practice of speculating with his client's deposits. His plea would, no doubt, be that there

is no deception, that his clients are well aware of the universal practice, and tacitly acquiesce in it, knowing that unless the banker makes use of the money he could not afford to keep it without some charge for doing so.

The above was written long before I came across the pamphlet by Mr. Arthur Kitson quoted above, and found that the whole subject had been treated by him in a masterly fashion to which I make no pretensions, but, curiously enough, without any reference to Major Phipson's works, and, of course, on somewhat different lines, though his object is evidently the same—namely, to get at the "science" of civilization (if, indeed, there is such a science); and on one point these two heretical teachers of economics are entirely agreed—namely, that our present system of private banking is the root of all evil in commerce, and that its dependence on coined gold is the direct cause of commercial panics and the constantly recurring bankruptcies amongst our commercial classes. Is it right or necessary that the control of money should give fifty men in New York the power "to stop every wheel on all the railways, close the doors of all our factories, lock every switch in every telegraph line, and shut down every coal and iron mine in the United States?" or that it "should give its possessors absolute power over a whole nation's industries," as Chauncey Depew says it does in America?

Both of these very independent thinkers agree also in the conclusion that the unjust treatment of labour is part of our present system, and Mr. Kitson considers it proved that the prosperity of the United States is largely due to high wages, and that high wages are *not* due to prosperity, as generally assumed. "We undertake," he says, "expensive expeditions to Thibet and other distant lands at the cost of millions of pounds" (and many innocent human lives) "to open trade with a few barbarians, who, after all, have little to offer, whilst here at home are thirteen millions of our own people capable of furnishing a market only the means and the machinery

are provided. . . . Two-thirds of our annual production is distributed among less than three million persons, whilst some forty millions have to struggle along on the balance."

There is another important point on which Mr. Kitson is substantially in agreement with Major Phipson. They both insist that the "value" of money is *not* due to the metal composing it, and Mr. Kitson points out instances where *irredeemable* paper currency exchanged with gold on perfectly equal terms, and the reason of that is clearly because whatever the law decrees to be money *is* money ; so that if "every piece of gold in circulation were displaced by a paper note of nominally the same value and the gold *annihilated*, the purchasing power of money would remain the same." This is remarkable testimony to the soundness of Major Phipson's views.

"Money," indeed, is supposed to be "the tool of industry," but, in fact, nowadays "industry is the slave of finance." Both our authors agree that the present high "value" of gold is due entirely to pernicious monetary laws, and Mr. Kitson actually uses the same language as Major Phipson in describing our present coinage system as "one of the greatest frauds ever perpetrated upon mankind." "Money monopoly," he says, "is a greater evil than" (even) "land monopoly." "Banking and the creation of money" should be *nationalized* (another echo of Major Phipson). "Mr. Chamberlain talks of our antiquated fiscal system, but here is an institution handed down to us by the 'superstitious ignorance of barbarous ages'"—(Major Phipson again!)"—"which warrants all the harsh things he has ever said against free imports." He tells us we have "never had free trade," and he is right because *free trade does not exist*. How can trade be free "when almost everything connected with it is taxed, and the" (so-called) "'tool of trade'—the medium of exchange—is a legally constituted monopoly?"

In such a complicated subject as the currency question,

a concrete example is often more illuminating than all the argument in the world, and Mr. Kitson's account of the procedure of a New York Railway Syndicate when it wanted to buy the shares of one of its rivals is singularly instructive. "All they did," he says "was to 'corner' a large supply of the currency, with the result that prices fell, and the shares were sold at an exceedingly low figure."

Like Mr. Kitson, I have often wondered "why" (mere) "banking has been allowed to grow into a highly profitable system for the benefit of a few professional men and shareholders." Clearly, as he says, "it ought to be an essential branch of every industry . . . worked only for the benefit of trade and commerce, and *not* for the purpose of earning big dividends." "Every penny paid by banking companies in the shape of dividends and commissions is taken out of the pockets of manufacturers, merchants, and wealth-producers generally. . . . The fact is that our present banking system is built upon a foundation so rotten that in times of trouble the stability of the banks can only be maintained by the depression of trade and the bankruptcy of thousands of commercial men."

The simple remedy for all these evils, according to Mr. Kitson, is the repeal of those laws which have made money and credit a monopoly, and the creation of *an instrument of exchange which will be equally available for all forms of wealth*—in other words, Major Phipson's national and intrinsically valueless paper currency, backed by the whole wealth of the State that issues it, and therefore *not* absolutely irredeemable, but only *irredeemable in gold or any other precious metal*.

J. P.

February 8, 1906.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ORIENTAL CLASSICAL STUDIES.

The Honourable Sir Lewis Tupper, Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, at the Convocation held on December 23 last, delivered a very useful and eloquent address, in which he made the following observations on the above subject :

“Though I commend the acquisition at first hand of Western learning, I think that new aspirations should not induce the Panjab University to neglect or forget the traditions which from the very first have been associated with our corporate life. Every translation or text-book composed by a Fellow or Reader of the Panjab University which really aids in the diffusion of European science through the medium of the Vernacular languages of the Panjab is an honour to the University itself, tends to fulfil one of its prominent objects, adds to the educational equipment of the Province, and helps to bring the educated men who have not mastered English more into touch with their educated fellow-countrymen in India at large. These advantages have not been overlooked by the Senate and the Syndicate in the general scheme for University improvement, which was framed by the Syndicate, and submitted to Government, in consequence of the offer of the Government of India of an annual grant of 5 lakhs for University and College purposes ; for in that scheme we provided for an allotment of Rs. 5,000 per annum for rewards to authors bringing out translations, editions, and the like, and for the general encouragement of Vernacular literature.

“In the same scheme, too, we proposed an additional annual grant of upwards of Rs. 17,000 for the Oriental College, which, we considered, should have a whole-time Principal. To my mind the study of the Oriental Classics is a matter of greater and deeper import than the translation of Western books into the Vernacular. The principles of art are universal ; their application is as various

as the historic ages and the physical surroundings of man. No cultivated age, no civilized country has the monopoly of the beauties of art. What Greek and Latin are to Europe, that Persian and Arabic and Sanskrit are to Southern and Western Asia. A classic style means art in literature alike in the East and in the West. Inherited tastes and sympathies will make different forms of literary art more acceptable in different Continents; but a University without the classics is a thing we need not contemplate in India. It is true that in the West the rising orb of science looms already large above the intellectual horizon; but even there the light of classical literature will not die out in our time; and were it ever quenched there would be a loss to art—far worse if it were repeated here, because while French and German and English literatures may rank with the literatures of Greece and Rome, there is as yet, so far at least as my imperfect knowledge permits me to say, no modern Vernacular literature in India that can rank with Persian and Arabic and Sanskrit.

“Apart from æsthetic reasons for Oriental classical studies there are reasons which I do not hesitate to call spiritual. There is a boundless empyrean to which the spirit of man is sometimes able to soar—leaving below for some brief space the innumerable vexations, the wearing anxieties, the sordid cares, the bitter griefs of everyday existence, and coming into touch with what is, or seems to him to be, infinity. If there is no monopoly in the beauties of art, still more is there no monopoly in the possibilities of spiritual exaltation. The winged passages to that immeasurable height are as wide as interstellar space, and as lofty as the universe. It is not the Christian Church alone that can say with deep sincerity, ‘Lift up your hearts.’ So long as you find in the books of your religions the means of that spiritual elevation for which piety is ever athirst, the study of those books should be recognised as amongst your most precious possessions.

“The general scheme for University improvement which

I mentioned just now provides for wants which have long been felt, but owes its immediate origin to the proceedings of the Indian Universities Commission, and to the belief that those Universities were to receive generous financial aid from the Government of India. It is a principle of the scheme to emphasize the fact that we are a teaching institution. Grants are proposed for the Oriental and Law College buildings to complete the quadrangle of which this hall forms one side; for Oriental and Law College boarding-houses; for a well-equipped University library; for the establishment necessary to make all these institutions effective; for the rewards to authors; and for public lectures, by which I hope we may prove able to make a small and modest beginning of the professorial work which is so pre-eminent and valuable in English Universities."

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE.*

The revenue of this Protectorate for 1904-1905 was approximately £67,537; the expenditure £123,000. Trade conditions have improved due to the extension of cotton cultivation and the general developments in agriculture, which consists of coffee, cotton, chillies, rice, rubber, tea, fibres, afforestation.

The general condition of Native affairs has been satisfactory. Native workmen are now willing to engage for considerable periods. A sign of the times is the opening up of small retail stores by enterprising natives in competition on a small scale with the banyan, as the local Indian trader is called. Markets for native produce are being established at Zomba and Blantyre with a fair amount of success. A market building is in course of erection at Zomba. Education is carried on chiefly by missionary societies. The schools are within the reach of all natives who desire it. There is hardly a village in the

* Report for 1904-5 presented to Parliament, November, 1905, No. 472.

Protectorate which cannot produce at least two or three scholars able to read and write, and the younger generation now recognise that positions of trust are easily obtained through education, bringing higher pay and greater comfort, and hence forming an incentive to learn. All the subordinate Government posts, as clerks, interpreters, typists, telegraphists, and mechanics, are filled by educated natives, as are also many posts of trust in the agencies of the many trading companies. Artizans are trained in the industrial schools attached to the missions, where carpentering, printing, bookbinding, and other trades are taught, much to the benefit of local industries generally, the cost of European artizans being prohibited. There are thirteen native hospitals, with sixteen dispensaries, maintained by the various societies. Treatment is free, but natives who can afford are expected to pay a small contribution.

Various ordinances of legislation have been published, surveys have been made, and various roads constructed.

UGANDA PROTECTORATE.*

The estimated revenue for the year 1904-1905 was £42,985; the actual revenue was £59,707. The estimated expenditure was £184,463; the actual expenditure was £173,038.

Uganda being an inland Protectorate, its trade really forms part of the trade of East Africa, and figures in the general customs returns of that Protectorate. The imports by sea come exclusively from East Africa, and reach Uganda according to local requirements and demand through firms in Mombasa. Similarly, the exports are consigned to that port. The annual value of the trade proper of the Protectorate has risen from £62,538 in 1902-1903 to £149,737 in 1904-1905; the exports from

* Colonial Reports, No. 467, presented to Parliament, October, 1905.

£32,179 to £67,375. The principal articles of import are beads, cement, cigars and tobacco, boots and shoes, books and printed matters, corrugated iron, cotton goods, firearms, flour, machinery, and other miscellaneous articles, also petroleum, rice, salt, sugar, timber, tools, wearing apparel, wines, spirits, and beer, wire, etc. The principal exports are chillies, coffee, cotton, fibres, cattle, *ghee*, hides and skins, ivory, native tools, rubber, *sim-sim*, and ground nuts.

Various ordinances have been passed relating to registration of documents, births, deaths, and marriages, customs, etc.

Education is promoted chiefly by missions. Hospitals and dispensaries are being built, and various departments for administering justice are being established. Generally, the chiefs and people continue to advance in material and social well-being.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.*

The High Commissioner, Sir John Anderson, reports that there has been continuous progress and prosperity in the various States. "Not only have law and order been firmly established throughout the whole area, but, so far, at any rate, as the three Western States are concerned, they are better provided with roads and railways, public buildings, and all the usual adjuncts of administration, and comforts and amenities of civilization than any of the Crown Colonies in the Empire. The construction and maintenance of roads and railways through a tropical country are always expensive and difficult, and the fact that on an average over twenty-two miles a year have been added to railways, and more than double that length to roads, entirely from revenue, shows the extraordinary natural wealth of the States."

In reference to Kuantan, he says that, if the harbour, which is only capable at certain states of the tide for small

* Straits Settlements Reports to Parliament, November, 1905.

steamers, "could be improved at a reasonable cost, there can be no doubt that it would lead to a great development of the neighbouring part of Pahang, which is very rich, not only in minerals, but also in valuable timber. A detailed survey and observations of tides and currents have been made, and plans have been submitted for the advice of Messrs. Corde, Son, and Matthews." "Two new trunk roads into Pahang are now being rapidly pushed forward, one from Kuala Lunpor, by the Ginting Pass, and the other from Kuala Pilah." And it is hoped "ultimately to continue the latter across the Pahang River to Kuantan, and open up the heart of the country, which is at present practically unknown." "A trial survey for a railway from the Sungei Gemas, where the main line crosses the Johore border to Kuala Kuantan, has now been made, but it is not proposed to proceed with the construction until the results of the road construction now in hand have shown whether the expenditure would be justifiable. A trunk road through what is known as the New Territory, in Upper Perak, has also been undertaken, and will soon be completed, opening up what is believed to be a good agricultural as well as mining country."

In the course of Sir John Anderson's tour through the States he observes: "I received numerous addresses from the inhabitants of all the different races, in which they expressed their appreciation of the benefits which had been conferred upon the country by the British Administration."

LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE, LEYTON, LONDON, E.

Livingstone College was founded rather more than twelve years ago. Its object is to give some medical training to those whose mission is to go to Africa and the East in unhealthy climates and surroundings. Hence, a band of men and women thus trained have saved the lives of many native Europeans. The Principal, Dr. Harford, will be pleased to send full particulars to any who will

write to him at Livingstone College, Leyton, E., and to receive contributions for so deserving an object.

We observed in our last issue that its publication "*Climate*" has now been incorporated with the *Journal of Tropical Medicine*, which will issue four numbers annually specially suited to the readers of *Climate*. The Principal is making a special offer of bound volumes of *Climate* at reduced prices. These volumes contain information concerning climate and disease in tropical and other climates, which cannot be obtained elsewhere, and Dr. Harford will be pleased to send full particulars concerning his offer to any who will apply to him at Livingstone College.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

- i. *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's former Births.*
Translated from the Pali by various hands under the
editorship of PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL. *Vol. V.*
Translated by H. T. FRANCIS, M.A., *sometime Fellow of*
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. CAMBRIDGE
 UNIVERSITY PRESS, LONDON, 1905.

The "Guild of Translators" formed by the late Professor Cowell to render into English the edition of the Pali Jātaka Book, completed in six volumes by the great Danish scholar, Professor V. Fausböll, are now within measurable distance of their goal. But, as Mr. Francis remarks in his introduction to the volume now before us, Professor Cowell, who planned this literary undertaking, and Mr. Neil, who collaborated with Mr. Francis in the translation of the third volume, have been removed by death during the progress of the work. The sixth and last volume of the translation, left unfinished by Professor Cowell, is now in the hands of Dr. Rouse, the translator of the fourth volume. The series was auspicated by Mr. Chalmers, who undertook the first volume. While we cannot help admiring the energy and perseverance of these four disciples of the great Cambridge master, we should not leave out of sight the fact that Professor Rhys Davids published, in 1880, a version of the first forty Jātakas and the Nidānakathā with a most valuable introduction and notes.

Owing to the peculiar arrangement of the stories in the Jātaka Book, which are classified according to the number of verses that they contain, the task of the translators increases in difficulty as it progresses. Mr. Francis deprecates too severe a criticism of his metrical versions, on the ground that the originals are in many cases equally "prosaic and commonplace." His verses seem to us to be very spirited considering their closeness to the originals. As a

general rule, translators of Oriental poetry consider themselves privileged by the exigencies of rhyme in departing very widely from the text before them. This genial aberration, no doubt, renders their versions more acceptable to the British public. But the system which Mr. Francis has followed is, in our opinion, preferable.

The chief interest of the Jātaka Book is generally supposed to lie in the fact that it is the oldest collection of folk-lore stories in existence, and that it gives a faithful picture of the manners and customs of ancient India in the centuries immediately preceding our era.

It may be safely asserted that folk-lorists will find in the present volume many tales which will remind them of those found in other collections. Many parallels are pointed out by Mr. Francis. For instance, on p. 141 he reminds us that the Kusa-Jātaka may be linked with the European variants of the tale of "Beauty and the Beast," and refers to the Tibetan tales of the well-known folk-lorist Professor Ralston, Introduction, p. xxxvii, and pp. 21-28, and Kusa-Jākaya, a Buddhistic legend, rendered from the Sinhalese into English verse by Thomas Steele. Professor Ralston did not fail to observe the resemblance in this story to that of Cupid and Psyche, in that the wife is forbidden to look upon her husband. One of the extraordinary feats of archery performed in the Sarabhanga Jātaka reminds Mr. Francis of a feat of the archer Locksley (Robin Hood) in "Ivanhoe." Archers in folk-lore and legend, from the hero of the Asadrisa Jātaka to Adam Bell, perform exploits which seem incredible to degenerate men of modern days. Numerous parallels will no doubt occur to our readers. There is a curious incident in the Sambhava-Jātaka, No. 515, which has its parallels in European folk-lore. An enquirer is sent to a man named Vidhura, who refers him to his son Bhadrakāra, and by him he is sent on to his younger brother, Sanjaya, who refers him to a still younger brother, Sambhava, who solves the problem. In the same way, in Gonzenbach's "*Sicilianische Märchen*," p. 86, an

inquiring Prince is sent by one "Einsiedler" to his brother, and this brother sends him to an older brother, and he again to a still older one, who is described as *steinalt*. In Thorpe's "Yuletide Stories," p. 158, the youth, who is in quest of the Beautiful Palace, East of the Sun and North of the Earth, is sent by an old woman to her old sister, who refers her to a still older sister. Other parallels might be adduced from the folk-lore of Bohemia, Russia, Scandinavia, and Italy. The same incident is found in a later Indian work, the "Kathā Sarit Sāgara," in which will also be found a striking parallel to the Mahākapi Jātaka, p. 38. A man is hauled out of a pit by a monkey, and he tries to murder his benefactor while asleep. The good monkey nevertheless shows him, with due precautions against treachery, the way out of the wood. In the Kathā Sarit Sāgara a lion asks a bear to throw down from a tree a sleeping prince, to whom he had promised protection. The bear refuses, but when the bear was asleep the prince made an effort to throw him down, but did not succeed, and was very justly punished with madness. This Jātaka is found in the Northern Buddhist collection, called "Jātaka-mālā," edited by Professor Kern.

Of man-eating ogres there is no lack in the volume under notice. The most interesting, perhaps, is the cannibal king, described in No. 537, who had been a *yakkha* in a former birth. But in the story of the ogre, on p. 13, there is an incident which may perhaps remind us of the story of Damon and Pytheas (or Phintias) versified by Schiller. A king has been captured by an ogre, and though perfectly willing to be devoured, he is troubled by the thought of an unfulfilled duty. He explains the matter in the following stanza :

"A promise once I to a brahmin made ;
That promise still is due, that debt unpaid :
The vow fulfilled, to-morrow's dawn shall see
My honour saved, and my return to thee."

On the King's return to his palace, the Prince obtains permission to take his father's place. However, the ogre,

after the manner of Indian ogres, is so much impressed by his courage and self-sacrifice, that he decides not to eat him. But the story does not end there. The Prince discovers that the ogre is not a real ogre by the following signs : " The eyes of ogres are red, and do not wink ; they cast no shadow, and are free from all fear. This is no ogre ; it is a man." (It may be observed that the notion, that the eyes of supernatural beings do not wink, is found in many Indian books, and in the "*Æthiopica*" of Heliodorus. That such beings do not cast a shadow is also a fancy common to India and Europe.) Eventually the Prince discovers that the supposed ogre is his uncle, his father's elder brother, who has taken to ogreish ways, owing to his having been stolen and nourished by an ogress, and a family reconciliation takes place. Among other well-known Indian stories, this volume contains the Ummadantī-Jātaka, three versions of which, all ending unhappily, are found in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara. For another version Mr. Francis refers us to the Jātaka-Mālā. His knowledge of Northern and Southern Buddhism has enabled him to compare many cognate legends, and to throw light upon many Buddhist doctrines and practices, and also to explain many difficult expressions. Owing, no doubt, to the necessity of economizing space, which weighed so heavily on Professor Fausböll, he has had occasionally to be content with a brief reference to the works of other scholars. For instance, in speaking of the Chaddanta-Jātaka he remarks, " In the *Journal Asiatique* for 1895, tom. v., N.S., will be found a careful study by M. L. Feer, of the Chaddanta-Jātaka, based on a comparison of five different versions—two Pali, one Sanskrit, one Chinese." Many such notes, most valuable to the specialist, will be found scattered through this volume. It is, perhaps, worth while to remark that this Jātaka will be found represented in Cunningham's "*Stupa of Bharhut*," Plate XXVI. Plate XLVIII. in the same volume illustrates an incident described on p. 92 of Mr. Francis' translation, where a king,

finding a gray hair on his head, determines to embrace an ascetic life. This incident is a commonplace in Indian fiction, and is even found in a well-known Muhammadan tale.

To inquirers, who take interest in the manners and customs of ancient India, this volume will present many attractions. Jātaka, No. 520, contains an account of a king, who, after a fashion frequently followed in India, and not, perhaps, altogether unknown in Europe, roams about incognito with his chaplain, to hear what his subjects think of him. As a rule, in Indian stories, such royal listeners hear no good of themselves, as the Indian public in ancient times was wont to impute all evils to the sins of its rulers. Accordingly, King Pañcāla, the hero of the tale above referred to, hears himself blamed by an old woman because her two daughters have not been married; by an old man because a thorn runs into his foot; by a milkman because his cow kicks him and upsets him, milk and all; and by a frog in a dry tank, because he and his brethren are devoured by crows. The way in which these misfortunes are connected in the story with neglect of duty on the part of the Sovereign is certainly very ingenious. Among customs, generally considered to be opposed to Buddhism, mentioned in these tales is that of drinking intoxicating liquors. The women who, under the influence of strong drink, ventured into the presence of the Buddha, were sternly rebuked by him, and it is satisfactory to find that they were immediately "established in the fruition of the First Path."

The unbecoming conduct of these women leads the Master to give an account of the discovery of strong drink, which is very curious. According to him it was originally generated in the hollow of a tree, which was filled with water. "Round about it grew two myrobalan plants and a pepper shrub; and the ripe fruits from these, when they were cut down, fell into the hole. Not far from this tree was some self-sown paddy. The parrots would pluck the heads of rice and eat them, perched on this tree. And

while they were eating, the paddy and the husked rice fell there. So the water, fermenting through the sun's heat, assumed a blood-red colour. In the hot season flocks of birds, being thirsty, drank of it, and becoming intoxicated, fell down at the foot of the tree, and after sleeping awhile, flew away, chirping merrily. And the same thing happened in the case of wild dogs, monkeys, and other creatures." A forester observing this, imitated the birds and animals, and taught the bad practice to an ascetic. The next step was that the votaries of this new habit took to imitating themselves the process of nature, and manufactured intoxicating liquor largely. Eventually the King of Sāvatti took to the practice of drinking spirits, and though he himself renounced it when admonished by the god Sakka, we read that "the drinking of strong drink gradually developed in India." It is clear that the Jātaka book describes ancient India as it actually was, and not as, according to Buddhist ideas, it ought to have been. The practice of indulging in animal food, which the offenders in this tale combined with their Bacchanalian practices, and which appears in a somewhat repulsive form on p. 121 in the case of a hermit, who eats the flesh of a monkey given to him by the inhabitants of a frontier village, may perhaps be excused by the example of the Buddha himself, whose death was, according to Professor Rhys Davids, due "to a meal of rice and young pork." The above instances are sufficient to show that the Jātaka Book gives a picture of many sides of Indian life in the centuries which preceded our era.

The information which it furnishes with regard to the social organization of the Indian people in these ancient times has been made the subject of a special treatise by Dr. Fick, whose book is referred to by Mr. Francis.

It remains to state that Mr. Francis' volume is furnished with an "index of subject matters," and an "index of names and Pali words," which considerably enhance its value.—C. H. T.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, FETTER LANE,
LONDON, E.C.

2. *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate—Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia, from the Moslem Conquest to the time of Timur* (Cambridge Geographical Series), by G. LE STRANGE. This scholarly work is the sequel to the author's "Baghdād under the Abbasid Caliphate," and the care and labour with which it is compiled merits all praise. Arabia is omitted from the present volume, though it was usually under the empire of the Abbasids, and the author hopes that some other scholar will finish his great work by describing the historical geography of that country, the African kingdoms, and the western Caliphate of Spain. Mr. Le Strange divides his subject into the provinces of 'Irāk, or Babylonia, of which the capital was Baghdād, Jazrah which embraced Mosul, the Upper Euphrates; Rûm or Asia Minor including Trebezond, Aydlî, Ephesus, and Smyrna, Adharbâyjan, Gîlân, and the North-Western provinces, among which were Gurjîstân or Georgia and Armenia, Jibâl or 'Irāk 'Ajam, the Greek Media, Khuzistan, Fars, Kirmân, the Great Desert, and Makrân, Sijistan, Kûhistan, Kûmis, Tabaristan and Jurjân, Khurâsân, the Oxus, Khwârizm, Sughd and Samarkand, to which Bukhârâ was attached, and the Jaxartes provinces. This wide range is copiously illustrated with maps, and the author has not only contrived to digest most of what the early Moslem travellers have to say on the subject of the geography, topography, and trade routes of this enormous district, but also to make his book interesting in no small degree. The difficulty in doing this must have been very great, as he relies upon the writings of twenty-four Moslem writers of geography ranging from Ibn Khurdâdbih (A.D. 864) to Abu-l-Ghazi (A.D. 1604), and gives many quotations from their works, while at the same time pointing out that their statements may not always have been correct on every point. To Eastern historians this book will be very welcome

and valuable. They will find from the copious index references to statements on topography ready to their hand, and will be able easily to verify the geographer's descriptions of towns, curious scraps of local information, and sites of battles, from the original sources. We ourselves are glad to be able to say that we owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Le Strange for having placed his erudite book before us.—A. F. S.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD, 1906.

3. *A Tamil Prose Reader*, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College, Oxford. This volume forms Part V. of the well-known Handbook, in connection with which it must be used, and to which it accordingly gives copious references. Dr. Pope does not confine himself to the features usual in books of the kind, and represented here by easy stories, classical prose, and selections from the Pañcha-Tanthiram for higher proficiency students. He devotes a whole chapter to reports and other official documents of the class with which Indian civil servants have constantly to deal, and a further one to petitions and official correspondence, explaining as he goes along all that is likely to cause any difficulty, as, for instance, the Hindustani words clothed in Tamil garb by Mohammedan subordinates. He also gives specimens, accompanying them by the correct version, and pointing out the chief differences—in footnotes—of the language spoken by the illiterate majority, and of the misspelled and ungrammatical letters one often has to decipher. His reproductions of the latter bring into relief such things as the insertion of the *y* in *yeluthi* for *eluthi*, and the general neglect of *pulli* and punctuation, or the substitution of one form of consonant for another. All this is palpably of the greatest use, so far as it goes; but the person not used to reading Tamil letters has another serious difficulty to contend with, and it is to be hoped Dr. Pope will give him a helping hand here too, by means of an appendix to his next edition. We all

know how hard it is to read certain handwriting in our own language, and it is naturally far more so when the characters are foreign. A few pages at the end of the book, giving facsimiles of Tamil letters, with the printed version under each word, and any notes Dr. Pope may think necessary, would form an invaluable addition to an already valuable guide.—C.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS, SHANGHAI.

4. *Géographie de l'Empire de Chine (Cours Supérieur)*, by Rev. L. RICHARD, S.J. (Hia Chī-shī). This work of 600 pages ought, as was originally intended, properly to have been corrected and finished by Father St. Le Gall, whose extraordinarily accurate knowledge of the Chinese language and manners particularly fitted him for the task. A *Cours Inférieur*, being an "extract" from, or a *précis* of, the excellent work now under review, has a separate existence, and the original idea was to provide a class-book for the Jesuit schools in France, or at least for French classes; but it has been found necessary to recast the multifarious knowledge in such a way that Chinese and other foreigners, not too familiar with the niceties of French literary discourse, may be able to utilize the book easily too. Hence specially great pains have been taken with the co-ordination and convenient arrangement of matter. Recourse has been had to every author, no matter what his country, his religion, or his irreligion (*e.g.*, the brothers Réclus), who could throw light on any geographical subject, whether from a political, commercial, religious, or physical point of view; and, in fact, physical geography is the chief feature of this admirable publication, which, besides its own numerous charts, maps, and plans, is provided with an outside pocket, containing an excellent up-to-date Chinese-French map of China, and a list of all the commissioned officers in the Empire, with their towns. Book I., with seven sections and twenty-chapters, treats of the eighteen provinces, their features, means of communication, fauna, flora, population,

productions, hydrography, climate, etc. Book II., in six chapters, treats in the same way of Manchuria, Mongolia, Turkestan, Tibet, Corea, and Formosa (though this last is—practically these two last are—now Japanese). At the end of each chapter is given a list of authorities that may be consulted by any close student who may desire specialist information ; but, as a matter of fact, everything reasonably desired, and in any way connected with the economy of the Chinese State, may be found in this single volume itself, so far at least as “outsiders” are concerned. Anyone who desires to write on Chinese subjects may now safely steer himself clear of ridiculous error, if he will only consult Père Richard’s handy little volume, which (a most unusual and welcome thing in French books) is, moreover, provided with a very complete index.—E. H. PARKER.

T. AND T. CLARK ; 38, GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH,
1905.

5. *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, PAUL DEUSSEN, PH.D., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. Authorized English translation by Rev. A. S. GEDEN, M.A., tutor in Old-Testament languages, and literature, and classics, Wesleyan College, Richmond. The best exposition of the Upanishads that has hitherto appeared in the English language was published by Trübner more than a quarter of a century ago, and it is now in more respects than one out-of-date. At the present moment no adequate exposition of their philosophy and contents is extant in our language. The present translation of the German exposition is described on the title-page as “authorized,” because it is put forth with the sanction of Dr. Deussen. Besides a very elaborate table of contents at the beginning of the volume, there is at the end an index of names and matters, followed by a very full index of every reference made in the course of the work to the Sanskrit original—all this in addition to countless and minute notes and references at

the foot of the pages throughout the volume. Altogether, the mechanical structure of the work and the arrangement of the subject-matter are such as to meet the requirements of the industrious and researchful student.

The study of the systems thought out by the ancient Indian sages has a humbling lesson for us all in these enlightened days. The more these systems are known, the more is the thought borne in upon us that "that there is nothing new under the sun"—that there is no philosophy evolved from the minds of modern men which was not also evolved from the minds of those quiet, gentle-spirited, and devout ascetics who wandered about in the umbrageous jungles and forests of Asia in unknown ages in the past. Nor is there anything of a worldly, work-a-day, wage-earning nature in their thinkings. They had no passion for personal ease or aggrandizement, no desire for fame or notoriety; no lust of wealth. They, as nearly as possible, practised the thing they preached—unearthliness, detachment, other-worldliness. In all that is essentially characteristic of an original philosopher, the men whose excogitations are enshrined in the Vedas and the Upanishads left us an example which we may admire—at a distance—but to which, by the very conditions of our modern existence, we may not hope to attain. In the more than 400 pages of this admirably-printed octavo volume, there will be found abundant material for profitable and stimulating thought, as well for the general inquirer as for the more technical student of the wisdom of the ancient Aryans.—B.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON; PATERNOSTER ROW,
LONDON.

6. *With the Abyssnians in Somaliland*, by MAJOR J. WILLES JENNINGS, D.S.O., R.A.M.C., and CHRISTOPHER ADDISON, M.D., with a preface by COLONEL A. N. ROCHFORD, C.B. In 1902-1903 Brigadier-General H. W. Manning commanded an expedition in Somaliland against the "Mad Mullah," whose

Jehad was causing trouble not only to the Abyssinians but to the British Protectorate, and associated with his forces were 5,000 Abyssinians provided by the Emperor Menelik under the command of Fituarari Gabri, along with Colonel A. N. Rochfort. Though these made some headway they were not able to bring the redoubtable Mullah to terms, and larger operations were planned in 1903-1904 under Lieutenant-General Sir C. C. Egerton. Colonel Rochfort was now provided with a small staff, and two British medical officers, of whom Major Jennings was one, were sent out at the request of the Emperor Menelik. This well-illustrated book, which was obviously written on the march, and has been arranged for publication by Dr. Addison, deals with Major Jennings's experiences, and is a pleasant narrative of travel from Aden into Somaliland with the Abyssinian force. There is a description of Djibouti, the European part of which is "a clean smart little town," and thence the expedition proceeded inland, meeting Ras Mukunna at Harrar, a town of which it is said "inside the walls it is a rookery," with streets like "Scotch burns run dry," which was conquered with the Galla country by Abyssinia in 1887. There is an interesting account of the country round Harrar and the fauna it contained, amongst which are the notable, if objectionable, "stink ants." Mr. Wakeman joined the party at Jigjiga, and the writer expresses deep indebtedness to him for much information about the Abyssinians, gleaned through his knowledge of Amharic and Arabic. The Somalis, the author thinks, contrast in many respects favourably with the Abyssinians; they are cleaner, and, as Mohammedans, teetotallers. We are given interesting chapters upon the Abyssinian customs. The soldiers are praised for their endurance, and there is a curious account of their *lébashaï*, or thief-catcher.

Though the Abyssinians profess Christianity, the marriage-tie is said to be slight; ceremonial or sacramental marriage is rare, and can be dissolved only by the Abouna, while

concubinage is prevalent. Circumcision precedes baptism, which shows an interesting relic of the pre-Christian religion. We do not know what to make of the author's remarks, "Attendance at church is very regular; but most persons appear to go either as a matter of course, or because it is the fashion. There can hardly be said, however, to be much worship," as the custom for similar reasons is sometimes, perhaps, known nearer home. More interesting is his account of the Abyssinia fasts, feasts, and medical practices, and his remarks on the Somalis and the outcast tribe of the Midgans. Accounts of *Shikar*, illustrated by photographs, also occur in the narrative, and these will, with the notes of flora and fauna throughout the book, be of great interest to sportsmen and naturalists.—A. F. S.

LONGMAN AND CO.; 39, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C., 1905.

7.—*Shinto: the Way of the Gods*, by W. G. ASTON, C.M.G., D.LIT. This is a concise and thorough treatise on the oldest religious system of Japan. It would be hard to mention any item in reference to Shintoism that has been overlooked. The 377 pages are devoted to minute investigation of the subject, while the clear and careful method in which the information is imparted stamps this, like all Mr. Aston's preceding works, with a value that is indisputable.

"The Way of the Gods" is an analytical glossary of the Kami cult, with its hierarchy of gods and goddesses, whose origin is wonderfully diversified, from the hero who has influenced national events to the animal life that plagues humanity; from the storm-god to the deity who presides over purity of wells, or the safety of gate-posts. This Kami cult existed before the oldest available book was written in Japan. It swayed the hearts of the people from time immemorial, and drew them with a force gentle but resistless. Its dogmas have been received throughout the length of the Empire. One generation after another, has

led lives of discipline and self-renunciation by means of its slender tenure. Events of history, particularly since the last conflict, have brought to our notice this dreamy, shadowy creed, with its ceremonials full of strange impressiveness, so diverse in their fulfilment to any other ritual. The author describes weird rites that are participated in, both during the lifetime of mortals as well as at their burial, and explains the progressive theory by means of which men attain the rank of deified ancestors, to be remembered before the family shrine or the wayside cemetery. "Pure" Shinto may remain for a time, but there is a tendency for it to wane before the more florid faith of Buddhism, or the unrest of the soul seeking comfort from new and untried sources altogether.

Mr. Aston's work will be found sufficiently satisfying to the student bent on investigating the subject from a strictly scientific standpoint, while the dogmas are too startling to be entirely passed over by the novice should curiosity lead to a chance acquaintance. This book provides a mine of knowledge and a fund of explanatory research conscientiously entered upon and discussed.—S.

LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, 1905.

8. Part I. of the *Tadhkiratu 'L-Awliyá* ("Memoirs of the Saints") of *Muhammad ibn Ibráhím Farídu' D.Din 'Attár*, edited in the original Persian, with preface, indices, and variants, by REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, M.A., Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge; with a critical introduction by MÍRZÁ MUHAMMAD B. 'ABDU 'L-WAHHÁB-I QAZWÍNÍ. This well-printed volume forms a part of vol. iii. of the Persian Historical Texts. "It is the oldest work of the kind in Persian, and that, although deficient in dates and biographical details of any sort, it contains a large amount of material which is not to be found in the later biographies, or, so far as I know (says the editor) anywhere else. Its value as a source for the history of

Sufism can hardly be over-estimated. Compared with Jámí's 'Nafahátu 'L-Uns' it has this immense advantage, that its articles, being much fewer in number, are far more exhaustive ; where Jámí gives only a rapid sketch 'Attâr draws a full-length picture." The work is "an excellent example of early Persian prose, plain, terse, and dignified." Six manuscripts have been used in preparing this volume. These manuscripts are described in detail, and very valuable variants are noted. There is also a short, but very interesting notice of the author, and the motives which led him to compile his "Memoirs of the Saints."

MACMILLAN AND CO. ; NEW YORK AND LONDON.

9. *Colonial Administration*, by PAUL S. REINSCH, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. This volume forms part of "The Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology," edited by R. T. ELY, PH.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy in the same University. It contains a comparative study of the methods of colonial administration by the Government of various countries, with the view of solving problems which Colonial Governments have to face, in alien countries. A part of the first chapter was read by the author at the International Congress of Arts and Sciences at St. Louis, and a part of the second chapter was published in the *American Journal of Sociology*. There is a valuable and discriminating introduction on general principles by which Colonial Governments ought to be guided in the numerous diversities of native populations, their habits and customs. The chief topics discussed are—education and general social improvements, finance, currency, banking and credit, commerce, communication, agriculture and other industries ; questions arising from land and labour, and defence and police. Each chapter on all these important subjects contains references to official publications, treaties, and articles. There is an excellent index. The author concludes that

"it will be wise for the Colonial legislator not to attempt too much, not to have too ambitious a programme. But if rightly planned, the economic reforms which it is in his power to effect with success may, like the massive architecture of a cathedral crypt, in time upbear an edifice which will answer larger purposes than those of mere economic welfare and progress."

10. *The Reshaping of the Far East*, by B. L. PUTNAM WEALE, 2 vols. In two sumptuous volumes, profusely illustrated, the author of "Manchu and Muscovite" proceeds to give us his somewhat dogmatic opinion of the political position in the Far East before June, 1905. After a historical prologue upon the march of recent events in China and Japan, he describes in very graphic language his travels up the Yangtze to Hankow, and then to Peking. His observations of the country he saw are always trenchant, and his descriptions of the scenery and geography happy. A good chapter on "Trunk Railways as Political Weapons" shows the haste, jobbery, and inefficiency of the railway syndicates. The writer is particularly severe upon the Belgians controlling the Hankow-Peking line, who are themselves, owing to their constitution, entirely in the hands of the natives. Yet, nevertheless, he prophesies a great future for railways in a populous country like China. Peking "under the foreign heel" is next considered, and we are shown how the Chinese have cause to detest the garrisons and fortifications of the Legations, which have been held to be necessary since 1900. "The Legations," says the author, "watch the Chinese Government, and so does Dr. Morrison watch the Legations, which is the finest thing of all." And it is stated that his word is still more powerful than that of the British Minister. It is insisted, however, that China, in spite of the Manchu rule, is arming to, and for, some purpose. The Customs Service is well described, and the career of Sir Robert Hart, which has included great financial and diplomatic successes during the fifty-one years which it has occupied,

is narrated. The position of the great Viceroy, Yuan Shih-Kai, comes next under review, and it is stated that, in spite of all temptations, he is "pro-Chinese and pro-nothing else" in his sympathies. We are told of the great expenditure and partial success of the German settlement in Kiaochow, and the author prophesies that in a few years another naval base near Swatow will be demanded by the Germans, who then, linked by their railways, will be able to rule a large portion of Northern, Central, and Southern China; and their push and energy in Shantung, which has had a certain amount of success, is described at length by him. There is a bombastic account of Japan in war-time which we could have spared, but it is followed by a good chapter upon the causes which led to the Russo-Japanese War. We are told later of the success of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, though it is carefully pointed out that, owing to possible extensions and complications, this may be only temporary, and that it has alienated Britain from the rest of the European nations in the East. A large part of the later portion of the book deals with Korea. It is rightly indicated that the West forgets that Japanese influence there is no new thing by any means, having begun—or, at least, become prominent—under the Empress Jingo, and a clever sketch is given of the way Russian "interests" were created. The career of Mr. McLeavy Brown of the Korean Customs is told, and it is shown that the chief interests (during the war) in Korea, outside the Russian and Japanese spheres, were those of America and Britain. The work of the American Mission Schools is duly praised, and there are many well-written accounts of the great war, and also of its great mistakes, upon which the author, like most war correspondents, waxes eloquent. Chapters full of interest follow upon the rising Chinese Press, and upon American Relations, The difficult questions of Chinese Religion, The Schemes of the French and Belgians, and some dogmatic conclusions and suggestions, with valuable appendices of documents. We have read this book with pleasure, but we cannot promise that

its success will be as great as the writer's first work, or that, like it (as the author claims), every word will be "verified by the march of events," though we hope they may.—A. F. S.

GEORGE NEWNES, LIMITED, LONDON.

11. *The Chinese at Home*, by ÉMILE BARD. Adapted from the French by H. TWITCHELL. This is a nicely printed and tastefully got up book of the "red-fish which walks backwards" type—that is, it conveys a not inaccurate general idea to the average reader who knows nothing exact or first-hand about China, but is quite worthless for purposes of scientific or careful study. "Adapted" is a good word, for there is not the faintest trace of translation or Gallicism throughout; possibly it has been "adapted" out of all recognition. The photographs are excellent, and all of them present scenes quite familiar to the writer of these lines, who, in fact, actually lived for one month in the noble temple facing p. 240. Having paid the book these frank compliments, we feel bound to add that it is full (almost from the very first word (*fatte*, for *fatto* twice over) of misspellings, misprints, and, what is infinitely worse, of gross misstatements. For instance, p. vi, "Abbé Huc wrote in 1862, etc." He died in 1860, and wrote the words mentioned about 1850. "Prostrations which the missionaries have never refused (!) to perform" (p. 3). On p. 33, "many farmers are engaged in sheep-raising"; in few parts of China known to traders will sheep live at all; foreigners who want mutton to eat have to get live sheep from Calcutta, or mutton in a frozen state from Mongolia. "Sons wear mourning for her [the mother] for three *months*" (should be "years," p. 41). "King of the city of Ten-yen . . . under Emperor Ten-tsung, who died in 783," for "Prince of Fên-yang . . . under Emperor Têh-tsung, who abdicated in 805" (pp. 70, 71). On p. 84 the massacre of Tientsin is put down to the year 1878 instead of (as correctly on p. 122) 1870, and it is totally untrue that "at

that time the French had enough troops in the province to reduce the city to ashes"; they had not a single soldier in all China. Nor (same page) had the Boxer rebellion of 1900 "been brewing for a century," or, if it had, then it had brewed for fifty centuries. The Emperor Kwang-sü (p. 110) is the *cousin*, not the nephew, of his predecessor. A "record" sentence, indeed, on p. 125: "It was begun in 1100 A.D. by the famous Ho Ti of the Tsin dynasty, whose victorious troops penetrated as far as Judea, under the leadership of the great general Pan-Chao." It was *before* 100 A.D.; *Han* dynasty (nearly 200 years before the Tsin dynasty); Pan-Ch'ao *never* got beyond the Cabul region; *no* Chinese soldier ever at any time reached Judea; and Pan-Ch'ao's messenger was *afraid* to go beyond the Euphrates! After all, what are 1,000 years in the history of China? The four chapters on "Money," "Merchants," "Products," "Foreign Treaties" are not at all bad, but the "Outline of Nation's History" is ludicrous in the extreme; for instance (p. 233), "Chinese annals mention the invasion of India by Sesostriis in 1627 B.C." "Beyond 1005 B.C. (p. 235) horses were unknown in China." "Tsin-chi-hoang-ti, King of Tsin, founded the Tsin dynasty in 247 B.C." (p. 237); the title Shih Hwang-ti was not assumed until 221 B.C., nor was the imperial dynasty of Ts'in founded until then. The Sung capital (p. 246) was at Hangchow, not at Nanking; and the last Emperor did not "take refuge at Hankow," but surrendered to General Bayen at Hangchow, —1,000 miles away. The Emperor Hung-wu (1394) never had missionaries (p. 253) at court, and none came to China until about 200 years after that. If the Emperor K'ien-lung (p. 263) wrote 33,950 poems (*sic*) during his sixty years reign, he must have written about two a day, year in, year out. Consul Parkes was not (p. 273) put to death in 1859, but died in 1885 whilst Minister at Peking. Baron von Kettler (p. 286) was German Minister, not Consul. The Dowager-Empress' father was not exactly a Manchu nobleman (p. 290), but a Manchu *taotai* named Hweichêng,

ennobled third-class "duke" after his death. It is absurd to suggest (p. 293) that she murdered her own natural son, who notoriously died of small-pox (as, indeed, is already stated on p. 280!). It would, in short, be excellent practice for beginners in Chinese to utilize Mr. Twitchell's book (for it is difficult to believe that M. Bard in his original work can have made all these foolish blunders) as a sort of literary "Aunt Sally," each one trying how many "howlers" he can bowl over in a single chapter.—E. H. PARKER.

NORTH CHINA HERALD OFFICE; SHANGHAI.

12. *The East of Asia Magazine*, vol. iv., Nos. 2 and 3. This quarterly magazine keeps up its standard of information and illustration. The plan of providing its readers with a wide range of subjects connected with the East is faithfully carried out. Fairy world stories, poems, descriptions of out-of-the-way but important corners of the Eastern Empires, together with papers and translations of deep political interest, supply a choice of reading for all subscribers. We recommend to those who are interested in the development of the Eastern question a translation of special significance entitled *The Yellow Peril*. This contribution throws much livid light upon the impetus that is moving the kingdom of the Dragon, at length awakened from long sleep by the success and activity of its island neighbours. No. 4 of this volume, lately received, is particularly interesting. Included in the contents are several articles on Japanese subjects. *The Fire Ordeal*, by Mr. Pfoundes, and *The Soul of Nippon*, by George T. Murray, are both to be commended to the reader; and *Bridges of Western China* is charmingly illustrated.—S.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; NEW YORK AND LONDON, 1905.

13. *Bushido—the Soul of Japan: An Exposition of Japanese Thought*, by INAZO NITOBÉ, A.M., PH.D., with an Introduction by W. E. GRIFFIS. Tenth revised and en-

larged edition. How shall this book be dealt with? How shall such a sensitive theme as that embodied within its pages be analyzed to the level of ordinary criticism? It is redolent with the fragrance of the cherry bloom, whose breath symbolizes the daring deeds of the Samurai, and the loyal intents of all true Japanese citizens. The author tells us: "What Japan was, she owed to the Samurai; they were not only the flower of the nation, but its root as well. All the gracious gifts of Heaven flowed through them." The moral standard of the fighting strength was high, whether actuated from motives of Shinto or Buddhist influence. Rectitude, benevolence, self-control, and other virtues were to be practised by all who took up arms in fair fight. "Intellectual and moral Japan was directly or indirectly the work of knighthood."

We could quote many lines from Mr. Nitobé's book, but it should be read as a whole to be fully comprehended and appreciated. The chapters follow well in sequence, and lead the reader on by means of a secret will-power the author exercises throughout his clear and subtle arguments.

"Bushido," with its code of moral principles "unuttered" and "unwritten," became "a law written on the fleshly tablets of the heart." It supplied to the Oriental of the Far East what the spiritual stay of Christianity afforded to the Occidental. By mere remembrance of the duties expected of this knightly band, tyrants became as slaves before their own conscience, while hours of temptation were fought out and left unsullied, in the lives of the strongest natures by aid of its precepts. The tenets of "Bushido" influenced all who willingly embraced the teaching, and strengthened each heart bent on overcoming foes seen or invisible. It brought men out of the scorch and flame of passion and resentment, tyranny and self-seeking, free as a sea-bird uninjured by the rolling waves of a tempestuous ocean, over which the pathway was inevitably marked.

That Mr. Inazo Nitobé's book has found a home within countries beyond the land of its birth is not surprising, or

that it has run through many "impressions" in English. Perhaps of all the books concerning Japan (which may now be counted by hundreds) this is the first that affords us an insight into the secret mind and character of our Eastern allies. The race is hard to understand—to enjoy a deep friendship after years of comradeship with these Orientals is a rare privilege. This, however, is made more possible after a study of the work of this thoughtful and well-read author. The tenor of his arguments shows a mind unbiassed. He seeks out and admits good, in the creeds and deeds of others. He excels in this particular with a masterly mind, above all bounds existent in the earlier days of the world's history.

Mr. Nitobé's "Bushido" will do more to rivet the East to the West than the signing of bonds for the balancing of the world's power, for all that brings the nations of the extremes of the earth to a better understanding of each other, is the surest aid towards true peace and universal brotherhood.—S.

BERNARD QUARITCH; 15, PICCADILLY, LONDON, 1905.

14. The *Bábar-náma*, edited by ANNETE S. BEVERIDGE. The present volume contains, in the Turki language and character, the history of the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, and is Vol. I. of the series printed for the trustees of the Gibbs Memorial, and published under their auspices. Its designation, signifying "The Memoirs of Bábar," is but one of the several designations under which these memoirs are known. The volume consists of the autobiography of the Emperor. Originally written in Choughatáy Turkish, it is here reproduced in facsimile from a MS. which belonged to the late Sir Sálár Jang, of Hydarábád, and is edited, with a preface and indexes, by the lady above-named. The owners of the MS. are members of the family of that distinguished statesman, and it is for this good and sufficient reason that it is to pass into history as "The Hydarábád Codex." Although the *Bábar-náma* is

an autobiography, it is by no means exclusively autobiographical: it contains much general information relating to matters which interested its original compiler. Nor is it a continuous or uniform narrative, it being broken by means of *lacunæ*, and clean cut into two sections by change of style. How enthusiastically Mrs. Beveridge has taken up with the study of the career of the great Emperor is seen in the exceedingly erudite articles which appeared from her pen in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October, 1905 and January, 1906, and not less in the handsome facsimile now before us of the original Turki manuscript. The MS. as here printed consists of 382 pages: the indices (which are very complete and detailed) occupy 105 pages. The whole is prefixed by a preface containing much interesting information concerning the inception of the enterprise and concerning its merits.—B.

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS, LTD., LONDON; E. P.
DUTTON AND CO., NEW YORK; 1905.

15. Judah Hallévi's *Kitáb al Kazari*, translated from the Arabic, with an Introduction, by HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, PH.D. Originally written in Arabic, this work has been translated into Hebrew, Latin, German, Spanish, and English. The present work was also many years ago rendered by Dr. Hirschfeld into German, in which language many editions of his translation have appeared. Nor does it appear in English now for the first time. An English rendering of it was produced by Mr. E. H. Lindo, which, however, has never yet been published—the MS. of that translation is now in the library of the Jews' College. The work is written in the dialogue form, and consists of arguments, with question and answer, carried on between the King of the Kazars and a Jewish Rabbi. The work is full of Hebrew learning, Jewish theology, and Rabbinical traditions. In these respects it calls to mind the work of Maimonides reviewed in these pages a year ago. It is,

indeed, fitted, even in these advanced days, to be helpful in a very high degree to the student of Old-Testament religion. It is very thoughtful and very intelligent, and, withal, very learned. The notes and references, instead of being entered at the foot of the page, are brought together at the end of the work in a section of annotations, and these, together with the index of matters, the index of Scripture passages quoted, and the dialogues, make up a handy duodecimo volume of 313 pages. To anyone endowed with an inquiring mind, and a penchant for Jewish theology and Old-Testament information, this book should be interesting and useful. The conversion to Judaism of the Kazar people and their King is a historical fact. We feel it to be impossible to commend the little volume too highly. In these days, when every thoughtful person would examine for himself the reasons and the foundations of religious belief, it should have a wide circulation.—B.

RIKKYŌ GAKUIN PRESS, TOKYŌ. Also E. LEROUX, PARIS ;
SCHEPENS AND CO., BRUSSELS ; NOESSLER AND CO.,
BREMEN.

16. *Dictionnaire Français-Japonais*, by the ABBÉ RAGNET of the Missions Etrangères in Japan, assisted by ONO TŌTA. We regret to find that England has not been favoured with the nomination of a publisher of this excellent work. As everyone knows, Englishmen have always taken the first place in Japanese literature, as the magnificent historical, philological, and religious studies of Aston, Satow, and Chamberlain amply bear witness ; not to mention the labours of Brinkley, Imbrie, Hall, Longford, and others. But (as is the case also, by the way, with English-Chinese) the practical British mind has hitherto comparatively neglected the Anglo-Japanese department, which one would have thought was the most eagerly desired by the English student anxious to acquaint himself at once with colloquial Japanese. Thus, although we have long had with us

Hepburn's Japanese-English dictionary, hitherto the best English-Japanese has been Hampden and Poulett's (based on Satow and Isibashi's); but Abbé Ragnet's great work of 1,000 pages contains thrice the amount of matter, besides being printed in the neatest and clearest possible way. The French head-words are all set forth in bold thick type; the Japanese romanizations (*i.e.*, the sounds of the pure Japanese or Sino-Japanese words *actually accepted* as equivalents up to the present date by the Japanese themselves; not merely invented translations or paraphrases) are printed in italics; and the unromanized forms or characters are presented almost exclusively in pure Chinese, to the exclusion of the unscientific and irregular Japanese *katakana* and *hiragana*. To put it in another way, there are about 60,000 leading French words, 300,000 idiomatic illustration renderings, and 120,000 Chinese characters to do duty concurrently with the romanizations, whether those romanizations represent pure Japanese ideas and words, such as *akari*; pure Chinese ideas and words, such as *shokubutsu*; mixed Chinese and Japanese words, such as *sen-ya*; or possibly ancient Chinese words which *may have* become Japanese in pre-historical times, such as *iki*. In the very few cases in which the Japanese termination syllables are added, the object aimed at is not apparent, unless it be that the Japanese in such exceptional cases habitually decline to use the Chinese ideograph without the "superfetation."

The thanks of the literary world are due to M. Paul Doumer, formerly Governor-General of French Indo-China, for his good sense, public spirit, and liberality in granting from the colonial treasury a handsome subsidy in aid of the splendid enterprise of the Missions Etrangères Society, and acknowledgment is also due to the Belgian Government (M. Ragnet is a Belgian) for adding a subsidy of their own, besides conferring their distinguished patronage. The learned Abbé has had the happy thought of prefacing his dictionary with a concise and extremely useful abridged grammar; so that, armed with this one single work, the

student can tackle with his combined dictionary and grammar the whole subject of Japanese—of course with his native teacher—until such time as he is fit to sit at the feet of Aston, Chamberlain, and Satow, whose grammatical works are, naturally, of a more searching nature, as, indeed, becomes publications exclusively devoted to a particular field of knowledge in detail. Most Russians and Dutchmen of education are as familiar with French as with their own tongue, and to them in especial the Abbé Ragnet's work will have a special value; for, as everyone knows, the Dutch language was for long the only European tongue studied by the Japanese, and even a generation ago the first batches of English student-interpreters and consuls found it their interest to be proficient in Dutch. With the French themselves it is much a case of *sic vos non vobis*, for there are so few of them in Japan. It is greatly to the credit of the disinterested and self-sacrificing Missions Etrangères that to them we owe also the best Corean dictionary and grammar. Altogether the *Dictionnaire Français-Japonais* is an excellent production, full of inexhaustible interest to the Far-Eastern student, whether his speciality be Chinese or Japanese; it merits a rapid, increasing, and permanent sale.—E. H. PARKER.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE, MADRAS;
AND SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO., LONDON.

17. *A Progressive Grammar of the Telugu Language, with Copious Examples and Exercises*, by the Rev. A. H. ARDEN, M.A. Second edition, 1905. The author in composing this excellent grammar has followed a most useful course. He has so arranged the exercises and examples as to enable the English student to master it with ease and rapidity. The early portions of the book will be found specially suited for *beginners*, as they are based upon papers which were drawn up by himself when he commenced the study of Telugu. Throughout the book

the student is led, step by step, to obtain such information only as is positively required at the stage at which he has arrived; hence its progressive character which will greatly accelerate the acquisition of the language. The type is large, and a considerable portion of the book is taken up with examples and exercises all of which have been supplied by natives and are consequently thoroughly idiomatic and colloquial. The colloquial and grammatical dialect is kept quite distinct. Having acquired the colloquial dialect, the student can then with ease acquire a knowledge of the grammatical dialect. The author has therefore divided his grammar into three parts. In the first part there is an interesting statement as to the language itself, and how it should be studied. The alphabet is then explained, followed by a chapter showing the alphabet fully, together with some exercises in reading. The second part contains a complete grammar of the colloquial dialect, and the third part forms an introduction to the grammatical dialect used in books. In every way the structure of the volume is admirable and gives as little trouble as possible for the acquisition, not only colloquially, but grammatically, as it appears in books. Mr. Arden should be congratulated in furnishing such a useful help to students who wish to acquire a thorough knowledge of this interesting language, which is spoken by about twenty millions of people inhabiting a portion of the eastern side of the Indian Peninsula.

ST. BRIDE'S PRESS, LIMITED; 24, BRIDE LANE,
LONDON, E.C.

18. *The Gambia Colony and Protectorate, an official Handbook*, by FRANCIS BISSET ARCHER, treasurer of the Colony. This excellently got-up volume has been dedicated to the present Governor, Sir George Chordin Denton, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of the Gambia. It is modestly titled "An Official Handbook,"

but it is an interesting and exhaustive history from our remotest knowledge of it through the period when, as in all the settlements on the Guinea Coast, it saw the slave-trading post established in the face of the opposition of the Portuguese, French, and Dutch—a period that carries us to the treaty of 1783, which first recognised the Gambia as a British River, though with the reservation of Albreda; through the time of prosperity for the “factories,” which ended with the prohibition of the slave-trade in 1807; and thence through the decade of practical desertion of the district until, in 1817, British merchants from Senegal formed a settlement on St. Mary Island and substituted for the iniquitous bartering of human lives a legitimate trade in ivory, ground-nuts, bees-wax, and other tropical products. Four years later the Gambia and the Gold Coast were joined with Sierra Leone to form the “colony of West African settlements,” but in 1843 the growing trade in ground-nuts having revived its prosperity and its area, having been increased by various additions of territory along the banks of the river, the colony was rendered independent of Sierra Leone, and it remained a separate colony until 1866, when all the settlements were again combined under one governor-in-chief, though each continued to have its own Legislative Council. When, in 1874, the Gold Coast and Lagos were united as the Gold Coast Colony, the Gambia still remained attached to Sierra Leone, under the name “West African Settlements.” In 1888 the Gambia became a Crown Colony, and it remains as such to the present time. It is situated as nearly as possible in the north latitude $13^{\circ} 24'$ and $16^{\circ} 36'$, and comprises both banks of the river Gambia, from the north inland due east to a small village on the north bank three miles above Konia, where the French sphere of influence is reached. It consists of somewhere about 5,000 square miles. The seat of the Government is at Bathurst. The river itself is one of the great waterways of the world, measuring at its mouth about twenty-seven miles across, and opposite

Bathurst two and a half miles. Next to the Congo it is the safest river to enter on all the West African coast, having a bar, which can be crossed at any time of the tide. This bar is never less in depth than 26 feet of water, and, as there is a wide channel, ships of war on the station and ocean-going steamers have no difficulty in crossing. The river is tidal for 350 miles, and is navigable by steamers drawing 6 feet of water as far as the shallows of Barraconda. Along the river in certain parts the scenery is interesting, enhanced by its being the scene of Mungo Park's explorations.

The volume contains maps and plans and numerous beautiful illustrations. The value of the work may be indicated from the divisions regarding the earliest records of the founding of Bathurst down to 1865—descriptions under the travelling commissioners, the history of the colony during the past decade, the chief enactments in force for the government and administration of the Protectorate, a dictionary of words and phrases in common use, general information as to appointments, finance, fiscal, and much miscellaneous information. There is also a record of the services of officers and an excellent index.

T. FISHER UNWIN ; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, 1905.

19. *British East Africa, Past, Present, and Future*, by LORD HINDLIP, F.R.G.S., F.Z.S. This readable, practical, well-written, well-printed in good type, and handy book, is dedicated to Sir Charles Eliot, late High Commissioner for British East Africa, "as a slight token of regard in recognition of his services to the country, and as a protest against the treatment he received." It consists of nine chapters, appendix, and minute index. It treats of the Masai Question and Sir Charles Eliot's resignation, the Uganda Railway, administration, hut-tax and labour supply, settlement of the country, land, and prospects of settlers, suggestions for settlers, and a settler's views of game

preservation. The author, for his purpose, divides the country into three zones, the first of which is the sea-coast. This strip is tropical and not too healthy. Its vegetation consists chiefly of mangrove forests, cocoanut palms, mangoes, fibrous plants, such as *sidal* and *sans-virei*, bananas, pineapples, oranges, limes, forests of valuable timber, and of rubber. The second zone, or the real white man's country, is noted chiefly for the herds of game, gangs of gunners, and the quantity and ferociousness of the ticks. The plains will do for stock, if these pests are not too deadly. The third zone begins at Mohoroni, where there is good grazing, but this zone, in his opinion, is hardly fitted for a white man's home. The "Suggestions for Settlers" are practical and valuable. But the whole book ought to be carefully perused.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

The Benefits of Kindness, by SHAIKH SA 'DI of Shiraz. Being the second book of the *Būstān*, translated by GEORGE S. A. RANKING, M.A. (Oxon.), M.D. (Cantab.), University Lecturer in Persian. (Parker and Son, Broad Street, Oxford, 1906.) The present translation has been prepared solely as an assistance to those students of Persian in Oxford, for whom the second book of the *Būstān* is an examination subject, and has in consequence been made literal.

Swami Vivekananda. A Collection of his Speeches and Writings. With five portraits. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) This publication is the first of its kind, being a collection of his writings, speeches, and addresses in England, America, and India, and interesting letters in prose and verse to friends. His speeches are both eloquent and inspiring. His works cover the whole field of Hindu religion and philosophy. He exhorts his countrymen "to cast off the customs and superstitions of degenerate days, and to rise to the grand and noble con-

ception of the Upanishadic divinity of man." There is much in the volume that will greatly interest the Western reader.

Some Sayings from the Upanishads. Translated into English, with notes, by L. D. BARNETT, M.A., D.LITT., Assistant in the Department of Oriental Books and MSS. of the British Museum. (Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London, 1905.) A collection of interesting and well selected sayings, with historical and explanatory notes.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book, 1906. (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London.) A very useful directory to authors and writers, lists of publishers in England and America, colour-printers, literary agents, classified index of papers and magazines, and useful directions as to how to correct proofs.

The Maintenance of Health in the Tropics, by W. J. SIMPSON, M.A., F.R.C.P. (Published under the auspices of the London School of Tropical Medicine by John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., Great Titchfield Street, London, 1905.) This is a useful handbook, written in a simple and popular manner, and will be found helpful to those residing in or visiting the tropics. It is composed of six chapters, treating as to climate, diet, drinking-water, dwelling-house, fevers, snake-bites, other wounds, and other ailments. It also contains a list of medical equipments as to drugs, instruments, bandages, disinfectants.

Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the year 1904-1905, with Supplement. The number of Public Institutions for the year 1903-1904 was 9,887, and for the year 1904-1905, 10,194. The number of pupils for the former year was 513,479, and for the latter year 593,431. The number of Private Institutions, "advanced and elementary," for the former year, 2,573; for the latter year, 2,782. And the number of pupils respectively was 64,881 and 72,672.

Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor

United Provinces and Punjab for the Year ending March 31, 1905. The report is divided into two parts. The first consists of archæological notes on buildings in Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Multan, Ajmer. The second, notes on some places visited during the year 1904. The report is accompanied with beautifully-executed photographs, drawings, and maps. The photographs reflect great credit on the artists.

Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1894-1895 to 1903-1904. (Thirty-ninth number. Presented to Parliament, 1905.) This voluminous abstract contains tables relating to area and population, 1901; Justice, Police, and Prisons; Finance, Coinage, and Currency; Post-Office Information, Banks, Telegraphs, Municipalities, District and Local Boards; Education, Printing Presses, Agriculture, and Land Tenures; Railways, Irrigation Work, Trade, Shipping, Army, Emmigration, Vital Statistics, Wild Animals, Wages, Joint Stock Companies, Industries, Inventions, and Designs; Mineral Productions, etc.; numerous appendices, and a copious index.

Report of Archæological Survey Work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan for the Period from January 2, 1904, to March 31, 1905, by M. A. Stein, PH.D., Government Press, Peshawar, 1905. The Report consists of surveys in various districts, well-executed illustrations, and plans.

A History of India, by A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, M.A. (Oxford), PH.D. (Tübingen), C.I.E., late principal Calcutta Madrasah, and HERBERT A. STARK, B.A. (Calcutta), Inspector of Schools Orissa Division. (Cuttack Orissa Mission Press, 1905. Luzac and Co., London.) The authors of this short school history have noticed the chief points suitable to schools in an interesting narrative form, and the results of modern research as to inscriptions, coins, and MSS. And in order to assist teachers desirous of obtaining further information, a selected list of the best and latest writings on Indian antiquities has been added. There are numerous

illustrations of coins, inscriptions, *stupas*, buildings, and portraits. The latest is that of Lord Curzon. The work is a concise history, well arranged, and well adapted to teachers and scholars of high-class seminaries.

The Congress and Conferences of 1905, being a collection of all the papers read at and submitted to the Industrial Conference at Benares, and the Presidential Addresses delivered at the Benares Sessions of the Congress, the Social Conference, the all-India Temperance Conference; also Mr. B. G. Lilak's speech at the Bhorat Dhorma Mohamandala, and the Hon. Syed Mohomad Hussian's Presidential Address at the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Aligarh. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) This is the first Industrial Conference held in India in connection with the National Congress. R. G. Dutt, Esq., J.G.I.E., was elected President and delivered an admirable address. The contents of the various papers and speeches are interesting and merit careful perusal.

Ezekiel's Vision und Die Salomoneschen Wasser becker. Von Dr. Ludwig Venetianer. (Friederich Killan Nachfolger, Budapest, 1906.) A very learned pamphlet in German on Solomon's water-pools, showing the importance of the study of Assyriology in throwing light on certain difficult passages in the Old Testament, especially Ezekiel's Vision.

English Composition Simplified: a Short Treatise containing a Summary of English Grammar, Hints on Essay-writing, Outline, and Specimen Essays, and a List of Typical Subjects, by J. LOGAN, Headmaster of the Ormond School for boys, Dublin. (Thomas Murby and Co., 3, Ludgate Circus Buildings, London; Brown and Nolan, Ltd., Dublin.) This small work will be very useful to the youths in India and the Far East who wish to acquire an accurate knowledge of some portions of English grammar and composition.

Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1904-1905. (Printed at the Government

Central Press, Bombay.) This exhaustive report contains, in Part I., a Summary. In Part II. there are nine chapters, referring to Tributary States, Land Administration, Legislative Authorities, Production and Distribution, Finance, Education, Archæology, Miscellaneous, including the Churches of England and Scotland.

The Assistant Commissioner's Note-Book, by CAPTAIN C. H. BUCK, I.A., Punjab Commission. Dedicated to Lord Curzon of Kedleston, with Glossary of Vernacular Words. (Edward Stanford, Long Acre, London, W.C., 1906.) This most useful note-book is written, concisely and distinctly, from personal experience, and ought to be in the hands of every official entering upon his duties as an Assistant Commissioner. Within the small space of about 150 pages, Mr. Buck has condensed information in regard to Outfit, Administrative Duties, Official Instructions, and Departmental Examinations; Court Procedure, Criminal and Civil; Inspection of District Divisions; Duties of Village Accountants, District Police, and Inspection; Inspection of Schools; the Culture of Trees and Grasses; a variety of miscellaneous subjects. There is also appended a Glossary of Vernacular Words, which will be of great service on the initiation of a young official.

The Faithless Favourite: A Mixed Tragedy, by EDWIN SOUTER, I, 331, North Seventh Street, St. Louis, 1905. The author of this drama adheres to the fundamental fact of the old chroniclers' stories of Athelwold and Elfredi. The chief names are taken from Hume's "History of England." There is added to the work what he terms "Schediasm," which embraces some quaint, witty, and wise cogitations.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain*, *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*; —*Technics*, a magazine for technical students; —*A Techno-*

logical and Scientific Dictionary, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1^{er} et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the

Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C. ; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh ; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin) ; —*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.) ; —*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. v., Nos. 1-2 (Hanoi : F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1905) ; —*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras) ; —*The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road) ; —*Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), October, November, and December, 1905 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) ; —*The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras) ; —*The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras) ; —*Journal of the Moslem Institute*, a quarterly chiefly devoted to subjects of Oriental interest (Calcutta, No. 1) ; —*Malabar Daily News*, a morning and evening newspaper (Kottayam : P. Jacob Pothan, *Malabar Daily News Publishing House*) ; —*India Office Library Catalogue*. Vol. i., with index and supplement ; vol. ii., Parts I., III., and IV. ; —*The Light of the World*, Nos. 4, 5, 6 (A. Suhrawardy, 2, Fenchurch Avenue, London, E.C.) ; —*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto) ; —*Articles from the Smithsonian Report for 1904* ; —*Rabah et les Arabes du Chavi* (Librairie Orientale and Americaine, 6, Rue de Mezieres, Paris) ; —*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay ; Luzac and Co., London) ; —*Anthropos*, vol. i., No. 1 (Zanruth and Co., Salzburg, Austria).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works : *The Great Plateau* : being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London : Edward Arnold, 1905) ;—*In the Desert*, by L. March Phillips (London : Edward Arnold, Maddox Street, 1905) ;—*Everyday Life among Head-Hunters, and other Experiences from East to West*, by Dorothy Cator (London : Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, 1905) ;—*Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle* : a record of thirteen years, by Captain A. I. R. Glasfurd (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and New York, 1905) ;—*The Africander Land*, by Archibald R. Colquhoun (London : John Murray, 1906) ;—*The Classics of Confucius* : book of history (Shu King). Rendered and compiled by W. Gorn Old, M.R.A.S. (London : John Murray, 1906) ;—*The Wisdom of the East* : "The Instruction of Ptah-Hotep" and "The Instruction of Ke' Gemni," the oldest books in the world. Translated from the Egyptian, with an introduction and appendix, by Battiscombe G. Gunn (London : John Murray, 1906) ;—*The Wisdom of the East* : "The Wisdom of Israel," being extracts from the Babylonian Talmud and Midrash Rabbah. Translated from the Aramaic and Hebrew, with an introduction, by Edwin Collins (London : John Murray, 50A, Albemarle Street, W.) ;—*Dictionary of Indian Biography*, by C. E. Buckland, C.I.E. (London : Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 25, High Street, Bloomsbury, 1906) ;—*The Shāhnāma of Firdausi*. Done into English by Arthur George Warner, M.A., and Edmond Warner, B.A., vol. i. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., Gerrard Street, W., 1905) ;—*Japan*, by David Murray, PH.D., LL.D. With a supplementary chapter by Joseph H. Longford. Sixth edition (London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1, Adelphi Terrace ; New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906) ;—*Turkish Self-taught, with English Phonetic Pronunciation*, by Captain C. A. Thimm. Revised by Professor G. Hagopian. Fourth

edition (London: E. Marlborough and Co., Old Bailey, E.C., 1905);—*At the Gates of the East*: a book of travel among historic wonderlands, by Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. Barry, A.B., M.B. (Longmans, Green and Co., Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay, 1906);—*A Fantasy of Far Japan; or, Summer Dream Dialogues*, by Baron Suyematsu (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1905);—*A Tropical Dependency*: an outline of the ancient history of the Western Soudan, with an account of the modern settlement of Northern Nigeria, by Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard) (London: James Nisbet and Co., Ltd., Berners Street, 1905);—*Here and There*: memories, Indian and other, by H. G. Keene, C.I.E. (London: Langham and Co., 78, New Bond Street, 1906).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The principal event of the last quarter was the visit of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, the detailed account of which in the Indian newspapers has been followed with the greatest interest. Amongst the many public functions that His Royal Highness performed during the time was laying the foundation-stone of the following institutions : the Queen Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, a new Medical College at Lucknow, the Technical Institute at Madras, the Victoria Zenana Hospital at Haidarabad ; also the opening of the Memorial Park at Rangoon and the unveiling of a statue erected to the memory of Queen Victoria at Bangalore.

Their Royal Highnesses' visit to Haidarabad at the beginning of February brought to a fitting close that part of the royal tour which has been devoted to the Native States of India, the loyalty of whose rulers to the British Crown will have been cemented still further by the visit of the Heir Apparent.

In connection with the Prince of Wales' visit to Benares a Sanscrit Library will be erected at that place.

The royal visit to Aligarh is to be commemorated by the erection and equipment of a school of science connected with the Anglo-Oriental College. To provide for this 7 lacs have already been subscribed by Muhammedans in India.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales also went to Quetta, the headquarters of the British Administration in Baluchistan, where he received visits from the Khan of Khelat and the Jam of Las Bela, and held a Durbar, attended by all the S^{rs} of Baluchistan.

Their Royal Highnesses

from Karachi on March 17.

The difficulties
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Brigadier-General

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THIRD SERIES.

College, has been appointed Secretary in the new Army Department, and Colonel Maconchy Secretary in the Military Supply Department.

The drought-stricken regions of Upper India have benefited by rain. In the Central Provinces, however, while rain helped the late-sown crops, it has damaged the standing crops. The number of persons under State relief throughout India now exceeds 352,000.

The Prince of Wales visited a famine relief camp.

A severe earthquake occurred in Bashahr, one of the Hill States.

The Report for three years ending March 31, 1905, on the Irrigation of Bengal, shows that the annual receipts from major works were Rs. 2,056,000, and the annual average working expenses just over 11 lacs. The area irrigated by the Orissa, Midnapore, and Sone canals exceeds 800,000 acres.

Regarding Madras, a Report issued shows the total area taken up since the work commenced as 63,062 square miles, of which 54,541 square miles have been completed, out of a total area of 116,855 square miles to be investigated in the Presidency.

The total expenditure on major irrigation works in Burma during 1904-1905 was a little over 12 lacs of rupees. The revenue receipts from major and minor works and navigation were 28½ lacs, and the working expenses 16 lacs, leaving a net revenue of 12½ lacs.

Some of the canals in the United Provinces during last year gave a very high percentage of return on capital outlay, notably the Eastern Jumna, 22·82; the Bijnor canals, 14·70; and the Upper Ganges canal, 9·88.

At the annual Kumbh Mela gathering in Allahabad the number of pilgrims present was estimated to be 2,000,000.

The Prince of Arcot, having resigned his seat on the Madras Legislative Council, Mahomed Raza Khan, a retired member of the Provincial Civil Service, has been nominated in his place.

The following gentlemen have been appointed members of the Panjab Legislative Council: Sardar Partalb Singh Ahluwalia, of Jullunder, and Thakur Mahan Chand, of Gurdaspur.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—A settlement on satisfactory terms was made in January with the *chamkawms*, north of the Kurram Valley. Their raiding of Luris will, it is hoped, not be renewed.

An attack was made on December 22, 1905, on the village of Banamani by a party of armed Afridis, a few miles from the cantonment of Peshawar. The firing lasted a couple of hours. One villager was shot. The raiders were led by the notorious outlaw Gafar, and their object was loot.

Mr. Crump, the Political Officer at Wana (North-West Frontier), had a meeting with the Mashud headman on February 28 on account of the recent offences committed by the tribe, which include the murder of three British officers.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES.—H.H. the Maharaja of Orchha has been appointed K.G.C.S.I., and H.H. the Raja of Chamba K.C.I.E., and H.H. the Nawab of Janjira K.G.C.I.E. H.H. the Mir of Khairpur has been granted an addition of two guns, as a personal distinction, to his salute of nineteen guns. The Maharaja of Banswora, Rajpootana, has been invested with the powers of a ruling chief.

PERSIA.—The erection of the extension across the desert of the Indo-European Government telegraphs from Teheran to India is progressing. It proceeds via Kashan Yez, Kerman, Panjgur, via Las Beyla.

The Naib es Saltaneh, brother of the Shah, who was Minister of War for twelve years, from 1884 to 1896, has been reappointed to his former post. Other ministerial changes will take place.

In reference to the Turkish-Persian frontier dispute, the Turkish troops have not yet been withdrawn.

The Persian Government has rejected the award made by the British Mission regarding the distribution of the waters of the river Helmand between the Persians and the

Afghans for irrigation purposes. This decision was formally notified on February 26

The King has appointed Major P. M. Sykes, C.M.G., to be His Majesty's Consul-General in Khorassan, to reside at Meshed; and Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Mackintosh Stewart to be His Majesty's Consul for Kerman and Persian Beluchistan, to reside at Kerman.

TURKEY IN ASIA: YEMEN.—News received in January stated that the Turkish troops had received a reverse, Ahmad Faizi Pasha having sustained a check, being compelled to fall back upon Omran, near Sana's, where he was awaiting reinforcements of some 8,000 men before attacking the Arabs.

News received in February stated that the Turks have retreated from Sana's to Taiz, and that the Arabs are in pursuit. The Turks sustained serious losses at Shahara. Amran was surrounded, and Jebel Doran and Maaber occupied by the Arabs, who made their headquarters at Khomirh. The country is in a state of disorder.

In the Mocha and Dubab districts abnormal rains have flooded the country.

JAPAN.—The new Cabinet appointed by the Emperor last January consisted of: Marquis Saionji, Prime Minister; Mr. Kato, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Mr. Hara, Minister of the Interior; Mr. Yoshiro Sakatani, Finance; General Teranchi, War; Vice-Admiral Minoru Saito, Marine; Mr. Isaburo Yamagata, Communications; Mr. Makino, Education; and Mr. Matsuda, Justice.

Mr. Luke E. Wright, Governor-General of the Philippines, has been named by President Roosevelt as first American Ambassador to Japan.

The Budget for the current year includes £11,000,000 devoted annually to pay off the war debts. The normal expenditure unconnected with the war amounts to £23,000,000, and expenditure as a result of the war, £80,000,000; £2,000,000 is to be spent on the navy, and £15,000 on rewards and pensions.

In consequence of the famine in Japan, liberal subscriptions are being received and forwarded from England and our colonies. The Victorian Government telegraphed £400 to Japan for the relief of the famine-stricken population.

The Dominion Government of Canada is contributing £5,000 worth of Canadian flour to the Japanese famine fund. This will be shipped with yeast and directions for baking.

The Government of Japan has made the following regulations for foreigners who desire to enter Port Arthur, and other places within the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of the Kwong-tung Peninsula. Permits will be issued by the Minister of War; applicants must apply through their respective embassies or legations at Tokio. Permits will be granted under the following conditions: (1) Only persons going to remove their property will be allowed to go. (2) Precise details must be given as to the time and place of departure, and the position of the property to be removed, as well as its quantity, nature, and value. (3) Each owner of property may send one representative, but joint owners can send only one person to represent them jointly. (4) No traveller can be accompanied by more than three servants.

Prince Arthur of Connaught arrived at Yokohama on February 19. At Tokio he was met by the Emperor in person, who exchanged the most cordial greetings. The Prince afterwards drove to the Kasumi Gaseki Palace, accompanied by the Crown Prince of Japan. Here on the following day Prince Arthur bestowed the Order of the Garter upon the Mikado. The day was observed as one of general rejoicing.

Prince Arthur also invested Admiral Togo and Marshals Yamgata and Oyama with the Order of Merit. The ceremony took place in the palace in the presence of all the Garter Mission. After visiting several other places in Japan, Prince Arthur will pay a visit to Canada.

The Government of Japan having proposed the nationalization of all the railways, Mr. Kato, the Foreign Minister, has resigned.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.—On January 27 Lord Cromer declared the Nile Red Sea Railway open from Port Soudan to Atbara Junction before an assembly which included the Sirdar and Lady Wingate, ten members of the Legislative Council, Sir Vincent Corbett, and many others, including native chiefs.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Duke and Duchess of Connaught have made an extensive tour in South Africa, visiting the principal towns and historic places in the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and other parts. They have been enthusiastically received everywhere.

AFRICA: EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA PROTECTORATE.—Mr. R. E. Noble, barrister-at-law, has been appointed by the Earl of Elgin to be Chief Magistrate at Nairobi, East African Protectorate.

TRANSVAAL.—The mineral output of the Transvaal for 1905 is valued at £22,688,675, of which amount diamonds account for £922,780. The total increase in value, as compared with 1904, amounts to £4,544,558.

NATAL.—Some trouble has arisen with reference to the collection of the poll-tax. On February 8 a collision occurred between police and armed Zulus. An officer and a trooper were killed. The leader, Gobizembehos, has been captured, and the presence of Imperial troops has settled the matter.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA: NIGERIA.—The first exhibition for the central division of Southern Nigeria was opened on December 19 by Mr. Copland Crawford, Divisional Commissioner for Central Division. Chiefs, with their many followers, from all the surrounding towns were present. The exhibits were numerous, among which were a great number by native chiefs and their people. At the opening there were 20,000 natives present, including all the important chiefs. The exhibition proved a complete

success in every way, and it is intended to make it an annual event.

The administration of Southern Nigeria Protectorate has been placed under that of the Colony of Lagos, and the name changed to that of the Colony of Southern Nigeria. (See also our article in this number.)

An outbreak having occurred by certain native tribes under, as is reported, the Mahdi, a stubborn fight took place in the region of Sokoto with the troops of the West African Frontier Force, under the command of Major Goodwin. The rebels were completely defeated. Captain Gallagher was severely wounded.

AFRICA : MOROCCO.—Several important questions having arisen between France and the Sultan connected with reforms, a Conference has been held at Algieras with representatives of France, Germany, and other interested Powers. This Conference has continued for several weeks, and the final result with regard to the question of Bank and Police has not, on our going to press, been settled.

All the Emirs are showing remarkable loyalty.

SOMALILAND.—Brigadier-General E. J. Swayne, Commissioner of the Somaliland Protectorate, has been appointed Governor of British Honduras, in succession to Sir E. B. Sweet-Escott.

AUSTRALASIA : SYDNEY.—The population of Sydney metropolitan area on December 3 last was estimated to be 529,000, an increase of 11,030 during the year.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The exports and imports for 1905 show increases of £1,500,000 and £10,000,000 respectively.

The area under wheat is 2,220,000 acres.

Mr. A. Morgan, the Premier of Queensland, has been elected President of the Legislative Council, in succession to the late Sir H. M. Nelson.

VICTORIA.—The revenue for the last six months of 1905 amounted to £3,515,000.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue returns for January show that the excess over the expenditure during the past seven

months amounts to £137,000, as compared with £72,000 during the same period of the previous financial year.

CANADA.—The revenue for the first half of the current fiscal year, ended December 31 last, was \$37,877,167, and the expenditure \$25,747,695, leaving a surplus of \$12,129,472.

The Customs returns for the seven months ending January last reached \$26,292,000, an increase of over \$2,000,000 on the corresponding period of last year.

The colonial control of the garrison of Halifax, Nova Scotia, commenced on January 16 last.

The mineral production of Canada during the past year is valued at \$685,747,010, showing an increase of \$10,795,791 over the output of 1904.

Elaborate preparations are being made in Canada for the reception of Prince Arthur of Connaught, who will arrive about March 28.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The value of the imports for the year ended June 30 last was \$10,279,292, and exports \$10,669,342.

The amount of revenue for the December quarter was the largest in the Colony's history, viz., £111,400, as compared with £108,400 in the corresponding quarter of 1904.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following:—Sir Clinton Edward Dawkins, K.C.B., employed under Lord Cross, Secretary of State for India, after under Mr. Goschen as Under-Secretary for Finance in India;—Captain Edward Gelly Meyricke, R.E. (1901-5 served with Egyptian army);—Sir Lionel Eldred Smith-Gordon, formerly 1st Battalion Highland Infantry (Crimea and the Mutiny);—Mr. Henry Edward Sullivan, C.S.I., late of the Executive Council of the Government of Madras, afterwards Resident at Travancore and Cochin;—Major-General T. J. Watson (Mutiny, Bhutan expedition 1864, Jowaki expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1879-80);—General I. S. Hawks

(in Madras Native Infantry 1846, in command Keonphur Cuttack expedition 1868);—General George G. Pearce, c.B., late colonial commanding Royal Horse Artillery, Madras (Punjab campaign 1848-49, expedition to Khagan and the Black Mountain 1852, Mutiny);—Colonel J. Stevenson, retired, Royal Scots Fusiliers (Mutiny, Bhutan expedition 1864-65);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. K. Westropp, 80th Regiment (Bhutan expedition 1865, Afghan war 1879-80);—General Sir Charles Cooper Johnson, G.C.B., 33rd Bengal Native Infantry 1845 (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Mutiny, Hazara expedition, Afghan campaign 1878-80);—General Robert Romer Younghusband, entered 1837 (Afghan war 1840-42, Sind campaign 1842-43, Persian expedition 1856-57);—Mr. Thomas Archer, formerly Agent-General for Queensland;—Colonel Montague Charles Browning, c.B., late Lieutenant-Colonel 3rd (Militia) Battalion Suffolk Regiment (Crimea and Mutiny);—Surgeon-General John Lumsdaine, Indian Medical Service, Central India 1857-59 (Ratghur, Baroda, Sangor, Gwalior, etc.);—Major-General Cooper Johnson, G.C.B., Bengal army 1844 (Sutlej campaign 1846, Mutiny, Hazara expedition 1868); Major-General T. M. Shelley, Indian army (Mutiny);—Colonel William Carey, c.B., late Royal Artillery (Burmese expedition 1885-86);—Captain John Lawrence (Crimea, Mutiny);—Captain G. H. Burgoyne, late 93rd Highlanders (Crimea, Mutiny);—Rev. J. A. Elliot, for many years a Wesleyan missionary in India;—The Dowager Maharani of Burdwan;—General G. N. Channer, v.C. (North-West Frontier 1863-64, Perac expedition 1874-75, Jovaki expedition 1877-78, Afghan war 1878-79, Hazara expedition 1888);—Major-General Alexander Clark Kennedy, Indian Army, entered 1862 (Egypt 1882, Burmese expedition 1887-88, Chin Lushat expedition 1889-80);—General W. G. Mainwaring, entered 1843 (Punjab campaign 1848-49, Persian expeditionary force 1857, Afghan war 1879-80, Defence of Kandahar);—General C. Hight, entered 1842 (Orissa Hill tribes 1847, 1849-51);—Major-General F. W.

Collis, Indian Staff Corps (Abyssinian war 1868, Afghan war 1879, Mahsud Vaziri expedition 1881);—Mr. Ernest Barclay, late Government solicitor of Madras;—Mr. Francis Lloyd, late Judge of the High Court, Bombay;—Mr. John Christopher Graham, formerly Field Artillery, late Honourable East India Company's service;—Captain G. C. P. Williams-Freeman, Chief Constable of Shropshire (Egypt war 1882, Sudan expedition 1884-85);—Babu G. Law, C.I.E., a merchant in Calcutta, and served on the Legislative Council of Bengal and the Government General);—Mr. Philip Sandys Melvill, C.S.I., I.C.S., assistant to Sir Henry Lawrence;—Colonel W. N. McCausland (Indian campaign 1858-59, Lucknow);—Mr. Robert Knox MacBride, C.M.G., was for many years Director of Public Works, Ceylon;—William Frederick de Fabeck, M.D., M.R.C.S. Eng., retired Surgeon-General, Indian Medical Service;—Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff;—Captain Richard Freer Thonger (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Punjab campaign 1848-49, Mutiny, Lucknow);—General Charles James Merriman, formerly of Bombay Engineers, Government Secretary to the Public Works and Irrigation Departments 1880-85;—Sir Joseph Ewart, retired Deputy Surgeon-General of the Indian army;—Mr. G. D. Leman, late Madras Civil Service;—Major-General D. E. Lockhart (Indian Mutiny campaign, siege of Delhi, Lieutenant-Colonel commanding 107th Regiment 1874-79);—Major-General T. R. Hume, late 55th Regiment (Eastern campaign 1854-55, Alma, Inkerman);—Colonel Matthew Morton Bowie, late Madras Artillery and the Indian Staff Corps;—Mr. Ross, Superintendent of the Government Central Press, Calcutta;—Lieutenant Robert Nicholson;—Major-General Henry Peter Sykes, late of the 2nd Bombay Cavalry;—Major-General William Cooke;—Major John Whitacre Allen, late Princess of Wales' own Regiment, India;—Major-General R. B. Moore, late of Bombay Staff Corps, and formerly of the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry;—Major-General Osborn Wilkinson, C.B., of the Indian army (siege

and capture of Lucknow);—Mr. James Hunter Prinsep, late of the Indian Civil Service;—Mr. Henry Dewes, of Indian Civil Service;—Mr. O. T. Hemsley, Superintendent of the Government Agri-Horticultural Gardens, Lahore;—Mr. W. H. Kennedy, clerk in the Foreign Department of Government of India;—Major-General P. C. Cunningham, late of the Indian army;—Arthur William Irwin, late Her Majesty's chaplain, Bengal establishment;—Colonel Malcolm Scrimshire Green, C.B., entered Bombay army 1845, during Indian Mutiny commanded 2nd Scinde Horse, retired Scinde Horse 1868, and from Bombay army 1869;—Admiral Lindsay Brine, F.R.G.S. (1875 accompanied Sir Douglas Forsyth to Mandalay with the mission to the King of Burma, commanded the *Invincible* at the occupation of Cyprus 1879;—Lieutenant Martin Young, late Yorkshire and Lancaster Regiment, Poona, India;—General C. A. Benson, late of Indian army;—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Louis Milne, D.S.O. (Afghan war 1878-80, Tel-el-Kibir, Burma expedition);—Mr. G. I. L. Litton, British Consul at Tengyueh;—William Ainslie, late Judge of the High Court, Calcutta;—Major-General William Abercromby Dick, late Bombay Cavalry;—Rao Bahadur C. Jambulinga Mudeliyar, C.I.E., Judge of the Madras City Court;—Thomas Durant Beighton, late Indian Civil Service;—Surgeon-General James Pattison Walker, late of Bengal army;—Major-General Charles George Baker Pasha, V.C., formerly Deputy Inspector-General of Police in Bengal, and later Chief of the Public Security Department Ministry of the Interior of Egypt;—George Vanderzee, of Madras army;—Herbert Baring Harington, formerly of the Oude Commission;—Lieutenant-Colonel T. Groube, served in North-West Frontier of India campaign 1863, and Afghan war 1879-80;—Major J. S. Lumsden, of the Indian Army Medical Service;—Tom Le Mesurier, of Poona, of late Revenue Surveys;—Surgeon-General T. E. Charles, late of the I.M.S., M.D., LL.D., Edin., F.R.C.P. Lond., K.H.P., late of Calcutta;—James Beaumont Buchanan, A.M.,

I.C.E., M.R.A.S., Chief Engineer Public Works Department, Hyderabad, India, retired;—Colonel G. W. Willock, Commandant of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry, Afghan war 1879-80;—Roland John Trimen, Lieutenant Ceylon Planters' Rifle Corps;—Major-General Sir William Forbes Gatacre, K.C.B., D.S.O. (India, South Africa, Soudan);—Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Walker Heneage, late of the Coldstream Guards (Crimea, Balacava, Inkerman, Sevastopol);—Lieutenant-General and Honorary-General the Hon. Sir David Macdowall Fraser, G.C.B. (entered Royal Artillery 1843, Eastern campaign 1854, Hyderghur 1858, Crimea, Afghan war 1878-79);—Major-General Thomas Francis Forster, Bengal Staff Corps (Sutlej campaign 1846, Aliwal);—Colonel J. W. Huskisson, late 56th Regiment, entered army 1850 (Indian Mutiny campaign, South Africa 1878, Zulu war 1879);—Lieutenant-Colonel Albert Peel Garnett, late 11th Hussars;—Colonel A. M. Hadley, formerly commanding Alexandra Princess of Wales' Own, entered 1858 (Hazara campaign 1868, Black Mountains);—The Raja of Faridkot;—General R. R. Mainwaring of the Bengal Staff Corps, retired (Sutlej campaign 1846, Southal campaign 1855, Indian Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel James Stephen Nicholson, Madras Infantry (Indian Mutiny);—Major Thomas Davey, Royal Artillery (Indian Mutiny campaign, Lucknow).

March 17, 1906.

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"One hand on Scythia, th' other on the More."—SPENSER.

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JULY, 1906.

AN INDIAN MILITIA FOR INDIA'S
DEFENCE.*

BY S. S. THORBURN, I.C.S. (RETIRED).

THOUGH Russophobia dates back to the beginning of the last century, costly action to strengthen our position in Northern India against attack by Russia only began in 1838, when for the first time we invaded Afghanistan. Soon afterwards, under the same obsession, we conquered and annexed Sindh (1842) and the Punjab (1849), thus extending our dominion to the line of the Indus. There, for the next twenty-five years, we sat still in fancied security, closing our eyes to Russia's progress towards us. We woke up in 1877-78 to find her in military possession of Central Asia as far south as the Oxus, and her envoy in Kabul negotiating a treaty with the Amir. To convince the latter that England, not Russia, was his friend, we drove him from his country, and after two years of warfare and vicissitude installed as his successor a friendly and capable member of his family, engaging that so long as he held no intercourse with the rival Power, and left the management of all his foreign affairs to us, we should pay him annually a fixed subsidy, and guarantee the integrity of his kingdom.

Though at the time the territories comprising it were

* The discussion on this paper will appear in the report of the Proceedings of the East India Association in our next issue.

known and loosely described, the exact boundaries had nowhere been clearly ascertained and defined; hence, before the engagement could become effective, the delimitation of Afghanistan with Russia, Persia, and India was necessary. Work in the field was soon after begun, and, in spite of delays, difficulties, and the Panjdeh crisis in 1885, has been slowly and thoroughly carried through, with the result that all the States and tribes, parties to the operations, have exact knowledge of their common frontiers and the political relations subsisting between them. In each case the actual boundary-lines, marked by cairns of stones or mounds of soil, and the lands adjacent thereto, have been mapped in a way which would compare favourably with the Ordnance Survey sheets of English counties.

In prosecuting the work, once preliminaries were settled by negotiations, Russia was slow, determined, but fairly reasonable, and Persia evasive and obstructive. Our greatest troubles occurred in surveying and fixing the lines between the eastern front of Afghanistan and the Pathan tribes occupying the mountain ranges immediately west of the valley of the Indus. However, after twenty years of persistence, and the expenditure of many lives and much treasure, the whole series of operations—with one small exception in Mohmand territory—has at last been accomplished, and India has now a triple line of defence against aggression by Russia—viz., (1) Afghanistan, a buffer State; (2) the belt of highlands between our actual and Afghan frontiers, held by a number of independent Pathan tribes within our exclusive sphere of influence, and extending for 500 miles from the Pamirs to Biluchistan; and (3) our actual frontier, mostly acquired in 1849, loosely described as the valley of the Indus.

The strength of our most advanced and weakest line depends on the will and ability of the two responsible powers—the Amir of Afghanistan and the British Cabinet of the day—to fulfil their respective obligations. Whether or no we should have the power—assuming the will—to do

our duty would depend upon the number of soldiers we should be able to put in the fighting line and maintain there, and the amount of loss we could inflict upon Russia by the blockade of her ports and destruction of her sea-borne commerce. The strength of our second line, the western hinterlands of the Pathan highlanders just beyond our actual frontier, is problematical ; it corresponds with the "scientific frontier" of the late Lord Lytton, and has some excellent defensive positions, which it would be difficult to turn or take if the local tribes were with us—an "if" upon which no reliance will ever be possible, depending as it would upon the success of our arms in the field and the amount of well-paid service which we should give the tribesmen.

The strength of the third line, that actually held by us, is enormous, the eastern ends of the only two present-day army approaches to India, those *viâ* the Khyber on the north and Kandahar and Biluchistan on the south, being strongly fortified and garrisoned, the former at Peshawar and Rawal Pindi, the latter at Quetta. In addition, all the secondary positions of strategic value throughout the Indus valley are interconnected by railways, which are linked up with the main lines of the Indian peninsula. So satisfactory is this, our ultimate line of defence—a glaxis of roadless mountains and unproductive wilds for a depth of 400 miles beyond it, and behind it all the resources of the Indian Empire ready to hand—that *if we had a sufficient number of reliable troops to hold it*, and were not bound by treaty to defend Afghanistan, the two more advanced lines might be wholly disregarded, and we might await in perfect security the slow and exhausting nearer approach of Russia towards the Indus.

The crux of the problem of defence was, is, and long will continue to be, that contained in the italicized words in the last sentence. Until the middle of the seventies, the advocates of inaction, with whom the Liberals identified themselves, had reason in their contention that the forward

policy was unwise—premature at least, as Russia's outposts were still separated from India by many hundred miles of sterile, difficult country, through which no large army could penetrate and survive as an organized field force, and that consequently, India being poor and already secure, her resources should be spent internally on improvements, and not externally in forcing our friendship upon Afghanistan, and probably provoking a quarrel with Russia. When, however, that Power reached the Oxus and began intriguing with the Kabul Government, public opinion in England realized that a new situation had been created which demanded from us energetic action of some sort, and before 1885 had generally endorsed the Conservative policy of delimitation, and the assumption of responsibility for the preservation of Afghanistan as a buffer State.

By guaranteeing the integrity of Afghanistan we advanced India's political frontier to the Russo-Afghan delimited line, and have since stood committed to defend it against aggression by Russia. When undertaking that obligation we doubtless supposed that, should events in Europe or Persia induce our rival to put our ability to the test, we should have the power to prove it, and to further secure the desired result we augmented our Anglo-Indian army by 10,000 British and 20,000 newly-raised Indian troops. Had we foreseen that before the passing of a generation Russia would be in a position to seize Herat and occupy Afghan territory up to the Hindu Kush before we could put a single division in Kandahar, and, further, that for every man we could maintain in the fighting line Russia would be able to keep five, it may be doubted whether we should have undertaken responsibilities so hopelessly beyond our means of performance as they were and still are.

What changed the whole situation was the rapid completion of Russia's system of strategic railways up to her Afghan frontier—two lines linked up with her European systems, one on the south, from the Caspian to Merv, the Oxus, and Andijan, and the other on the north, from

Orenburg, in South-Western Siberia, connecting with it, supplemented by a branch extension from Merv to Kushk, a military outpost and depot only two forced marches from Herat. Even so equipped, we doubted whether Russia would be able to place and feed more than two or three divisions in Afghan Turkestan. Her recent war with Japan has now demonstrated that she could at any time maintain there or nearer the Indus, not 50,000, but 500,000 troops. In Manchuria, 5,500 miles from Moscow, and connected with it by the frail thread of a single-line railway, with a long break at Lake Baikal, she recently placed and supplied for eighteen months over half a million of soldiers. What she did in the Far East she could very easily do in the Middle East, at less than half the distance from her bases, with two railways in rear, and continuous sources of supply conveniently near the theatre of war—viz., Southern Russia, Persia, South-Western Siberia, and the more productive of her Central Asian districts. These sources are capable of contributing quite as much food to an army in Afghanistan as South-Eastern Siberia, Mongolia, and Northern Manchuria did in the late war to the Russian forces in the field. If, instead of forcing war upon Japan, Russia had thrown her weight upon Afghanistan, with India as her ultimate objective, she would have had a fair chance of overwhelming all the fighting forces of Afghanistan, India, and Great Britain combined. Fortunately for us, she preferred the line of most, not least, resistance, and is now for many years to come impotent for serious aggression against a first-class Power.

Even without the reserve of strength afforded by our happy alliance with Japan, we have now ample time wherein to solve the problem of India's defence against invasion. Being now a Continental Power, with a frontier which must be defended, marching with that of Russia for 700 miles, and she being almost invulnerable to our navy, how can we so increase our land forces as to be in a position to fight her on equal terms somewhere between the Oxus and the Indus? That is the problem. Whether

in the event of her seizing Herat we should, under any conditions, attempt to expel her by direct attack is a question which may be deferred for another generation, by which time Russia may be again aggressive, and we may have an army fit to oppose her. At present we have in India 220,000 soldiers, one-third of them British, the rest Indian. Of this Anglo-Indian army, 70,000 are already stationed in the Punjab and its two connected trans-Indus provinces, and that number will probably be raised to 100,000 within the next ten years. We have also scattered over India 30,000 volunteers, all Britishers, and some 20,000 Imperial Service troops. Though the aggregate—270,000 men—is considerable, less than half would, in an emergency, be available for active trans-Indus service; and of our field force a considerable portion—the fraction depending on the theatre of war and the disposition of the intervening tribes—would be required to protect our lines of communication. As regards the troops retained on our actual frontier and cis-Indus, it must be remembered that we could not denude our Empire Dependency of its soldiers, garrisons being necessary for its strong places, arsenals, cities, and some districts and towns; nor would it be possible to call out the volunteers generally to replace troops moved forwards, because 12,000 of them are railway employés, and of the others the bulk are serving the Government in some capacity. Then, too, some of our Indian regulars—many of those recruited in the Deccan, for instance—are unfit for arduous warfare in Afghanistan, a mountainous country with a severe climate.

If we take 100,000 men as an extreme estimate of the number of troops we could put in our fighting line, and add thereto 30,000 half-trained and uncertain Afghans, and if we assume that this mixed Anglo-Indo-Afghan force could beat an equal number of Russian troops, our army in the field would still be overborne by the disciplined hordes Russia could hurl against it. Whence, then, are we to procure the additional troops necessary to defeat or wear

out the invader? The question has never yet been fairly faced and answered.

For some years now we here at home have been tinkering with our little British army, but, improve it as we may, until we enormously increase its numbers, we shall never in any crisis be able to spare, except at very great risk to ourselves, and at a cost which would be crippling, more than 40,000 to 50,000 foreign service soldiers as special reinforcements for India.

Lord Roberts recently, when appealing to the nation to adopt universal military training, pointed out that, in the contingency contemplated, it would be "imperative" that we should be in a position to put at least half a million British soldiers in the fighting line in Afghanistan, relegating the protection of our communications to Indian troops. That probably was intended as a counsel of perfection, for if we could mobilize a foreign service army of half a million men we should hardly waste it in Central Asia, but use it for counter-attack on Russia's Baltic littoral. By so doing we should reduce the cost per man by half or more, minimize our home risks from jealous European Powers, and force a quick issue; in Central Asia we might fight to mutual exhaustion without conclusive results in the field.

As it is obvious that, unless here in England we adopt the Continental military system—which is unlikely, our people shortsightedly relying on our navy and insularity, and shutting their eyes to outside factors—our small and costly home army will never be able to contribute largely for the defence of India, it follows that she must draw most of her material for that purpose from her own population. Dare we, then, take a new departure and convert a considerable fraction of that population into half-made soldiers? That is the question towards the solution of which I venture to offer some suggestions.

If we dare but hold that Indian troops, though recruited from the best available material, led by British officers,

and fighting in conjunction with British troops, are not sufficiently reliable to beat equal numbers of conscript Russians—*cadit quæstio*—we shall not be able to stem Russia's next movement towards India. On this preliminary point of quality I think the preponderance of expert opinion favours the belief that Sikhs, Ghoorkhas, Pathans, and after them the best classes of Hindu Jats, Rajputs, and Punjabi Musalmans, are as good fighting men as any in the world. Only a few months ago Sir Ian Hamilton, in his scrap-book on the first part of the Russo-Japanese War, recorded: "Every thinking soldier who has served on our recent Indian campaigns is aware that for the requirements of such operations a good Sikh, Pathan, or Gurkha battalion is more generally serviceable than a British battalion." In the next page he wrote: "Why, there is material in the North of India and in Nepaul sufficient and fit, under good leadership, to shake the artificial society of Europe to its foundations."

On the main question, that of trustworthiness, opinions will always differ. Certainly, for many years after the Mutiny we acted on a policy of distrust. Since early in the seventies our attitude has been gradually changing, as proved by the successive steps of the arming of the Indian troops with the same or as good a rifle as that in the hands of their British comrades, the establishment of corps of Imperial Service troops, the addition since 1885 of five new Indian mountain batteries to the six previously existing, and, finally, the partial introduction of Lord Kitchener's new distribution and concentration scheme.

Notwithstanding these indications of a broadening confidence in the loyalty of the most martial tribes and castes of India, the composition of our Anglo-Indian army continues to be one-third British to two-thirds Indian, and, with the exception of the mountain batteries just referred to, and one garrison battery, the whole of the artillery in India is British. Further, though from time to time Indians have petitioned to be enrolled as volunteers, and nothing in

the Indian Volunteers Act, 1869, as amended in 1896, shuts out any class of "loyal subjects" from so serving, Christianity, and a skin showing at least partial European descent, are still indispensable for eligibility.

Though it is true that, as a whole, our combined Anglo-Indian army constitutes India's defence against external enemies, it is equally true that the British third is more England's garrison in India than India's reserve of force against hostile movements from outside. The belief that justice is the basic principle on which the stability of our rule in India depends is no doubt correct, but ultimately it depends also on our power to enforce order, and this we preserve by maintaining the perfect equipoise of the forces of possible disturbance. To that end we determine the composition of the class and caste regiments of the Indian army, and the ratio of British to Indian troops.

This policy of equipoise, analogous between nations to what is called "the balance of power," is undoubtedly sound, but if we compare conditions in the sixties with those of the present time, it will, I think, be conceded that what may have been necessary or advisable then is so no longer. Progress in education, great industries, communications by sea and land, and world knowledge acquired by reading, observation, and travel, has borne in upon all Indians of insight and intelligence a reasonable conception, if not of their citizenship in the British Empire, at least of the solid advantages enjoyed by them from their place in it; and as to the masses whose aspirations hardly extend beyond the next full meal, they know that their daily bread is more secure under the British Government than it would be under either of the two possible alternatives, Russian or Home rule.

If the above views of the oneness of India with our Empire be accepted, the desired equipoise *quâ* forces inside India would be preserved were we to considerably reduce not only the numbers of the Anglo-Indian army, but the standard ratio of its white to its brown constituents as well. India, however, being liable to land attack by Russia, and

in a minor degree by France also, requires for her security an army fully twice as numerous as that which she now possesses, and as limitations of men and money render it difficult or impossible for us to send her large reinforcements from this country, the best and most economic means for increasing her defensive forces would be, I believe, by the creation of an Indian militia.

About fifteen years ago, in conjunction with a brother civilian, now the head of a department under the Government of India, I submitted proposals on the subject to the military authorities, and there the matter ended ; we were told our ideas were impracticable, as they involved a departure from the established proportion between the British and Indian soldiers. Perhaps, in view of the circumstances sketched above, the subject may now be considered, examined, and decided upon its merits.

Recruitment for the militia would, of course, be by voluntary enlistment. Since 1880 Indians have from time to time petitioned to be enrolled as volunteers, but, so far, the movement has been confined to urban "intellectuals," particularly Bengalis, a class which, however loyal and patriotic, would be unfit to resist Russians or the Afghan climate. For militia service we should have to draw, certainly in the first instance, on the hardiest of the cis-Indus peasantry of Northern India, namely, on those tribes and classes who supply most of the Punjabi recruits for the army—Sikhs, Jats, Rajputs, and the group loosely congregated in the Army List as "Punjabi Musalmans," in which term are included the many branches of Pathans and Biluches who are settled in the districts immediately east of the Indus. All are of good physique, inured to hardships, and imbued with fighting traditions ; hence for rough campaigning under any conditions it would be difficult to find better raw material.

Though army service is generally popular with them, they are, Sikhs excepted, so numerous that the great bulk of their active manhood remain in their villages occupying

themselves in husbandry and other rural pursuits for nearly nine months in the year. For three and a half, from about the middle of November to the end of February, there is little or nothing for them to do in the field. The cold weather, then, the busiest time for soldiers, is the idlest for agriculturists. In those months they would be proud and happy to serve the Government in any capacity, provided that the work was honourable, remunerative, and, if possible, congenial and not very far from home. No employment better fulfils the first three provisos than soldiering, and service in a tribal and territorial militia would further fulfil the last. Thus the Government has ready to hand a practically unlimited source of supply for an Indian militia of the best quality, and if the matter be taken up and wisely and considerately worked, I am certain—and I lived amongst and interested myself in the Punjab peasantry for over thirty years—that by the time when Russia will have recovered from the effects of her last war and its domestic consequences, we should be able to put as large an army in the field against her as she is ever likely to move and maintain south of the Oxus, if not in Afghan-Turkestan, certainly cis-Hindu Kush, in which case India's preparedness would be the best possible guarantee for Russia's peacefulness.

From the following statement the fields of enlistment in each part of the Punjab and the British cantonments within each area of population will be seen at a glance :

Tribe or Class.	Approximate Numbers (Census of 1901).	Locality of Densest Population.	British Cantonments within the Locality.
Sikhs ...	2,200,000	Central plains	Lahore, Amritsar, and Jallunder
Jats (mostly Hindus)	5,000,000	South - East and Mid-Punjab	Ferozepore and Umbala
Rajputs (mixed)	1,800,000	Eastern hills and generally eastern half of the province	Jallunder and Umbala
Punjabi Musalmans	3,000,000	Western plains and Salt Range	Rawal Pindi and Multan

Out of the aggregate 12,000,000, the males between twenty and forty years of age would certainly be one in eight, or 1,500,000, from a sixth to a third of whom would probably be keenly eager to serve in the militia. Whether the establishment of an Indian militia on a large scale will be practicable, safe, and a good investment, or the reverse, can only be proved after giving the experiment a fair trial. Personally, I am convinced that it is the only possible form of insurance against invasion, risks, and scares open to us. Some of the grounds for this opinion have already been given.

All interested in India know that the peasant and yeoman proprietary of the Punjab are sturdy, laborious, manly, and very poor; that the land revenue annually collected from each holding does not average more than thirty shillings; and that Government employment in the agriculturists' idle season would be very popular. It may not be so well known that in their villages the soldier is the most honoured, the *muafidar* the most envied of men; the latter term means the holder of a *muafi* or revenue-free parcel of land. If, then, the Government, in addition to paying the militiaman at military rates during his few weeks of annual training, were also to grant him a small *muafi* on all or some of his unmortgaged fields, not only would almost every small farmer volunteer, but the prize of a *muafi* would be a spur to his speedily mastering his drill in cantonment and practising thrift in his village. Once an "effective," four or five weeks' training in each subsequent year would probably suffice to keep him up to standard. As after each course his rifle and uniform—excepting, perhaps, some symbol of his honourable calling to wear on occasion at home—would be kept for him by the military authorities, he would, whilst a civilian, revert to his position in the body politic of unarmed peasant. In the event of being called out to prepare for active service, probably a few months of hard drilling and rifle practice would qualify him for duty on the line of communications; thence, as regiment

after regiment approached the standard of the regulars, they would be pushed forward to feed the fighting line.

As regards risk, it is hard to see where the element of possible danger to our security comes in. *Per se* a drilled but unarmed peasant *muafidar* must be a better supporter of order than an ignorant yokel, whose world knowledge only extends to his village boundary. The annual expense of drill in a large cantonment would prove a liberal education for him. After all, too, even were risk possible it should be faced. There is no alternative. We must safeguard the land approaches to India, and that is impossible unless we can at short notice double our fighting forces in India. As we have not the men or, for that matter, the money to put and keep in the fighting line trans-Indus 100,000 British troops—Lord Roberts demands five times that number—we have no alternative but to use Indians for India's defence.

As regards the value of the investment, the upkeep of a militia force 100,000 strong would be less than that of 20,000 Indian or 8,000 British troops: hence the cost would not be great; moreover, the whole of the money would circulate in the country. The heaviest outlay would occur during the first two years from the date of raising each regiment, as arms, kit, shelter, would all have to be provided, and the period of training would be longer than afterwards. As a small set-off, there would at first be a saving in the recurring item of *muafies* for efficient. Then, too, the scheme would come into full operation very gradually, and would probably be worked out, once the experimental stage was passed and success assured, in such a way that by the time that the initial expenditure of constitution of regimental units had practically ceased to appear in the militia budgets, the complement of strength, whether 100,000 or more, would be reached.

In elaborating the scheme the matter of greatest difficulty would be the provision of British officers. In peace-time probably two per regiment would suffice. If the existing

complement with mounted infantry regiments were increased by that number, the Indian army might be drawn upon during the training periods for that purpose. How best to meet the case of a general mobilization for active service, when hundreds of additional British officers would be required, is a problem of detail to be solved by forethought and expenditure. It would be easy to provide and distribute them throughout India until the contingency contemplated should arise, but the expense would be considerable and the waste of good material great, as the finding of full peace employment for such large numbers of Englishmen would be hardly practicable. Whatever the ultimate cost of an Indian militia adequate to India's necessities, whether it add 10 per cent. or more to her present military budget, the price paid for insurance would be small.

BALUCHISTAN.*

BY COLONEL C. E. YATE, C.S.I., C.M.G.

BALUCHISTAN, the frontier province, of which I was the Chief Commissioner from 1900 to 1904, contains a total area of 132,000 odd square miles—that is, some 11,000 square miles larger than England, Scotland, and Ireland put together, or some 21,000 square miles larger than the whole of Italy.

The province extends from the Gumal Pass, near Dera Ismail Khan, in the north-east, right down to the sea at Gwettar, on the Persian border in the south-west. Regarding the eastern frontiers adjoining the North-west frontier province, the Punjab and Sind, I need not say anything—that is all internal India. The northern portion of Baluchistan directly administered by the British Government is divided into five districts—viz., Zhob, Loralai, Sibi, Quetta-Peshin, and Chagai. The first four of these are each controlled by a political agent, or deputy commissioner in charge, with one assistant to help him. Chagai, which is the latest addition to our administered territories, has as yet only one assistant in charge of it; and though in actual extent, some 19,000 square miles, Chagai greatly exceeds the other districts, still, it is very sparsely populated, and the time has only lately come when more detailed administrative machinery is a necessity. Considering, however, the importance of the Seistan trade route which passes through it, more especially now that the railway has reached Nuski, I trust the Government of India will soon give the officer in charge the same status as those in charge of the other districts, and also an assistant to work under him. When I succeeded Sir Hugh Barnes in the charge of the province in 1900, the whole of the country, from the Gumal

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on the north to Sibi in the south was administered by two district officers only. Each district averaged over 14,000 square miles in extent, and as time went on, and administration became more complex, the officers in charge found it impossible to give the outlying portions of their districts the supervision that was necessary. The Government of India, I am glad to say, agreed to my proposals to divide the area into three districts instead of two, and the central portion was, therefore, taken away and formed into the new district of Loralai—so named from the cantonment which forms its headquarters—and the size of the Zhob and Sibi districts was thus reduced to more workable limits. At the same time, the consent of His Highness the Khan of Kalat was obtained to the lease, on a fixed quit-rent, of the strip of country running along the Sind border to the north of Jacobabad, known as the Khan's lands. This small strip, belonging to the Khan of Kalat, but irrigated by British canals from Sind, had long been the cause of much trouble, owing to the unsatisfactory state of the Khan's administration, and its transfer to British rule was a relief to all concerned, and especially to the people themselves.

Thus the whole of Northern Baluchistan, stretching from the Gumal Pass on the north to Chagai on the south-west and the Khan's lands on the south-east, a tract of some 53,000 square miles in extent (including the Marri and Bugti country, which is tribal territory), is governed by five district officers with four assistants, a total of nine British officers in all this great extent of territory. One revenue and judicial commissioner controls them all in those two branches of the administration, and I don't suppose that ten British officers can show better results in any part of the world. The rule of these ten Britishers—one officer, roughly speaking, to an average of some 5,000 odd square miles—is a magnificent testimony to the strength and power of our Indian Administration.

Considering the importance of Baluchistan, both in a

political and military sense, in case of war on the frontier, the wildness of the tribesmen and the constant fights, disputes, and disturbances connected with land, women, cattle, and everything, in fact, that man holds dear, that are continually going on amongst them, the constant and strong personal rule which British officers alone can give is a necessity, and the British element in the Baluchistan administration should be extra strong ; but this can hardly be said to be the case at present.

There are many questions connected with the internal administration of Baluchistan that I could touch upon, many of them peculiar to Baluchistan, and all affording an interesting study, but they are foreign to our subject. I may simply mention that, before I left Baluchistan, I had the good fortune to receive a special grant from the Government of India of 10,000 rupees for the construction of a boarding-house to be attached to the Sandeman High School at Quetta for the accommodation of the sons of sirdars and headmen who may be sent in there for their education ; and now that the chiefs will be able to place their sons under proper supervision in a well-constituted boarding-house, I hope education amongst the upper classes of the province will make more rapid progress than it has hitherto done.

Another grant was also given us for the construction of a library and museum, which building was well in hand before I left. I trust that before long a really comprehensive collection of books bearing upon Central Asia will be the distinguishing feature of this library. I did my best to get as many of these books together as I could before I left, and my successors, I hope, will continue the work. The library and museum has been erected close to the beautiful Sandeman Memorial Hall at Quetta, in which the autumn meeting of the Shahi Jirga, composed of all the native chiefs of the province, is held. The spring meeting is held at Sibi in the plains, where, at my suggestion, a roomy hall was erected in 1902 by the chiefs, officials, and

people of Baluchistan to perpetuate the memory of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, so that Baluchistan is now gradually becoming fairly well provided with public buildings.

So much for the northern portion of the province, which we may call, in a general way, British Baluchistan.

The southern portion of the province is all native territory, and here we have one political agent with two assistants controlling the whole country from the Bolan Pass right down to the sea, a country nearly 80,000 square miles in extent, and one of the most difficult and important charges of its kind in the whole of India. There are two minor territorial chiefs, the Jam of Las Bela and Sir Nouroz Khan of Kharan, but the Khan of Kalat is the nominal ruler of the country. After all, though, His Highness the Khan is only *primus inter pares* amongst all the Brahui and Baluch sirdars, of which the Kalat confederacy is composed, and it was the revolt of these chiefs from the Khan's authority that first led to British interference, resulting in Sir Robert Sandeman's settlement, known as the Mastung Treaty of 1876. Since that date, the power of the tribal chiefs has increased rather than decreased, and the power of the Khan, as the leading factor of the country, is no longer what it was in olden days.

Kalat is like no part of India that I know of, in that the Khan takes no revenue from the chiefs, and the chiefs take no revenue from the people, so that the income both of the Khan and of the sirdars, or chiefs of tribes, is, except partly in the south, entirely derived from the lands owned by themselves individually. The territory owned by His Highness the Khan is divided up into various districts, called Niabats, each under its own Naib, or local governor. Each chief has his own family lands, in virtue of the chiefship he holds, and we thus have the Khan at the head of the confederacy as chief landowner, and some fifty sirdars, or chiefs of tribes, each holding lands in various degrees, and each controlling their own particular tribesmen. Under the agreement of Mastung of 1876, all important disputes

between the various sirdars and tribesmen come up for settlement before the political agent, and are disposed of, under his orders, by Jirgas, or assemblies of chiefs and headmen, or by Shariat, that is, Muhammadan Law, or by arbitration, as the case may be. In such a huge tract of country it is impossible for any one British officer to get to know the various chiefs and tribesmen properly in the ordinary tenure of a political officer's appointment. What with illness, leave, and transfers generally, no officer remains long, as a rule, nowadays in any one appointment, and successful administration is thus all the more difficult, and especially so in Kalat. In Baluchistan every effort should be made to prevent a constant change of officers.

The Baluchis and Brahuis of Southern Baluchistan are large camel and sheep owners, and are nomads and graziers more than cultivators. In case of war we should draw on them largely for transport, and, in fact, camel registration has been successful beyond all expectation in Baluchistan, and arrangements have been completed for the enlistment of many camel corps both from Pathans and Baluchis in case of necessity. As an instance of what can be done, a complete camel corps was enlisted and despatched to Somaliland during the operations there a couple of years ago within a space of ten days, and many such corps could be enlisted and sent off to any part of the world with equal celerity. The Pathan and Baluch has no objection to crossing the sea; in fact, a large portion of the camelmen in Western Australia hail from Baluchistan, and they are still constantly coming and going to and fro.

It is not only, however, in camels that Baluchistan offers such a fine field for recruitment. Every day the desire for enlistment amongst the men is more and more marked. The first step to further this desire for enlistment amongst the Baluch tribesmen is to enlist them in a local levy corps, the frontier term for what corresponds in Baluchistan to our yeomanry and militia at home. As yet only two such **levy** corps exist in Baluchistan: one in the north, known

as the Zhob Levy Corps, composed almost entirely of Pathans, and one in the south, known as the Mekran Levy Corps, composed of Baluchis and Brahuis from Kalat. In the Zhob Levy Corps the press of men to enlist is becoming greater every day, and the sirdars and people thoroughly identify themselves with the corps in every way. Owing to the impossibility of entertaining all applicants, the desire to enlist in regular regiments is getting stronger and stronger, so much so that the Zhob Pathans are beginning to look upon it as a grievance that recruiting in the two local Baluchistan regiments is closed to them. I hope that, before long, the Punjabis and the Sikhs in these Baluchistan regiments may be eliminated, and that not only both regiments may be made Baluchistan regiments in reality as well as in name by the enlistment of only local men, but that a third battalion may also be raised to complete the centre. It is a curious thing that in England we have been doing our utmost to make our regiments territorial, and yet in India, where we have our local and territorial regiments, we are doing just the contrary.

The Brahuis and Baluchis in the Mekran Levy Corps are hardy tribesmen, inured from early youth to long-distance rides, and who in time of war would make excellent scouts, and would also be reliable men in case of internal disturbance in India. We have, at present, three Baluch regiments in the Indian Army, but they have only two companies of Baluchis each instead of eight, and the system of recruitment by recruiting-parties under non-commissioned officers is not of the best. The real way to get the right stamp of men is to obtain the help and co-operation of the sirdars and chiefs of tribes by getting them to give a son, a brother, or a cousin of their own as a native officer, with the required complement of their own tribesmen as sepoy. These tribesmen, doubtless, are wild and unused to discipline, and inclined to break the bonds of restraint; but one has to remember that the generation which knew not the British Government has not yet passed away. The

wildness is gradually wearing off, and the generation to come will probably take to discipline without a murmur. Thus the day is not far distant when Baluchistan will become a most valuable recruiting-ground, and every penny spent now in raising local levy corps, and in thus inducing a spirit of discipline amongst the people, will bear good fruit hereafter. Indeed, without levy corps properly armed and disciplined under the command of British officers—something after the fashion of the old Punjab frontier force when first raised—I do not see how the district officers in Baluchistan can be expected to maintain proper control over their frontiers in peace-time, or throughout their districts in time of war, when the regular troops will be called away. The police maintained in Baluchistan are mostly enlisted in India, and are employed almost entirely on the railway line and at headquarters of districts and Tehsils, and it is properly-armed levies or militia that we have to look to for the preservation of law and order in the outlying districts and along the frontier, where Indian police and regular troops are equally out of place.

The raising of the Mekran Levy Corps and the appointment of an assistant to the political agent of Kalat, for the special charge of Mekran, was one of Lord Curzon's last administrative measures before I left Baluchistan. At present Mekran is ruled by an uncle of the principal Sarawan Sirdar under the supervision of the political agent; but the hold of the Nazim, as he is styled, over the country, is not sufficient to enable him to carry out reforms or to introduce really efficient administration; and the sanction for the raising of a local levy corps, to guard the frontier from Persian raids, and for the appointment of a British officer to control our frontier relations and to support the Nazim in his administration and facilitate trade, will, I hope, have most beneficent results.

Now, to turn to the western, or external frontiers of the province. On the north we first of all have to deal with the Waziri country—that hitherto lawless tract which has

given so much trouble in former years, and whose people have been so prone to raids. Since the Mahsud-Waziri blockade, the one frontier operation during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, things have mended greatly, though the danger of fresh outbreaks is always present. Leaving the Gumal River at Domandi we come to Afghan territory, and this extends for no less a distance than some 800 miles of frontier in a general south-westerly direction till we come to Koh-i-Malik Siah, on the Persian frontier—the small hill that marks the tribeyt of our Indian Empire, Persia, and Afghanistan.

The Baluchistan frontier, on its northern side, is guarded by a chain of posts held by the Zhob Levy Corps, extending from the Gumal Pass, on the Waziri border on the north-east, down along the Afghan border to the confines of the Zhob district, to the north of Hindabagh, on the south-west. The large tract of highland country along this portion of the Afghan border is known as Kakar Khorasan, and is a wild and comparatively little known part of Baluchistan, standing at an elevation of between 6,000 and 7,000 feet above sea-level, and almost entirely cut off from the rest of the district throughout the winter months. In spring and early summer it is one vast grazing-ground, inhabited by numbers of nomads with their herds of camels and sheep; but during the winter it is almost entirely deserted, except for the small settlements that are gradually springing up around the Zhob Levy Corps' outposts. I was much struck by the almost entire absence of cultivation when I travelled through this country; but the efforts that I directed to be made to induce cultivators to settle there will, I hope, show good results.

Another similar upland tract of country to the west of Kakar Khorasan is known as Toba, and stretches along the northern side of the Peshin district. This similarly is thickly occupied in summer, but is mostly deserted in winter, when the majority of the Achakzai tribesmen move down into Afghan territory on the western borders of the Registan

desert. This divided population, living one half of the year in British territory and the other half in Afghan territory, is one of the main causes of trouble on this part of the frontier. The original fault was the rendition to the Amir after the termination of the Afghan War of the small district called Shorawak, a little tract of land lying at the foot of the Khwajah Amran range and between that and the Registan desert. This outlying bit of territory had been taken over by us with Peshin under the treaty of Gundamak, and had been administered by us for some years, and it would have been much more politic both for the British and Afghan Governments had we retained Shorawak and constituted the Registan desert as the boundary between British territory and Kandahar. As it is, any man with a grievance, real or fancied, whether about family matters, land, cattle, wife, betrothal, or anything whatsoever, has only to cross over the Afghan border and raid back to his heart's content ; whereas were the desert the frontier, he would, at any rate, have to go to the other side of it, and he would thus be too far away to do much harm. Reports of raids on this frontier have appeared in the papers of late, and though the border is now far, far quieter in this respect than when I first went to Baluchistan sixteen years ago ; still there is always the possibility of trouble, and I trust the Government of India will eventually come to my opinion that the best way to put a stop to these local disturbances is to garrison the Peshin frontier with a properly organized local levy corps under British officers, as has already been done further north in Zhob. I should like to see not only a Peshin Levy Corps, but a Chagai Levy Corps, and another corps for service in the Loralai and Sibi districts as well.

Following the frontier westwards, the boundary-line passes through desert, uninhabited country. In the Chagai Hills, half-way along this portion of the frontier, there is an elevated bit of land known as Barabchah, some 5,000 feet or so above the sea-level, where it may be possible to

live in the summer out of the great heat and constant dust-storms of the plain below ; but unfortunately only half of this little plateau belongs to us, as the boundary-line runs through the middle of it. The original frontier in this part of the country ran along the northern edge of the desert only some eight or ten miles to the south of the Helmand, but for some unexplainable reason the Government of India permitted the late Amir to occupy and subsequently to claim the country all this way to the south, and finally gave it to him, and, as in the case of Shorawak, we have had cause to rue it ever since. Instead of having a comparatively straight run for our Persian trade-route from Nushki to Seistan, which might possibly have been arranged in exchange for the concessions given elsewhere, if the Government of India of that day could only have been induced to take the question up, merchants and traders have now to go all the way round by Koh-i-Malik Siah, and this of itself is a serious hindrance to trade.

From Koh-i-Malik Siah, the Persian frontier commences, and this runs for some 350 miles in a general southerly direction to the sea at Gwettar. This frontier, too, has had almost as many vicissitudes in its settlement as the Afghan frontier I have just referred to. The first portion from Koh-i-Malik Siah to Jalk is only a paper frontier, and has not yet been locally demarcated. In the Teheran Agreement negotiated by Sir Mortimer Durand in 1895, it was laid down that the boundary was to run in a straight line from Jalk to Koh-i-Malik Siah, and that in any deviation in local demarcation Persia was not to have more land than would be comprised in such a straight line. Just as the Amir was permitted to advance fresh claims in the case of the Helmand boundary, so was the Persian Government permitted to advance fresh claims in the case of the Jalk boundary, and the final result has yet to be seen.

It is a curious thing, but we have given way to Persian aggressiveness in almost every instance that I can think of along the Persian frontier. Take the case of Kuhak, a

little below Jalk. Kuhak was in dispute so long ago as the time of the Goldsmid Mission of 1872. It was then decided that it belonged to Kalat, and not to Persia. Despite this, Persia subsequently occupied it by force of arms. The Government of India submitted to the occupation, and Kuhak has remained Persian to the present day. We reap the loss of it now when Kuhak is blossoming into importance as a station on the new Central Persian Telegraph line, which will, in future, become our main line of telegraphic communication between England and India.

The aggressiveness shown by Persia in overrunning the country now known as Persian Baluchistan is only of comparatively recent date. A large portion of this country, more especially near the coast, formerly owed its allegiance to the Arab rulers of Muscat, and other places were nominally under Kalat; but the Arabs were gradually ousted, and so was the influence of the Khan of Kalat, and the result is that we now have a Persian Baluchistan bordering on a British Baluchistan, and there has been much friction resulting from this dual control.

The story of the pacification of the country on our side of the border—the country shown as Mekran on the map—takes us back only a few years. This is not the time to enter into an account of all Sir Robert Sandeman's endeavours to bring Mekran under proper government, or the various ups and downs that the Mekran administration has gone through of late years, or the successive expeditions that have been necessary to punish outrages. The last of these expeditions occurred at the end of 1901, and I mention it to show what little control Persia has over its so-called Baluchistan subjects. A Mekran outlaw was able to collect a body of no less than some 500 men, formed of contingents from the leading Baluch chiefs on the Persian side of the border, and to invade Mekran and to attack and plunder a village called Kuntidar, carrying off loot to the value of a lakh of rupees or more. The Persian Government were unable to punish the offenders, and while we

were vainly demanding the restitution of the stolen property, some of these very raiders returned and took possession of one of the little mud forts, of which there are so many in Mekran, known as Nodiz, in the Kej valley. The Nazim of Mekran lost no time in assembling his men and surrounding this fort, and there I found him when I arrived on the scene. I think it was the fifty-third day of the siege when I appeared, and the Nazim had no less than 1,000 men round the fort.

Major Showers, the political agent of Kalat, had been directed to march across country with a couple of mountain guns and a small cavalry escort, while I myself met him at Turbat in Kej with a couple of companies of infantry by the sea-route viâ Karachi and Gwadar. Major Showers, leaving the guns to follow, rode on to join me, and we went on to Nodiz together. The scene there was a curious one. In a ring outside the fort were the various parties of the Nazim's Mekranis in shelters and trenches of sorts, and the raiders defiant within; and so they might have remained to this day, for all they could do to each other, had we not appeared on the scene. As soon as the guns came up in the early morning of the following day, the men and mules had just an hour or so to water and feed—thinking nothing of having been on the march all night—and off we all went against the fort, the Nazim's men being told to stand fast in their shelters.

One thing that we badly require in India for use against mud towers and small forts in country where no wheeled artillery can go is a jointed Howitzer, or some sort of gun capable of throwing a heavy shell, and yet made in pieces light enough to be carried on camels. I tried my best to induce the Military Department in India to take this question up, and to supply Quetta with such a gun, but without result, I regret to say. In the case of Nodiz the mountain guns were practically useless against the walls of the fort, and could only knock down some of the battlements; but the fire of the outlaws, though hot for a time,

was reduced by the gallantry of the storming party, who got in by a hole in the wall, and the guns, being brought up to close quarters, finally battered down the building inside held by the last of the raiders, and the fort was ours. The two British officers who led the storming party were seriously wounded, and a few of our men were killed and wounded ; but the almost instantaneous attack and capture of the place, combined with the death or capture of all the raiders, so different in promptness and decision to the tactics of the people themselves during the two months preceding our arrival, had an extraordinary effect through the country generally, and I may say that Mekran has remained quiet ever since.

Major Showers subsequently proceeded into Persia with the troops who had captured Nodiz, where the Persian Governor-General of Kirman met him with a body of Persian troops, and the united forces then marched through the country and exacted reparation for the plunder of Kuntidar. Without the support of the British troops the Persians could never have done this, and though the Indian Government has always gone out of its way to assist and support the Persian Government in every possible manner, and, as in this case, even went to large expense to do the work that the Persian Government ought to have done for itself, I have never yet seen a case in which any gratitude has been shown to us by the Persian Government, or in which anything but obstruction has been shown to British officials and traders. The trouble and worry that has been given to our officers and traders in Seistan alone during the last few years has filled volumes. We have been doing everything we could in India to open up trade through Nushki with Persia ; but hitherto every Persian official has been against us, and the wonder is that trade has been carried on so well as it has. Whatever results have been obtained have been obtained by the dogged perseverance and patience of our Indian political service consular officers.

In Mekran itself the opening of the port of Pasni will, I

think, do much to facilitate trade. Lord Curzon visited Pasni at the conclusion of his memorable tour round the Persian Gulf in December, 1903, and held a Durbar there, at which I was present, together with the political agent and all the Mekran sirdars and headmen. His Excellency the Viceroy's speech on that occasion is one that will be long remembered by the latter. Since that date the road from Pasni to Turbat, Bolida, Panjghur, and Ladgasht has been, or is being, opened up, and the question of the erection of a small landing-stage at Pasni was being favourably considered by the Government of India when I left. If this landing-stage is built, Pasni will become the port of the Mekran coast, and will soon outrival Gwadar, which is a foreign port belonging to Muscat, and which only obtained pre-eminence owing to the fact that in former years it was the only port of call on the whole Mekran coast. The British India steamers now call regularly at Pasni; various traders have settled there, including several from Gwadar, and, amongst other results, the Customs contract for the first two years went up from 9,000 to 16,000 rupees. With a seaport of its own, Mekran trade is sure to go ahead. We must not forget, either, the military importance of the road now being opened up, giving us direct lateral communication from the sea to Eastern Persia and Southern Afghanistan.

One of the most serious questions on the Persian Baluchistan coast is the import of arms from Muscat. When I was last at Muscat, in 1902, a French trader was established at the place, through whom thousands of rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition were annually imported. These were run across the Arabian Sea in native dhows, and landed in the secluded creeks along the Persian coast. The Persian authorities are unable to prevent this. Not only is every fort in Persian Baluchistan—and there are some very strong ones there—now filled with arms of precision, but the result is that the Persian Government in the future will be incapable of controlling the country on

their side of the border. Disturbances may break out there at any time, and we have to consider what the effect may be on our own administration in Mekran. The British Government is doing its best to help the Persian Government, in aiding it by every means in its power to prevent the importation of arms and ammunition ; but the question is one of difficulty from a treaty point of view, and until the French Government consents to measures for the prevention of the import of arms into Muscat, comparatively little can really be done. Here, again, we are apparently suffering from the inability of our Government officials to look ahead and to provide for future contingencies. Muscat and Zanzibar were originally one, and anybody who is familiar with the history of those two Sultanates will remember how the French treaty of 1863 applied to both. When that portion of the treaty regarding Zanzibar was abrogated in return for the French occupation of Madagascar, there can be little doubt that, had the opportunity been taken to include Muscat in the negotiations, we might have effected an agreement that would have saved us, not only from our present difficulties, but from various others that have arisen there before this, and have given rise to much friction.

It is not Persia alone, though, that is affected by this trade. An article in the *Times* of February 13, 1906, headed "Rifle Selling in the Middle East," states that attention has now been drawn to the fact that a number of Martinis, with an Arabic inscription on them, have been imported into Afghanistan from the Persian Gulf, and are finding their way to the tribal country on the north-west frontier of India, where they are being sold at less than half of what was formerly the cost of such a rifle. This is most serious for India, and every effort will have to be made to prevent the trans-frontier tribesmen obtaining breech-loading weapons so cheaply, if the peace of the country is to be maintained.

It is true we have had a Hague arbitration lately on the right of Muscat dhows to fly the French flag, but we can

only hope that this will be followed up by the further action necessary to get at the root of the present evil regarding the importation of arms.

Now to turn to Russia.

We have had various communications in the newspapers of late on the subject of an understanding between England and Russia, and any understanding with Russia regarding Persia or Afghanistan naturally affects Baluchistan. One of the first of these communications was a telegram from the *Times* correspondent at St. Petersburg, published on October 14 last, in which a Russian advocate of such an understanding stated that Russia sought no modification whatever of the *status quo* in Afghanistan or Tibet; that, as regards Persia, Russian policy was the policy of the open door, and, as regards Afghanistan, Russia strictly adhered to existing treaties.

Another of these communications was an article by a Russian writer, described by the Paris correspondent of the *Times* in his telegram to that paper published on November 22 last. The Russian writer stated that "the understanding would comprise a formal Russian guarantee of the inviolability of India and Afghanistan; a delimitation of purely commercial spheres of influence in Persia; an understanding concerning Turkish affairs, in which England would support the traditional policy of Russia, and settle in agreement with Russia, France, Austria, and Italy the Armenian, Cretan, Syrian, and Macedonian questions; while coming to a negative understanding as to the completion of the Baghdad railway for the exclusive advantage of the Germans."

A further telegram to the *Times*, dated Paris, December 31, said that the bases of an understanding have already been arrived at, and if domestic peace was restored to Russia, the agreement decided on in principle would be immediately concluded, based on mutual concessions by the two contracting parties.

Now, nothing is said as to what these mutual concessions

are to consist of, and in none of the communications have the Russian writers apparently offered us anything we have not got already. If the proposed Russian formal guarantee of the inviolability of India and Afghanistan is to consist of nothing more than the paper it is written on, I do not see that we are likely to be any better off than we are at present. No one would welcome a really friendly understanding with Russia more than myself. No people can be more friendly to the Britisher than the Russians in Russia, and no one has received greater kindness than I have from Russians in Russia. It is only when we meet Russians outside Russia that our interests clash, and mutual susceptibilities are aroused ; and if any understanding can be arrived at by which the clashing of our respective interests in the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East can in the future be avoided, a great advance will be made ; but the guarantee must be of practical value, and the concessions really mutual. An offer simply not to break existing treaties is not of itself a sufficient inducement to call for concessions on our part. All nations, too, are probably already agreed that the Baghdad Railway should not be constructed "for the exclusive advantage of the Germans," and, considering the overwhelming preponderance of British interests in the Persian Gulf, and the importance to India of a railway from the head of the Gulf to Baghdad in connection with the large pilgrim traffic between India and the holy places at Kerbela and elsewhere near Baghdad, it is only natural that the British share in the Baghdad Railway scheme should be the construction of the portion from the eastern terminus on the Persian Gulf up to the point where the line enters the northern confines of the Baghdad Government. When we consider what India did in the construction of the Uganda Railway, it is clear that no Government in the world could build a railway through Turkish Arabia so cheaply and so well as the Indian Government.

Regarding railways in Persia, Colonel Beresford in his

lecture on "Russian Railways towards India," in December last, told us that the projected Russian line through Persia was to run from Julfa, past Tabriz, to Teheran. From there the main line was to run east to Meshed, Herat, Farah, and thence onwards in two branches, one to Seistan and the other to Kandahar; while from Teheran another line was to run south to Kum, Isfahan, and Shiraz, and thence to Bandar Abbas on the Persian Gulf.

The first line from Meshed to Herat, Seistan, and Kandahar need not be considered here. The Amir of Afghanistan, we all know, is averse to railways in his country.

Regarding the second line, I cannot help thinking, despite the dotted lines on the Russian map exhibited by Colonel Beresford, that the Isfahan, Shiraz, Bandar Abbas line is not the only project that has been considered by Russia. Bandar Abbas does not appear to me to be the only port on the Persian Gulf that the Russians have had an eye on. Indeed, I am inclined to think that Chahbar has been the real objective that the Russians have had in view. So long as Afghanistan is closed to railways, any Russian line, from their Central Asian railways to the south, must run entirely through Persian territory, and instead of the proposed Meshed, Herat, Farah, Seistan line, described by Colonel Beresford, we may, I think, substitute a line taking off from the Transcaspian Railway, somewhere about Doshakh, or from the Merv-Kushk Railway, and running down the eastern border of Persia, skirting the Seistan Hamuns by Behrang and along the foot of the Palang Koh Range, and thence on southwards to Chahbar.

I have traversed the country between Meshed and Herat on the north, and Seistan and Farah on the south, four times by four different routes, and I know of no impediment to a railway there. South of Seistan to Chahbar the country is little known, but I have never heard of anything to lead me to suppose that the difficulties there are insuperable; and of one thing we may be very sure, and that is, by taking this route railway engineers would avoid the tremendous

and sudden drop from the plateau to the coast that is experienced between Shiraz and Bushire for instance, and also the difficulties through the mountains between Kirman and Bundar Abbas. It may be said that a line through these desert regions of Eastern Persia would never pay, but then we have to remember that Russian railways are made for strategic, not for commercial purposes, and the Russian Government, if once embarked on any hostile policy, would certainly not be debarred from railway making by any commercial considerations.

Now, if railways are ever to be made in Persia, Russia and India will each naturally claim to have the making of them within, what the Russian writer above referred to was pleased to term, the respective Russian and British "purely commercial spheres of influence." If Russia and England are to have such spheres, the British sphere will, of course, extend from the southern borders of Khorasan near Turbat-i-Haidari and Khaf on the east, across the middle of the great salt desert to the westward somewhere along the line of the thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth degree of latitude, including on our side the Kain, Kirman, Isfahan, and Kirmanshah provinces. I mention Turbat-i-Haidari and Khaf on purpose, because to the south of those places there is a desert tract marked by a small salt marsh, called Nimaksar, which forms the frontier between Khorasan on the north, and Tabas, Kain, Birjand, and Seistan on the south, and these four districts, which are all held by members of one family—that of the old Amir of Kain of Goldsmid's days—all fall within the British commercial sphere. The great salt desert is the natural divide of Persia, and should any railways be required in the British sphere to the south of this in the future, they should naturally be in British hands. Russia would not consent to British railway guards garrisoning Khorasan just on the border of her Central Asian possessions; and similarly England could not agree to the presence in Kain, or anywhere on our side of the desert, of Russian troops as railway guards—such guards, for

instance, as not so long ago were quartered in Manchuria ; and just as Mr. Balfour in his memorable speech of May last, stated that any railway construction by Russia in Afghanistan should be considered an unfriendly act to us, so should any railway constructed by Russia in the south or eastern portions of Persia that I have described, be equally considered an unfriendly act, and resented accordingly.

A final telegram from St. Petersburg, on the subject of Anglo-Russian relations, appeared in the *Times* so late as February 7, 1906. The correspondent then stated that Anglo-Russian relations were once more receiving attention in the Russian press, and that the *Slovo*, in a series of articles, declared that an understanding with England was possible only on condition that Great Britain offered serious concessions regarding Southern Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet ; secondly, that an intention seemed to be indicated on the part of the Russian Government to devote greater attention to Persian affairs, and that this was entirely borne out by the views prevailing in Russian military circles ; thirdly, that the chief of the Central Asiatic section of the general staff, in a recent lecture, dwelt upon the necessity of co-ordinating the efforts of Russia's army and her diplomacy, in order to reach warm water in the Persian Gulf.

This lecture was delivered before a military society in St. Petersburg, and a précis of it was published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of February 7, 1906. It is well worth the attention of all interested in Central Asian politics as a type of the spirit that, I regret to see, is being shown by Russian officers of the present day. The lecture, which is rightly described by the *Pall Mall Gazette* as an "extraordinary address," consists of one long tirade against the Indian Government, which is said to be "a system of piracy tempered by trade," "a robber government condemned for its cruelty and injustice," which "evoked the hatred of the population," while the relations of the British towards the Indians are said to be those of "cattle-drovers with their cattle."

I have hitherto always given it as my opinion that the more British officers in India and Russian officers in Central

Asia met each other and travelled in each other's territories, the more we should each learn to appreciate the work the other was doing, and the higher the respect we should each have for the other : and I must confess I am sadly disappointed to find that Colonel Snyesareff's visit to India has resulted in nothing better than the outpouring of this bitter feeling towards the English in India now described in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. We Indian officers, who know and love India, and have many Indian friends, well realize the true and fervent loyalty that pervades all that is good amongst the Indian chiefs and people ; as, indeed, has been fully instanced by the warm attachment to the British throne that has been so strikingly displayed throughout the tour of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. We can, therefore, afford to view with disdain such utterances as those I have referred to, but what we cannot afford to treat with neglect are the unfriendly sentiments that inspire such utterances. Colonel Snyesareff, so the St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* says, is "an officer of the Liberal school, who will occupy a high position at the Russian War Office in case the liberalization of Russian institutions becomes an accomplished fact." Any Russian officer in power, who is imbued with such sentiments towards the Government of India as Colonel Snyesareff has so lately given public utterance to, can only be looked upon by those who would welcome a friendly understanding with Russia as a public danger, and the lecture only shows how little, apparently, we can really rely on friendly co-operation with Russia in the Middle East. There have been other references in the papers of late to the agitation in Russia for the acquisition of what is now called a "military port" in the Persian Gulf ; and however disappointing this agitation may be to those who hoped for more friendly relations, it just shows us how necessary it is for us to maintain to the full our vigilance in upholding British interests in Eastern and Southern Persia and throughout the Persian Gulf.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN INDIA.

BY CAPTAIN C. H. BUCK, I.A., PUNJAB COMMISSION.

CRIMINAL work in India is rather different from what it is in England, for the magistracy in the former country have to deal with a people composed, not of one nation, nor even of a collection of nations, but of a vast number of races, tribes, and castes, all with their different customs and prejudices, their various religions and languages. In order for a magistrate to dispense justice under such circumstances, it is necessary for him to have an intimate acquaintance with the peculiarities of the people in the tract where his work lies, and a thorough knowledge of the language spoken there.

A grasp is more easily acquired of Indian than of English criminal law, for the former is contained in two excellent codes, known as "The Code of Criminal Procedure" and "The Indian Penal Code." Its method of administration, too, is exemplified by the rulings of the principal courts of the various provinces in all important cases, classified and printed in convenient monthly reports. In addition to this, the magistrates receive instruction from their superior officers, and have to pass examinations in law before they can rise from one class to another.

In India the novice finds considerable difficulty in sifting the evidence, for the native has a wonderful capacity for manufacturing it, and hardly a case is brought to trial in which more or less is not false. Experience, however, generally enables one to perceive when witnesses are perverting the truth, and ingenuity in examining them usually brings the true facts to light. Most of the totally false cases are brought out of enmity, frequently of a very petty nature, or out of revenge. It is, however, a common occurrence for a person, with the assistance of his friends

or relatives, to concoct a counter charge directly he learns that a complaint is about to be, or has been, made against him, and, as an instance of this, I may mention the following, which occurred in a Punjab district :

A poor tenant had obtained a decree against a wealthy landlord for possession of a plot of land, and the day after he had obtained execution of his decree he went to the fields in question with another man and began ploughing. The landlord happened to arrive at the spot on horseback, with several friends, and, on seeing the tenant, rode at him and broke one of his arms by a blow with a heavy stick. His companions then beat the man black and blue, and left him lying insensible on the ground. A consultation immediately took place, and it was decided that the landlord should gallop off at once to the headquarters of the district, some five miles away, to establish an alibi, and that a village watchman should be sent there on foot with a report to the effect that a fight had occurred between the tenant and some other man. The landlord managed to arrive in a short space of time at the central meeting-place of the town, where he accosted quite a number of eminently respectable gentlemen, and asked them the time. After he had been there about two hours, the watchman arrived with a message from the headman of the village, and the landlord, who pretended to have heard it for the first time, proceeded without loss of time to report the matter at the police-station, accompanied by the watchman and some of the aforementioned gentlemen. In the report the time of the occurrence was carefully entered so that it appeared to have happened about an hour after the landlord's arrival in the town. While it was being recorded, the wounded man's relatives arrived and put in a complaint against the landlord, which at first was hardly credited. Fortunately, the true facts came out at the investigation and trial, and the wealthy man received his deserts, notwithstanding the fact that he had engaged five of the principal pleaders in the town to defend him.

In a country where such a large amount of false evidence is given, it is, of course, possible that innocent persons occasionally get convicted, but the Criminal Procedure Code has been so framed that the accused person is given protection throughout each stage of his trial, and the chance of a miscarriage of justice is reduced to a minimum. When the original trial is concluded, the prisoner still has the opportunity of getting the proceedings set aside by an appeal, or by an application for revision, to a higher court, and, in the case of a death sentence, after an appeal to the principal court of the province, the condemned man also has the right to petition the head of the province, and finally the Viceroy. Only in the pettiest of cases, tried by senior magistrates, in which very light sentences have been given, or in those in which sentences of whipping only have been ordered, is no appeal allowed. Even these are open to revision by the superior courts if it can be shown that the trial has not been conducted strictly according to law.

The statistics of crime in India show that, during the quinquennial period ending with 1903, the average number of offences reported annually was 1,402,579 in a population amounting, according to the census of 1901, to 231,830,884. Of these 83·3 per cent. were returned as true, and 1,050,805 cases were brought to trial, but a very large proportion of them were trivial ones. The number of persons concerned in these offences averaged 0·75 per cent. of the population. These figures, of course, do not represent the actual crime, for a great deal remains untraced, and much is never reported.

Comparing the criminality of the various provinces with one another, and taking as a standard the number of cases brought to trial per 10,000 of the population, we find that Madras heads the list with a ratio of 80, and Assam is apparently the least criminal, its ratio being as low as 24. The figures for the other provinces work out as follows : Bombay, 78 ; Burma, 71 ; North-West Frontier Province,

62 ; Punjab, 49 ; Central Provinces (including Berar), 31 ; Bengal and the United Provinces, 25 each.

Of the total number of offences brought to trial, more than half are those of a petty nature against special and local laws, such as the Forest, Canal, Municipal, Excise, and Police Acts, and about two-thirds of the remainder belong to the following categories :

Affecting life, 2 per cent. ; inflicting hurt, 36 per cent. ; criminal force and assault, 20 per cent. ; theft, 26 per cent. ; and criminal trespass 16 per cent. Crimes of violence under the first three heads are most rife, in proportion to the population, in the Punjab and Bombay.

On an average, about 500 persons are sentenced to death annually, 1,600 to transportation, 130,000 to rigorous, and 15,000 to simple imprisonment, 630,000 to fine, and 23,000 to whipping.

About £245,000 are annually imposed in fines, but of this amount only some £205,000 are realized, while about £18,500 are paid out of the latter as compensation to complainants, or, in false cases, to accused.

Close on 175,000 persons lodge appeals every year, and of these 67·5 per cent. are rejected.

For the disposal of criminal work there are 45 judges of the principal provincial courts, 103 judges of other courts superior to district courts, 195 chief magistrates of districts, and 6,064 subordinate magistrates. The latter deal with almost all of the original work, and it will be apparent from the figures previously given that, on an average, each ordinary magistrate tries about fourteen cases a month ; in addition, they have to do a large amount of miscellaneous criminal work, and perform numerous other duties on the revenue and civil side.

One of the chief advantages of the Indian system over that of England is the careful supervision of all work done by the magistracy. In each province there is a high or chief court, consisting of a bench of judges who have been chosen for their intelligence and capabilities from the

senior ranks of the Indian Civil Service and from the Bar. This tribunal, besides trying certain original cases, deciding appeals, and hearing applications, continually watches the work performed by the subordinate judges, and from time to time, by means of circulars, gives instructions to them. From each district a monthly statement is submitted, which shows at a glance the out-turn of work of each magistrate, and the distribution of cases among the courts. In this statement a brief description of each case is given, and in those comprising offences against property the value and nature thereof is mentioned. Against each is also recorded the kind and amount of punishment inflicted. Whenever slight or severe sentences have been given, concise reasons have to be noted in the column of remarks. The statement is prepared in the office of the district magistrate, who controls all the courts in a district, and, on perusing it at the end of each month, he sends for the files of those cases in which anything abnormal appears, examines them, and, if necessary, takes action himself to remedy defects, or forwards them with a report to higher authorities. It is forwarded to the principal court of the province through the sessions court, and both these tribunals take immediate action when legal mistakes or injustice are noticed. It is also part of the duties of the registrar of the principal court, of the session judges and district magistrates, to periodically inspect the courts within their jurisdiction. In this manner the magistracy is continually kept up to the mark.

In most districts there are one or more benches of honorary magistrates, who have been specially selected from among the principal native gentry, but, as a rule, they are only given the powers of the second or third class. Their work, too, is regularly supervised in the same manner as that of the ordinary magistrates.

In the Indian Penal Code all kinds of offences are classified and defined, and the maximum punishment and description thereof which may be imposed for each is specified. In the Criminal Procedure Code the powers of the judges

are stated, and the method of procedure clearly described. I may mention that under the law contained in these Codes a person who has had previous convictions may be given enhanced punishment, while young or first offenders may be released on probation. Under certain circumstances juveniles may be sent to reformatory schools. In case of frivolous or vexatious complaints the complainant is liable to pay compensation to the accused, and in those where the complainant has suffered loss, an amount sufficient to cover it may be paid to him out of the fine inflicted on the accused. The excellent provisions in the Codes, combined with the rules in the Evidence Act and a little common sense, are sufficient to guide the magistrate in the course he should go until the conclusion of the trial, and the only real difficulty occurs when an accused has been found guilty and the sentence has to be determined on. It is here that the great advantage of supervision comes in. Sentences which are *primâ facie* absurdly light or heavy can be altered by the superior courts, but enhancement can only be ordered by the highest tribunal in the province, before whom the accused again has the right of defence.

The inequality of sentences passed by the benches in England is frequently noticeable, and doubtless a system of supervision, such as that which prevails in India, and has been described above, would go a long way towards remedying matters were it introduced.

A BEHAR PLANTER ON THE OPIUM QUESTION.

BY DONALD NORMAN REID.

THE opium that is produced in Behar contains a very large percentage of anarcotine, which is a bitter crystalline alkaloid resembling quinine, and, like that substance, possesses tonic and antiperiodic properties. Now, in anarcotine an antidote to malaria is at our command ; and the late Sir William Roberts—who was the medical member of the Opium Commission of 1893-1894—strongly recommended the use of this valuable substance in combating fever in India. Writing on the opium habit in India, Sir William Roberts said : “ The birth-rate in England averages 31·4 per 1,000, while in India the birth-rate averages 42 per 1,000.” This was written before the famines of the last decade of years played havoc in India ; but, still, it is a suggestive fact to find the birth-rate of a malaria-stricken country like India higher than that of England. And I may remark in passing that the birth-rate of England and Wales continues to fall, and is now little more than 29 per 1,000 of the population. Moreover, looking at the opium question from another point of view—namely, that of lunacy—Sir William Roberts has emphasized the fact that opium is not responsible for the increase of insanity, and in support of this view he quoted the words of Dr. Boyd, the superintendent of the Colaba Lunatic Asylum in Bombay, who said : “ I do not think that opium has ever produced, or ever will produce, insanity ; that is my very strong opinion. It may in large doses produce hallucination for a short time, but never insanity of any form.” Further, on the question of suicide Sir William Roberts pointed to the fact that “ the province of Assam, which has the largest consumption of opium, shows the smallest proportion of suicides ; and Madras, which has the

lowest consumption of opium, stands second on the list in proportion of suicides."

The above is a summary of the opinions of medical men who knew what they were talking about. And yet, on May 30 last, in the House of Commons, Dr. Rutherford, the member for Brentford, said : "Physical deterioration, emaciation, and mental and moral degradation followed the use of opium. In 1892 a declaration was signed by 5,000 medical men to the effect that it was a grave danger to the people of India. We are playing the devil's game." But what does Dr. Rutherford know about the people in the poppy-growing districts of India? The mere fact that he poses as an authority on skin diseases among the unwashed of England does not qualify him to speak on a question about which he knows absolutely nothing.

I have touched upon the question of the birth-rate in England, since this is a question which really ought to occupy the attention of Dr. Rutherford and his 5,000 medical friends. When these gentlemen have succeeded in stamping out Neo-Malthusianism in this Christian country, they may then turn their attention to the opium-eating Hindu and to the heathen Chinese. The opium habit was common enough at one time in the malarious districts of England, and it is not generally known that Erith is the village described in Dickens's "Household Words" as Dumble-down-deary, in the days when malaria infested that village and its neighbourhood. In those days very little was heard about the harmful effects of opium.

Although I am not a qualified medical man, I have been in my day an amateur doctor, with a practice much larger than that of any physician in England, and one of my favourite medicines was chlorodyne for both cholera and dysentery. Quinine was also largely used by me. But many natives cannot take quinine, and for these Indians opium is undoubtedly better suited. I can honestly say that during the many years that I resided in India the so-called evil effects of opium-eating were never forced

upon my observation. When, as a boy, I first set up house-keeping on my own account at a lonely indigo factory my cook was an opium-eater, who did not give me one day's trouble during all the years that he was with me. When I became part proprietor of an indigo factory my banker was an opium-eater, and I can vouch for the fact that he was one of the shrewdest men of business in all India. The last year I was at my factory I obtained indigo seed for that season's sowings from six separate seed merchants at Cawnpore. Five of these indigo seed merchants were represented by Marwaris, who are most inveterate opium-eaters; the other was an English firm of merchants. And yet the indigo seed of the English firm was found wanting when weighed in the balances against the seed supplied by the Marwaris; in other words, I had to reject the seed of the Europeans, but I had no complaint to make against that of the opium-eating Indians.

I will now give a quotation from the late Mr. Aberigh-Mackay's article on "The Villager," to show the kind of man who is engaged in the cultivation of the poppy crop: "Famine is the horizon of the Indian villager; insufficient food is the foreground. And this is the more extraordinary since the villager is surrounded by a dreamland of plenty. Everywhere you see fields flooded deep with millet and wheat. The village and its old trees have to climb on to a knoll to keep their feet out of the glorious poppy and the luscious sugar-cane. . . . But even the poor cultivator has his joys beneath the clouds of Revenue Boards and Famine Commissions. If we look closely at his life we may see a soft glory resting upon it. . . . God is ever with the cultivator in all the manifold sights and sounds of this marvellous world of His. In that mysterious temple of the Dawn, in which we of noisy mess-rooms, heated courts, and dusty offices are infrequent worshippers, the peasant is a priest. There he offers up his hopes and fears for rain and sunshine; there he listens to the anthems of birds we rarely hear, and interprets auguries that for us have little meaning." I have

always looked upon this article from Mr. Aberigh-Mackay's pen as having been inspired by God, since it puts the case of the ryot in a nutshell. "Feed My sheep," was one of our Lord's last injunctions to Peter; but this is now being interpreted into "Feed My shepherd" among the devout of England, and to abuse opium is one of the methods adopted in raising money for this purpose. But even opium becomes a blessing in disguise when it is taken in conjunction with curdled milk; and Dr. Ram Moy Roy has told us of a Bengali opium-eater who died at the age of 106, "in the full possession of his senses, and in good health considering his age. He used to manage a large estate of his own, and his daily dose of opium was 180 grains, which he had taken for sixty-six years." Moreover, it has been stated by Indian army medical officers that "the opium-eating sepoy stands the extremes of temperature, particularly severe cold, better than his companion who has no taste for opium, and that as regards dysentery and kindred complaints, he enjoys extraordinary immunity. He does not smoke opium, but uses it just as a European takes quinine in a feverish climate. He knows its virtues, and experience has shown him how and when he should take it." In the eighties I was told by the captain of a P. and O. boat that on a very cold winter morning while coming up Southampton Water his opium-eating lascar crew insisted upon going aloft to furl the sails, although a West Indian mail-steamer coming up at the same time, with a European crew, entered the docks with its sails unfurled. This was in the old days when sails were more generally used on board the steamers than they are now, and the story illustrates the fact that weather which was too cold for a European crew was cheerfully faced by the P. and O. lascars. But what about the opium-smoking Chinaman? Before sitting down to write this article I took a walk on Whit Monday through the streets of London, and came across many members of the workless, the thriftless, and the worthless class. But are these poor creatures to be taken as

average specimens of the men and women of these isles ? China is also a densely populated country, and the most degraded of its population make excellent "copy" for the sensation-monger. But let us see what an Australian squatter said of his Chinese servants in the sixties and seventies. In an article contributed by Mr. G. FitzRoy Cole to *Fraser's Magazine* of October, 1878, the following letter from Mr. Cecil Guinness is quoted :

"As to my experience of Chinese as servants in the colonies I have lived in, I have had large sheep-stations in Victoria, New South Wales, and Queensland, both in the different places and at different times between the years 1862 and 1876. I have employed Chinamen as house-servants, gardeners, shepherds, fencers, and shearers, etc.—in fact, in almost every form of employment connected with sheep-farming. I have found them most useful and industrious, sober and honest. They all smoke opium more or less, but you seldom see them affected deleteriously by that indulgence, nor have I ever traced any neglect of their duties to that cause. As gardeners they are remarkable. Accustomed to keep their own little gardens in their own country under great difficulties, they are invaluable in the arid interior of Australia. At Bourke, on the Darling River, in New South Wales, where I lived for ten years, and where, till the advent of Chinamen, it was thought by the earliest European settlers we should never be able to raise vegetables, we soon were surprised and delighted to find—thanks to the perseverance, energy, and industry of the Chinamen gardeners—that we had all the year round a succession of the finest vegetables I have ever seen in any part of the world. In all other departments of station labour I may add that they are nearly as useful, and, in a word, my experience of Chinese labour is most favourable."

I have given the above quotation regarding the opium-smoking Chinaman, since there was a debate in the House of Commons on the then unemployed on the very day on which

the opium question was discussed; and Mr. Burns did not mince his words in describing the men who were employed on farm colonies. But let us get back to India, and take up Mr. Sidney Low's book, in which it is said: "You will not often find a subaltern of an English regiment eager to assert that his men are the finest fellows in the world, but I have scarcely met an officer of the Indian army who does not hold that opinion." This quotation from a book lately published shows that better troops do not exist, in the estimation of their officers, than the opium-eating Sikhs and Pathans.

A letter was published in the London *Daily News* of June 2 last in which the writer said: "If it be true that 600,000 acres of the best land in India is now given over to the cultivation of the poppy, surely that land could be used to equal, if not greater, advantage. While we give up these vast tracts of country to a baneful product, which goes to blight and destroy thousands of lives in China, our fellow-subjects in India die of starvation. We send out large sums as famine relief funds; we pay for grain to be sent to relieve the famine. Could we not grow food-stuffs upon the land now used for the poppy?" This letter is typical of the ignorance displayed by those who inveigh against the poppy crop, which even Mr. Morley described as a "pestilential weed." But from this "pestilential weed" the poorest of the poor obtain quantities of green-stuff, which they use as pot-herbs; the seed is eaten in sweet-meats; and after the poppy is harvested a hot-weather crop of *chitna* and an autumn crop of maize are obtained from the land—three crops in the year, as will be seen from the table on p. 7, which is taken from a Report to the Famine Commission of 1878-1879:

But the English public, although ready enough to abuse the Government of India, will not take the trouble to study the question connected with the cultivation of the poppy crop in the congested districts of Behar—a question which is intimately connected with the intensive cultivation of the

TABLE SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE AREA UNDER THE PRINCIPAL CROPS IN NORTH BEHAR, THE AVERAGE OUT-TURN, AND VALUE OF PRODUCE TO THE NATIVES OF THE PROVINCE.

of Principal Crop.	Approximate Area under Cultivation.	Per-centage of Cultivated Land under each Crop.	ESTIMATE OF PRODUCE.											Estimated Monetary Value of Crops to the Natives of the Province.	Esti-mated Monetary Value per Acre.	Produce reserved for Home Consump-tion.	Produce exported.
			Opium.	Oil-seeds.	Crude Sugar (G&A).	Cotton-wool.	Cotton-seed.	Tow and Hemp.	Tobacco-leaf.	Bhadai and Afghani Produce of Food-grains.	Rabi Produce of Food-grains.	Indigo Dye.	Grand Total Produce.				
Poppy (supple-mentary crops, maize and <i>chane</i>) ...	173,133	2.87	24,440	1,038,798	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,660,233	10,631,988	61 6 7	3,471,317	188,916	
Flax and mustard ...	400,873	6.64	—	2,727,839	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,727,839	9,547,436	23 13 0	1,177,839	1,550,000	
Sugar-cane ...	44,000	.73	—	—	880,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	880,000	2,640,000	60 0 0	865,000	15,000	
Cotton ...	52,000	.86	—	—	—	52,000	156,000	—	—	—	—	208,000	897,000	17 2 3	208,000	—	
Sun hemp, patua ...	13,986	.23	—	—	—	—	—	139,860	—	—	—	139,860	349,650	25 0 0	139,860	—	
Tobacco ...	41,116	.68	—	—	—	—	—	—	616,740	—	—	616,740	3,083,700	75 0 0	400,000	216,740	
Arhar (supple-mentary crops, <i>Arhar</i> and <i>Arhar</i>) ...	1,551,492	25.71	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9,308,952	10,860,444	20,169,396	31,029,840	20 0 0	20,169,396	—	
Paddy ...	2,352,680	39.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29,408,500	—	29,408,500	51,464,872	21 10 2	29,096,500	312,000	
Wheat and barley (supplementary crops, maize and millet) ...	1,202,619	19.93	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,418,333	12,026,190	20,444,523	28,039,285	23 5 0	20,444,523	—	
Indigo ...	202,462	3.35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50,000	5,668,936	28 0 0	—	50,000	
	6,034,361	100.00	24,440	3,766,637	880,000	52,000	156,000	139,860	616,740	19,732,780	22,886,634	78,305,091	143,352,707	23 12 4	75,972,435	2,332,656	

soil, as will be seen from the following letter, which I wrote in March, 1901, to the *Morning Post*. The letter, however, was not published :

“SIR,—On Christmas Day, 1900, the *Morning Post* contained a letter from me on the subject of Indian famines, in which I preached the doctrine of soil bacteriology ; and I now write to suggest that, as the Government of Bengal is paying for the piper, it has a right to call the tune on scientific research in Behar. In other words, I beg to suggest that an experienced agricultural chemist and bacteriologist should be sent to Behar to take the place of Mr. Rawson. Remember that indigo is not the only crop of importance that requires to be scientifically cultivated.

“Take the poppy crop, for example, regarding which the collector of Monghyr, writing on March 1, 1874 (a year of famine), said : ‘I calculate that 300,000 persons found employment in the poppy-fields of this district during the winter of 1873-1874.’ The size of the opium bigha is 3,025 square yards, and the 40,000 bighas of poppy in the Monghyr district in 1874 represented only 25,000 acres of cultivated land ; and yet this comparatively small extent of land found employment for 300,000 persons in a year of famine. And I can assure you that the estimate of the collector of Monghyr was very moderate and well within the mark of the number employed. Moreover, in the year of famine the ryot would at once sow his poppy-field in *china* on the opium being gathered. This *china* crop would be ripe and off the land in May, and then the field would be put under maize in June. So, after all, there is truth in the Behar proverb that where ten crops grow in ten different months the husbandman need only look to his ploughing. This means that the soil should be treated on bacteriological lines.

“The most useful and scientific method of cultivating indigo is as a preparatory crop for barley, wheat, or poppy.

Keats has told us that 'the poetry of earth is never dead,' and the indigo-planter should cherish this poetry of the earth in his soul, so that

" 'In all his works astonished Nature views
Her silvery splendours and her golden hues.'

No other system than that of treating indigo as a preparatory crop for wheat, barley, or poppy will give satisfaction to the ryot; and to prove this to the hilt I will quote the following observations from the 'Statistical Account of Purniah': 'On the subject of indigo-planting in its relation to the cultivators, Mr. Shillingford remarks: "This factory (Kolasi), and I may say this district, differs from all other districts, in that the cultivation of indigo is based more on the principle of Free Trade than elsewhere. In other words, it pays the ryot to cultivate indigo in Purniah, and he does so of his own free-will."' Mr. Shillingford thus enumerates the advantages of the Purniah system: (1) During the months that indigo-lands are being prepared and sown no other crop can be grown; (2) three-fourths of the indigo is grown on lands from which one crop has already been reaped; (3) in half of the lands rice can be sown after the indigo has been cut. Thus the ryot gets three crops in one year off half his lands at least. The above-mentioned system is nothing more or less than an object-lesson in soil bacteriology; and if it paid in Purniah, why should it not pay in Behar? But, instead of rice, wheat, barley, or poppy, should be taken after indigo.

"The dense population in Behar cries loudly for food, a fact which reminds me of the following words which were put into the mouth of Gerard by Disraeli in 'Sybil': 'Well, Mr. Franklin, be sure of this—that the population returns of this country are very instructive reading. . . . I speak of the annual arrival of more than three hundred thousand strangers in this island. How will you feed them? How will you clothe them? . . . They have given up butcher's meat; must they give up bread? . . . What are your invasions of the barbarous nations, your Goths and

Visigoths, your Lombards and Huns, to our population returns?' Disraeli's 'Sybil' was published in the year 1845, and in 1846-1847 the potato blight fell upon Ireland and upon the Western Highlands and islands with appalling severity. The Irish then emigrated in their millions. But the safety-valve of emigration is only partially opened for the Indians, who must die in their millions if their lands are not properly cultivated in seasons of drought."

This letter shows how the cultivation of indigo and of poppy in Behar should go hand in hand in promoting the welfare of the native cultivators of that province, and yet these are the two crops which are being threatened with extinction. Moreover, alcoholism, which is responsible for filling lunatic asylums in this country and the burying-grounds of the Europeans in India, will take the place of the opium habit among the nations of the East if the cultivation of poppy is prohibited. This may please "Stiggins and Co.," but it will work havoc in every country east of Suez.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN CEYLON

By A. G. WISE.

THE highest possible praise is due to the determined manner in which Sir Henry Blake is seeking to remove what has long been a great blot in Ceylon—namely, the inadequacy of the facilities for the education of the people of that prosperous colony. Absence of schools, and the fact that the children were in many instances growing up without any control or discipline, have led to an alarming increase of crime, which harsh measures of punishment have failed to cope with. A curious feature in the whole controversy has been the manner in which some of the officials, and a portion of the press, have represented that everything was already being done that could be done, and that no drastic change in the existing systems was either necessary or desirable. In laudable contrast to this attitude was the example set by the Hon. J. Ferguson, the European Member of Council, who, both in the *Ceylon Observer* and in the Legislative Council, has strenuously supported Sir Henry Blake and the advocates of reform. In a recent utterance he pointed out that there are no less than 330,000 children of a school-going age unprovided for in Ceylon; and that in India 50 per cent. more money is devoted to education than to medical purposes, while in Ceylon over 50 per cent. more is given to medical purposes than is spent on education. Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking in Parliament in reply to Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., stated that matters were not so bad in Ceylon in regard to education as was generally supposed; but it is impossible to deny the accuracy of the official statistics, which afford abundant justification for the action of the East India Association and other bodies which have interested themselves in this important matter.

If further proof, however, be needed, it is afforded in the

papers which have been laid before Parliament.* Reference has been made in previous articles in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* to some of the documents, comprised in the "Correspondence relating to Elementary Education in Ceylon," which was presented to Parliament in March last. First, there is the valuable Report of the Commissioners appointed in 1905, whose conclusions were dealt with in the January number of this *Review*. No time has been lost in giving effect to some of their recommendations, and already a measure has been passed empowering certain local bodies and municipal councils to establish schools and enforce attendance thereat. A more general measure applying to all country districts is in contemplation, and I would urge the authorities to bestir themselves, and to introduce their proposals into the Legislative Council as speedily as possible.

As regards the method of meeting the cost, it is proposed to utilize the existing road, or poll, tax for the purpose. My own opinion is that it would be better to face the problem boldly, and charge the whole cost of education to the general revenue. That course would, at least, remove the principal objection of the planting community to the carrying out of a scheme for the education of the children employed on plantations. This subject also has been discussed at length in this *Review*, besides having been a topic at various public meetings in London and the provinces. Lately, at Oxford, at a meeting convened by the University authorities, resolutions were passed urging the Government to insist on facilities being provided for the education (in the vernacular) of the thousands of children employed on the tea estates of India and Ceylon. Nothing whatever has yet been done in this important matter. As regards Ceylon, the Commissioners have practically admitted the

* (1) "Papers relating to the Education of Immigrant Tamil Cooly Children employed on Estates (Ceylon)." [Cd. 2,484.] Price 3½d. H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1905.

(2) "Correspondence relating to Elementary Education in Ceylon." [Cd. 2,873.] Price 6d. H.M. Stationery Office, London, 1906.

accuracy and justice of my contentions (disputed by some of the officials on the spot). They recommend that the planters should be required to provide simple instruction for the children on their estates (Tamil immigrants from Southern India). If, after a reasonable time, planters fail to do so, they urge that the Government should step in and establish a school for the estate or group of estates, recovering the cost of construction and maintenance from the proprietor of the estate by means of a rate levied for that special purpose. Much stress has been laid on the very worthless classes, started by the "kanganis," or native foremen, for the benefit of their own children and a few other boys of the same caste, about five or six in all. These have been dignified by the name of "line schools," being held in the coolies' own "lines" or houses. They are, it appears, to be periodically inspected by Government officials, and quarterly returns are to be sent in to the Public Instruction Department, showing the number of children of a school-going age on each estate and their attendance at school. Lord Elgin, in a despatch dated March 1, expresses his approval of these recommendations, and advocates the conferring upon Government of the necessary legal powers with respect to estate schools as is suggested by the Commission.

I would conclude by urging the Government of India to adopt some similar measure with regard to the children employed on the Assam tea gardens and in other planting districts, where the neglect in this respect is a disgrace to our rule. As pointed out in the despatches of August 18, 1904,* "the concentration of children in connection with the gardens affords a better opportunity than usually exists for imparting some education to them." It is, therefore, highly unsatisfactory to find that, in reply to questions in Parliament, the only answer vouchsafed is the stereotyped formula to the effect that the matter is under consideration. In India, as in Ceylon, it does not seem right nor fair that

* No. 19 of 1904, Government of India, Home Department (Education).

any large number of this useful class should grow up in a state of ignorance which leaves them at the mercy of others ; for it is our imperative duty to see that children residing on these estates shall receive the necessary minimum of instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, such as will prevent them from being at a disadvantage in their dealings with unscrupulous persons cleverer than themselves. There can be no adequate reason for further delay in dealing with this important and necessary reform, which is desirable alike in the interests of the coolies, the owners of plantations, and, indeed, the whole community.

It may, perhaps, be necessary to repeat that all that is required for the particular class on whose behalf these few lines are penned, is a simple course of instruction in their own vernacular, without attempting to provide these coolie children with an English education, or such an education as would in any way render them unfit to follow their natural and proper avocation ; while it is by no means improbable that the establishment of schools on a sound system would prove an attraction, rather than a bugbear, to emigrants from Southern India, who form such a valuable asset in many of our tropical possessions.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROFESSOR DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL WORKS.

THE seventeenth volume of the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche"* (third edition, by A. Hauck) has appeared. It continues from the word *Riesen* to the word *Schutzheilige*. From an Oriental standpoint, the articles on Rimmon (divinity), Ruth (the book), Sabbath, Shechinah (שכינה), are of importance. On the occasion of the seventieth anniversary of Professor Noeldecke, two very large volumes of Oriental studies (liv and 1187 pages, large 8vo.)† have been published, which contain eighty-five articles on Orientalism by different authors. It is impossible to enter here into the details of such a publication; I will, however, refer to its contents after having given it a careful study. At present I will only draw attention to an interesting article of Mr. Van Berchem on the monuments and inscriptions of the Atâbek Lu'lû of Mossul, who was the rightful ruler of Mossul from 631 H. (1233) to 657 H. (1259).

E. Jung, an old Vice-Resident of France in Indo-China, has published a curious volume on "Les Puissances devant la Révolte arabe : la Crise mondiale de Demain."‡ The author enters into the political and economical questions of Arabia and the interests of the Powers. But will there be a revival of the Arab Islamism? It seems very improbable at the present hour or in the near future—to those, at least, who know Islamism.

P. L. Cheikho published recently in the *Arabic Review*, which the Jesuits have founded in Beyrout, "Al Machaiq," the Arabic text of three Greek treatises which have been found hanging on the organs, and which treat of a certain

* Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1906.

† A. Töpelmann, Gieszen, 1906.

‡ Paris, Hachette and Co., 1906.

Moristos. Mr. H. Derenbourg, in a communication made in May to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, under the title of "A Byzantine Musicograph of the Eighth Century," has identified this personage. It is the Myrtos of the *Fihrist*, who calls him *Ar-Rumi*, the Greek, or rather the Byzantine. He was a physician as well as a mathematician, and an artist. The first of the three treatises speaks of an organ in copper intended for the King of France. This King would be Pepin the Short, to whom the Emperor Constantine V., Kopronymus, presented in 757 an organ, probably constructed in Byzance.

We have to notice a small dictionary—French-Dutch-Malay—by Long and Hochreutiner,* both assistants at the Botanical Gardens in Buitenzorg. It is interesting from the Semitic point of view. The said dictionary is put together in a very practical manner, and in the alphabetical order of the three languages; thus the volume really contains three dictionaries. The authors have specially noted words of Arabic origin, which are fairly numerous. I wish to point out some Malay words which are of Hebrew origin: *sela*, space (סֵלָה), *alam*, world (עוֹלָם), *kalah*, to lose (בָּלָה), etc.

OLD TESTAMENT HEBREW LANGUAGE, TALMUD.

The sixth volume of the Polyglot Bible,† by the Abbé Vigouroux, has appeared. It includes the Prophets (Ezekiel to Malachi) and the two first books of the Maccabees. It is an interesting publication, with illustrations of scientific value.

The "Dictionnaire de la Bible,"‡ published by the same author, has reached the twenty-seventh fasciculus: Moab to Namsi.

"L'Introduction à l'ancien Testament," by Professor L. Gautier,§ might be called the most remarkable work that

* Batavia, Kolff and Co., 1906.

† Paris, Roger and Chernoviz, 1906.

‡ Paris, Letouzey and Ané, 1906.

§ Two vols., Lausanne, G. Bridel and Co., 1906.

has appeared on the Old Testament since the beginning of this year. The work is divided into five parts, preceded by preliminaries on the languages (Hebrew and Aramæan) of the Old Testament and on the Hebrew hand writing: (1) The Law or the Pentateuch; (2) the Prophets (historical and prophetical books properly speaking); (3) the Ketubim Writings, or the Hagiography; (4) the Apocrypha and the Pseudo-epigraphs; (5) History of the Canon, the Text, and the Versions. As an appendix there is an analytical bibliographical summary of the subjects, and an index of the names and Biblical quotations mentioned. The work of Mr. Gautier is excellent, very clear and intelligible to the general public who are interested in the Bible, and is of undoubted scientific value. Mr. Gautier follows the modern critical school.

L. Frohnmeyer and L. Benzinger have published in German an excellent work for the diffusion among the people, which J. Breitenstein has just translated into French under the title of "Biblical Views and Documents."* This is a Biblical geography as well as a history of Israel (nation, religion, customs), and a study of the fauna and the flora of Palestine. In short, it is popular Biblical archæology, but strictly scientific, accompanied by a number of beautiful and exact illustrations.

The fourteenth edition of the Hebrew dictionary of Gesenius,† by Buhl, has appeared since the publication of our last report. This edition—a very excellent one—does not fail to show considerable progress on the preceding one (the thirteenth, also revised by Buhl, 1899). It is to be regretted that they have adopted a much closer and smaller type. The volume, therefore, has 932 instead of 1030 pages, as in the former edition; but it is not so easy to read, nor is the form of the book so handsome. The authoritative edition of the Talmud of Babylon, brought out by

* Basle, E. Finckh, 1906.

† W. Gesenius' "Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das A. T. in Verbindung mit Prof. Dr. Zimmern bearbeitet von Prof. Dr. F. Buhl, 14^{te} A.," Leipzig, Vogel, 1905.

L. Goldschmidt, appears regularly. The last fasciculus (sixth volume, fifth part) contains the first half of the treatise "Baba bathra."*

ISLAM : GENERAL WORKS.

Under the Mussulman Algerien-Tunisian group we have to notice two publications, important from the point of view of the transformation that has taken place in certain religious centres, where Islamism liberates and modernizes itself in contact with European civilization. Liberal Islamism is characteristic in certain Mussulman countries, such as Egypt, Turkey, and India. In reality it forms only a very small minority, but is very conspicuous, and is a sign of the new period that prepares itself in Africa and in Asia.

One of the writings to which we wish first to refer is entitled "The Liberal Spirit of the Koran."† Its authors are three Tunisians—C. Benattar, El Hadj Sebai, and Abdelaziz Ettealbi. This essay is based on a liberal interpretation of the Koran and the Hâdith—that is to say, on an interpretation according to the spirit, and not the letter. The authors explain historically how Islamism became narrow, retrograde, and sometimes intolerant. They attribute this decadence to the following causes: the Crusades, Christian intolerance, Arab scholasticism of the Middle Ages and former times, confraternities and cult of the saints. According to them, Persia has exercised a very regrettable influence on Islamism as regards morals and superstition (magic arts). They preconize the emancipation of women, the suppression of the veil, and insist on obligatory instruction for them; they welcome with enthusiasm the emancipation rôle of France in Mohammedan countries, which they date from the expedition of Bonaparte in Egypt. The authors affirm that the number of Mussulmans in the world is at the present time 400 millions. It is possible, but on what census can one establish this high number? They hold that Islamism

* Leipzig, O. Harrasowitz, 1906.

† Paris, E. Leroux, 1905.

is a universal religion, and that the Koran, interpreted in its real spirit, is a bond of union between Judaism and Christianity. Be it said, finally, that this work constitutes an excellent and judicious chrestomathy of the Koran.

The second work we wish to mention is the book of an Algerian, Ismaïl Hamet, which is called "The French Mussulmans of North Africa." It is divided into three parts—past, present, and future. In the first part the author proves that Berber Autochtones and Arab conquerors became so completely amalgamated after a time that they gradually formed but one and the same people. This prepares the reader for the second part, where the author shows that the European occupation of Algeria, especially by the French, must necessarily influence the natives, and produce in them, after a contact of seventy-four years, a certain evolution—an evolution in agriculture, in commerce, an intellectual evolution. On this subject the author has collected a great number of facts which are of much interest. The population, as estimated in 1902, is composed of 632,260 Europeans, of which 415,228 are French, and of 4,127,079 natives. Since Algeria is on the wave of prosperity and progress, the indigenous population has largely increased. In the last part of the work the author enumerates the many improvements accomplished by France in Algeria. He shows the increased penetration of the two elements of the population (European and natives). The most curious chapter of this last part is the one that treats with religious evolution, and shows the changes that have taken place in the Islamic religion under the influence of French civilization, save among the Mozabites (40,000 natives of Mزاب). They are the Protestants of Islamism, and deny the Divine origin of the Koran.

Under the title of "Islamism and Christianity in Africa,"* G. Bonet-Maury, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Paris, has published an interesting work for the use of the general public on the history of Islam,

* Paris, Hachette and Co., 1906.

Christianity, and Judaism in Africa, from their origin to the present day. The author is not a specialist on Mohammedanism, but he writes in a broad and tolerant spirit. His conclusion is worth noting. What is desirable, according to him, is the maintenance in Africa of the two rival religions (Islamism and Christianity) in their respective places, with tolerance and reciprocity.

We draw attention to the admirable and superb collection of Arabic texts in prototype, from the first century of the Hejira to the present time, in the library of the Khedive.* It contains beautiful plates, facsimiles from monuments, inscriptions, etc., from Morocco to India. It is to be regretted, however, that no English text (except indispensable tables and titles) accompanies the reproductions. Some explanations on the manuscripts would have been valuable.

ISLAMISM AND MOROCCO.

Morocco, the object of covetousness to European Powers generally, and of pre-occupation to others, has created quite a literature in Europe—scientific, political, imaginary.

Amongst the most remarkable works that have appeared we wish first to draw attention to the large collection of texts by H. de Castries: "Les sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc de 1530 à 1845," two volumes of which have appeared (there will be in all about twenty-four). The author publishes the original texts, with annotations and introductions, and when he tries to deal with Arabic or Dutch texts, he takes care to add a translation. The two volumes that have appeared† contain the diplomatic and other documents from 1553 to 1578; the texts are French, Arabic, Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian. These volumes are of the highest interest, and have been edited very carefully by the author, who deserves the greatest praise and encouragement. The following is the order in

* "Geography," etc., edited by B. Moritz, Cairo, 1905 (Publication of the Library, Cairo, No. 16).

† 1905.

which the documents will appear (some, as the Dutch ones, have never before been published, whilst others already exist in print, but have become very rare, and are, in consequence, very difficult to be obtained) :

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE : DYNASTIE SAADIENNE, 1530-1660.—
I. Archives et Bibliothèques de France (en cours de publication). II. et III. Archives et Bibliothèques des Pays-Bas (sous presse). IV. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Angleterre (en préparation). V. Archives et Bibliothèques d'Espagne. VI. et VII. Archives et Bibliothèques de Portugal. VIII. Fonds divers (Italie, Autriche, Belgique, Allemagne, Russie, etc.).

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE : DYNASTIE FILALIENNE, 1660-1757.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE : DYNASTIE FILALIENNE, 1757-1845.

The most remarkable work, perhaps, which has appeared on Morocco since our last *Report* is that of E. Doutté, entitled, "Merrâkech," the first volume only of which has been printed.* Under this modest title the author, one of the most distinguished Arabists of the College of Algiers, has undertaken to bring out a sort of Moroccan Islamic Encyclopædia. The volume that has appeared (more than 400 pp., large 8vo., richly and learnedly illustrated) takes us across Morocco to the gates of Marakesh, the southern capital. The author enters on every subject relating to geography, ethnography, religion, archæology, customs, etc. It is the first time (since that of R. Smith) that comparative ethnography has been applied to Islamism. The author has adopted this method, authoritatively, as a specialist on Islam. The most interesting points on which he enters are : Moroccan ethnography (difficult problems), worship of saints, the Kerkûr, or heaps of sacred stones (*kerker*, break into big pieces, heap up), Moroccan superstitions, linguistic observations, popular songs, etc. Had we not good reason to say, that the work of Doutté was a "Mussulman Encyclopædia" ?

The "Archives Marocaines,"† of which sixteen volumes

* Paris, Comité du Maroc, 1905.

† Paris, E. Leroux, 1904-1906.

have already appeared, become more and more a first-rate collection for the study of Morocco. It is impossible for us to state all that has appeared under this collection. We content ourselves in noticing in the last fasciculi (1905-1906) a learned work of N. Slousch on the history of the Jews and Judaism in Morocco. It is known that this author, whom we have named several times, is versed in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, which he writes remarkably well. His work is divided into four parts: in the first he deals with the Jewish origins in Morocco; in the second with the history of the Jews from the Arab invasion to the persecution of the Almohades (1146); the third part is devoted to literary and religious history; in the fourth and last part the author speaks first of the political and social decadence of the Moroccan Jews (the Jews that have settled down about 2,000 years ago in the regions of the Atlas, and have spread all over Morocco), and afterwards he shows how the Spanish Jews have established themselves there during the epoch of Sultan Merinides at the end of the fourteenth century.

G. Veyre, a Frenchman who has spent three years with the Sultan of Morocco, in order to teach him photography, and acquaint him with the latest improvements of the phonograph, the bicycle, etc., has published an interesting volume on Abd el Aziz.*

The Sultan appears in it, as I have known him myself, as a grown-up, good child, very little suited to reign over and administer a big country. The author does not seem to know the Arabic language. He translates the name of Abd el Aziz, "the son of the beloved slave"; he speaks of the Sultan's jester, surnamed *Fourach*, meaning *when*, because he is very inquisitive, and uses that word every minute. The author adds that the word *fourach* is used in Fez, whilst at Marakesh they say *yemta*. But *fourach* is a mistake for *foukach*, etc.

* "Au Maroc, dans l'intimité du Sultan," Librairie Universelle, Paris, 1905.

S A M A R C A N D.

BY E. H. PARKER.

CHINA'S discovery of the Jaxartes and Oxus region was made between the years 137 and 127 B.C., when the Chinese, dreading the incursions of the Hiung-nu or Early Turks, endeavoured to "cut off their enemy's right arm" by allying themselves with the Ta-yüeh-chi or Indo-Scythians of the Oxus, who had, a generation before, been driven by the former from the Chinese frontiers to the Far West. The Chinese envoy escaped from his long, but not uncomfortable, detention among the Hiung-nu (presumably in the Harashahr region) and made his way to Kokand* or the Upper Jaxartes valley, then known to the Chinese as Ta-wan. The king of this State was only too anxious to enter into relations with inaccessible China, and he therefore readily supplied an escort to the neighbouring country of K'ang-kü—that is, to the kingdom of the Zarafshan valley—whose ruler, in turn, passed on the Chinese traveller to the Indo-Scythians: these had meanwhile worked their way past the Ili region, and were now comfortably settled in Ta-hia (Tokharestan) or the Upper Oxus valley. Nothing is recorded of K'ang-kü up to the date of the publication of China's first great history in 90 B.C., except that it was a comparatively small state possessing only 80,000 or 90,000 mounted archers; that politically it adopted a trimming attitude between its powerful neighbours the Indo-Scythians to the south and the Hiung-nu to the east, whose similar nomadic mode of life it followed; and that the Alains (then called An-ts'ai or Azes) of the Great Marsh (the Aral) were as far to its north-west as Kokand was to its south-east—*i.e.*, 2,000 *li*, or about 600 English miles; the Indo-Scythians'

* See "Kokand and China," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1899 (the earliest history of Kokand will be continued anon). See also "The Ephthalite Turks," *ibid.*, July, 1902, and "Chinese Buddhism," *ibid.*, October, 1902.

headquarters were 300 miles to their south. China having, about 100 B.C., got into a war with Kokand about some blood horses, K'ang-kü observed a watching attitude, and at first even assisted Kokand. The victorious Chinese, however, pursued Kokand refugees into K'ang-kü territory, and it was thought prudent to surrender them.

As Rémusat has pointed out, the organization of Tartary has changed very little during the past 2,000 years. Even now the population, all the way from Russia in Europe right up to Manchuria, does not exceed that of the single city of Greater London. The horse-riding nomads variously styled Ta-yüeh-chi, Wu-sun, Scythians, Huns, Ephthalites, Turks, Avars, Tartars, Ouigours, and Mongols have always shiftingly occupied the same oases and plains, raiding in turn Greece, Rome, Armenia, Persia, Transoxiana, the Ponjaub, and China as opportunity offered. The generals of Alexander came into immediate contact with them in 328 B.C., when Maracanda was alternately taken and lost; when the nomads on the right bank drove General Spitamenes to Bokhara; when Merv (one of the Alexandrias) was founded; and when Khiva or Chorasmia offered her military aid to the threatened Greeks. There is no proof that the persistent Chinese syllable *K'ang*, which appears throughout the centuries in every single name for *Samarcand* ("Fat City") is the same syllable as that in *Maracanda*; but there is much specific evidence to show that the region surrounding Maracanda city can be traced through Chinese sources for 2,000 years, step by step, to the region surrounding Samarcand city.

The second Chinese history carries us a century later, and brings us down to A.D. 5. In 60 B.C. an Imperial Chinese Proconsul had already been established on the Tarim River, with headquarters near modern Kuché. Part of his duties was to watch both the Wu-sun (Ili) and K'ang-kü. K'ang-kü's second neighbour to the south was Arsac* (or Parthia) across the Oxus, which then included

* See "Early Persia," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1903.

Merv and part of Bokhara. It had now been ascertained by the Chinese that five subordinate States belonged to K'ang-kü; these have been identified with Khwârisim, Râmêthan (Bokhara), Koshânya (on the Zarafshan, east of Bokhara), Shahr-i-sabz, and Tashkend; and there is reason to believe that the rulers of these were the *jabgu*, or princes of the blood, specifically mentioned amongst the Ili, Indo-Scyth, Hiung-nu, and Turk princes in turn; like our "jarls." The king had both a summer and a winter capital (both unidentified), and apparently a thousand miles apart from each other. His population numbered 600,000 souls in 120,000 households. As his troops also numbered 120,000, it is probable that each tent must have supplied one warrior, and it seems certain that all Sogdiana was included in the K'ang-kü domain. During the period 74-49 B.C., the Chinese had broken up all the Hiung-nu within reach, and five *Jenuye** or rival Supreme Khans were fighting together. The most powerful of these fled to the west, and commenced a series of domineering political intrigues with an Ili pretender and with K'ang-kü, the daughter of whose king he married, and ultimately slew; the conspirators' idea was to divide the Ili region between them and to defy China. He fixed his capital upon the river Lai (which has not been identified), and demanded tribute from the Alains. The Chinese Proconsul—the same one who sent one of his lieutenants to Parthia and through him discovered the existence of Mesopotamia and the Roman Empire—allowed one of his generals to undertake an expedition as far as the Aral; this was in the year 36 B.C. The Hiung-nu *Jenuye* was slain, and his city was taken by storm. It is interesting to note that the Kirghis (Kien-K'un) took part in the rebel discussions, if not in the actual fighting, and that the modern Manchu official geographies of to-day distinctly identify the region of the ancient K'ang-kü capital, and also the region of one of the

* As to this title, see *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1904, "New Facts about Marco Polo."

sub-capitals in Sogdiana, with the east and west *yus* of the Kazaks (Kirghis) of to-day ; besides separately stating distinctly that the same Kirghis of to-day occupy the ancient K'ang-kü land. Although after the discomforture of Kokand K'ang-kü sent a page-hostage to China as the Hiung-nu and the Wu-sun of Ili had done, she received the Proconsul's return envoy with a great show of independence, and declined to perform the *kotow* : " The king and his nobles ate and drank first, after which food and drink was given to the Proconsul's emissary." Under these circumstances chagrined China was obliged to content herself with the bare semblance of political submission, as her officers reported K'ang-kü to be a much more formidable power than ever Kokand had been. At no period since the above events have Chinese troops ever again succeeded in demonstrating in real force so far to the north-west. During a new " spurt " of political activity in A.D. 23, it is distinctly stated that Indo-Scythia, Cabul,* K'ang-kü, and Parthia were not in any way included in the list of fifty Far Western States recognising Chinese hegemony or suzerainty. It is to be noted that Kokand was for long the only state beyond the present bounds of the Chinese Empire really under influence.

The third dynastic history, treating of the period A.D. 25-220, actually mentions that the later name for the Alains is Alan-liao, and that they paid tribute in " rat-skins " (sables, marmots, beavers, etc.) to K'ang-kü, whose manners and customs much resembled their own. The unexplained *liao* is probably a word meaning " the Liu country," which (in the next history, dated about A.D. 250) is said to be *near A-lan State*. I observe that Professor Chavannes has, in his latest pamphlet, also taken this view. K'ang-kü had been engaged in several wars with Kokand, and in A.D. 78, during the period when the Chinese Proconsul Pan Ch'ao was vigorously contesting Indo-Scyth supremacy in the Kashgar region, he led Kashgar, Khoten, and K'ang-kü troops against the place

* See " China and the Cabul Valley," *English History Review*, October, 1905.

now called Yaka-Aryk, near Kuché. In 87, again, we find these K'ang-kü troops fighting against Chinese, and endeavouring to establish a nominee of their own at Kashgar; but as their king was allied by marriage with the Indo-Scyths, the latter, at the friendly request of the Chinese Proconsul, caused K'ang-kü to desist;* two years later K'ang-kü again assisted the Kashgar pretender, who was ultimately taken and decapitated by Pan Ch'ao. In A.D. 88 the Hiung-nu were once more broken up by the Chinese, and the northern branch of them fled west, to the region of K'ang-kü. We shall shortly hear of this horde again.

The *Wei Lioh†* history brings us down to A.D. 239, and states that the kingdoms of Ili (Wu-sun) and Al Sogd (K'ang-kü) remain undiminished in size and power; however, the Wei dynasty had no relations with the latter, though it had such with the Indo-Scythian King Vasudêva* to its south. Alan is now mentioned with Liu State, but without the syllable *liao*, and to the west of it is stated to be some place belonging to the Roman Empire‡ (Ta-ts'in); sables are specifically mentioned instead of "rats"; and the description given of the Aral tribes farther north is perfectly consistent with that of the earlier history, though manifestly quite independent; it is noteworthy that the Aral is up to this date always characterized as a vast marsh, which, at that time, may have run also into the Caspian Sea. The Alains or Alans no longer pay tribute to K'ang-kü, and the Kirghis lie to the north-west, as Roman Russia or Sarmatia (Ta-ts'in) does to the west. Far to the north-west, beyond the Alans, is "Short Man State," over 3,000 English miles away from K'ang-kü, whose old men tell tales of trading caravans going thither; this interesting statement perhaps refers to the squat Lapps, whom the

* See "Ephthalite Turks," cited above, p. 142. Also "Kashgar" and "Yarkand," *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of October, 1905, and January, 1906.

† Just translated, so far as it survives, by Professor E. Chavannes.

‡ See "Avars and Franks," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1902; "Western Turks," *ibid.*, October, 1903. The Roxolani and Sarmatians were probably the most advanced Roman posts at that date.

writer of these lines had an opportunity of studying near the North Cape last summer, and who walk and dress somewhat like the Mongols. In the year 287 a mission with "offerings" was sent by K'ang-kü to the newly-established Tsin dynasty (265-420), which had about twenty years back re-united the greater part of distracted China, but which was throughout menaced by Tibetan and Tartar adventurers in the north. After that for a century and a half nothing is heard of the place so far as China is concerned ; the more easterly Tartars (early Mongols, Manchus, etc.) drive many of the Hiung-nu (Early Turks) west, and to this period of pressure doubtless belongs the gradual emigration still farther westward of the Avars and Huns—as we called them in Europe.

For three centuries (300-600) the whole of North China was, off and on, in the hands of *soi-disant* "imperial" Tibetans and Tartars, and for two of these centuries (386-580) the half-civilized Mongoloid Toba dynasty of "North Wei" ruled very effectively as Emperors of North China, whilst purer Chinese dynasties carried purer civilization across the river Yangtze, and established a rival administration and a more literary centre at Nanking. None of these southern dynasties had anything whatever to do with the Far West, and for a long time even the northern dynasty declined to embarrass itself with those Western Asian complications which, it confessed, had proved so steadily troublesome to the Han dynasties (200 B.C. to A.D. 200). However, towards the middle of the fifth century, after the return of the Chinese pilgrim, Fah Hien, from his fifteen years' wanderings in the Tarim Valley, India, and Java, it was decided to despatch a number of political travellers to report upon the less-known, because now forgotten, regions of the Far West. Arriving amongst the Wu-sun of Ili, the ambassadors were informed that Fergana (as Kokand was now called) and Chesh (Tashkend, apparently now the capital of the northern part of old K'ang-kü) wished to be on good terms with China ;

guides and interpreters were furnished as in the days of yore, and the travellers were duly passed on to, and were well received in, those two States. Thus did history repeat itself after an interval of 600 years. It appears that at this time the wars with Persia had considerably enfeebled the Indo-Scythian power, and that by some process (not clearly traceable) further Turkoid migrations from the original seats of the Ta-yüeh-chi in the East had not only reinforced and even transplaced their kinsmen, the Ta-yüeh-chi, who had long been settled on the Oxus and Indus, but had superimposed upon the whole trans-Pamir region the new tribal or dynastic name of Eptal, or Ephthalite—an eponymous designation taken, in Turkish style, from the personal name of a doughty warrior. Most of the imperial clans of the Hiung-nu had been driven far to the West, and had been replaced in Mongolia by a new ruling power called the Jou-jan (mistakenly supposed by Gibbon, and others following his lead, to be the Avars); but a Hiung-nu ruler, still bearing the ancient title of *Jenuye*, had continuously ruled somewhere in the Balkash region, and he is distinctly stated to have been the lineal representative of those Hiung-nu who had, as above recounted, fled west in A.D. 88. He was civilized, and on good terms with his Eptal neighbours to the south-west; but not at all so with his uncouth Jou-jan neighbours to the east. The name of his State was Yüeh-pan (Evar, or Avar), and it was 1,600 miles to the east of Sogd; the language was similar to the "High Cart" language (*i.e.*, to Ouigour Turk). Subsequent to 464 these Avars are never once mentioned by the Chinese, and they apparently took a century to work their way across Sarmatia to Constantinople.* The Hiung-nu who had preceded the Avars, and who had been driven at least as far as the Aral in 36 B.C., are almost certain to have mixed with the Sarmatians, and to have been the Huns

* See "China, the Avars, and the Franks," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1902, and "The Turks joining European and Asian Civilizations," *ibid.*, April, 1904, in which full evidence is given in support of these views.

who in the fourth century A.D. invaded Europe and tried conclusions with Hermanric the Goth.*

Amongst the West Asian powers who during the fifth century sent envoys to North China, were Chesh, the Avars, and the Sogdians. The State of Sogd (Suk-têh) had been conquered by the Hiung-nu, and their King (whom Dr. F. Hirth boldly endeavours to identify with the Hun Hernax) was the third ruler of the new dynasty when the Chinese opened communications. The southern part of old K'ang-kü, now called K'ang, never once sent envoys to China (a spurious gloss to the contrary has been disproved); together with Khoten, Kashgar, and Bokhara, it was then under the dominion, or at least the suzerainty, of the Eptals; who, however, themselves at that time sent many missions to China, and either allowed or failed to prevent the same action by their other sub-States; from which fact it seems likely that the Zarafshan valley was part of their central dominion, and that Persian pressure made Chinese friendship desirable to them. But there is some confusion in the loose Chinese nomenclature, for a country called Sih-wan-kin † (Sa-mar-kent), with a capital city of the same name, is mentioned as though it had an independent existence apart from K'ang. It is also noticeable that the old name of Arsac (Parthia) is now used to indicate the Merv and Bokhara region as a separate State, but under Eptal suzerainty.

The Turks (a tribe of Hiung-nu) annihilated both the Jou-jan and the Eptal powers about the middle of the sixth century; and, as the Avars (Yüeh-pan) lay at the north-eastern and north-western apex of the Eptal and Jou-jan dominions, it necessarily follows that the Turks must have swept up or driven forward any remains of the Avars lying between them and Constantinople, whither

* See the twenty-sixth chapter of "Gibbon" for the progress of the Huns through the country of the Alani and Roxolani.

† This syllable *sik* is the same as that used in the word *têh-sik* (*terzai*, or Christians), and even now *wan* is pronounced *man* in Cantonese and many other modern Chinese dialects. Cf. also *An-sik* for *Arsac*.

they promptly hastened in order to demand the surrender of the surviving Avars, arrived in advance of them, from the Emperor Justin. In other words, the humble Hiung-nu slave tribe of "Türk," left behind on the Chinese frontier, when the stronger Huns and Avars were driven west in 36 B.C., and A.D. 88, had gradually developed; had overthrown its tyrannous Jou-jan masters and its Eptal rivals; had interfered in Persian affairs; and had possessed itself of the whole line of practicable pasture between the Volga and the Amur. In the early part of the seventh century, the Kings of Bokhara and Khargân, on the Zarafshan, claimed to be the twentieth and tenth of their lines respectively, so that both Eptals and Turks must have left these and the other States much to their own devices, subject to good behaviour. The Western* Turks dominated the valleys of the Ili, Chu, Jaxartes, Zarafshan, and Oxus; their kinsmen (and usually enemies), the Northern or Eastern Turks, harried China and dominated Mongolia; the Tarim and Ili Valleys were the chief bones of contention between the rival Turks, who, however, belonged to one and the same family of Ashino.

The Tobas, however, never had any forceful influence in Western High Asia, and their career in China was ended when the Turks were first heard of under that name (550). When China was reunited under the short-lived Sui dynasty (581-618), and still more firmly under powerful T'ang house (618-906), it was found that the Western Turk Tardu (who is clearly mentioned at that date by the Greek authors) had given his daughter in marriage to the King of K'ang: this ruler had under him the sub-kings of Maimargh, Kesh, Kabûdhan, Koshânya, Bokhara, Khargân, Nakhshab, Âmol (Chardjui), and an unidentified place sixty miles south-west of Chardjui called A-na-hoh. All these kings belonged to the "Chao-wu" family (which has been speculatively identified with the *Siyâwû* of Western authors), taking this name from a place near Kan Chou, in China, whence the Ta-yüeh-chî started on their first migration, in or about

* See "Western Turks," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903.

160 B.C. Thus it would seem that the Turks had left part of the Eptals to govern their old patrimony as vassal, and also as mesne-suzerain, kings ; for, as the chief king wore a "pigtail," it is to be presumed that the Turks (like the modern Manchus) imposed this Tartar appendage upon their subjects of the Oxus, who are never stated to have worn pigtails before. All the places named above had formed part of old K'ang-kü, except Bokhara, Âmol, and A-na-hoh, which had belonged to ancient Parthia. But the capital city A-lan-mit (*Râmêthan*), in Bokhara had been part of the old K'ang-kü. Another capital, Numeshkath, had, in Toba times, also given the whole State its name (Niu-mit). Besides Buddhism, the religions of Mazdéism and Christianity flourished, or, at least, were tolerated in Turkish dominions.*

A considerable change must now have taken place in the manners of the people, for the description of the deep-eyed, bearded inhabitants—their carpets and rugs, the *Hu* (Hindu or Tartar) "sideways writing," the cotton clothes, vegetable gardens, stores of grape-wine, the "fat" country, the huckstering habits, and so on—corresponds pretty closely with what the older histories said of Parthia and Kokand, and suggests a gradually increasing influx of the Persian or Sart elements from the south. The kings bore an hereditary title, the Chinese transliteration of which suggests the sound *Sibir* ; but the marriage and funeral customs were Turkish—probably alluding only to the governing and representative classes. The chief King's capital was A-luh-tih city, on the river Sah-pao, both names, unfortunately, quite unidentifiable. The sub-kings' respective towns are easily identified, for in most cases the new Turkish or Persian name is given, together with the

* See "Early Christian Road to China," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1903. The worship of the *têh-sih* spirit is specifically mentioned in K'ang (Samarcand), Central Ts'ao (Kabûdhan), and Western Ts'ao (Ishtikhan). The pilgrim Hsüan Chwang found fire-worship among the West Turks (seventh century). The Ouigour Turks adopted Manicheism, and ultimately took it under their protection in their relations with China.

older Chinese, and the distances, directions, and banks of rivers indicated enable us to be quite sure.

A little later, just at the beginning of the seventh century, Stone State (*i.e.*, "*Tash* city" or Tashkent*) is described as being quite a separate State, annexed by the Turks, and with no reference made to the earlier names of Chesh and K'ang-kü. Indeed, in one place it is said to have been the northern part of old Ta-wan (Kokand), and its chief city, at the same time one of the five sub-States of old K'ang-kü. K'ang is plainly stated to be both the ancient K'ang-kü and the Sih-wan-kin of the Toba dynasty, now also called Sah-moh-kien. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Hsuan Chwang, also gives it this name (630). The Turkish conquest of the Eptals is mentioned, and two more subject States are added to the K'ang domain, to wit, Khwârizm and Wardân. Even Shao-shi-fên, the name of King Shanushfar of Khwârizm has been identified—*i.e.*, of the Chorasmi, whose ancestors assisted Spitamenes, and also of the Chinese Hwan-ts'ien State mentioned in 100 B.C. The King of Samarcand, who was married to a Turkish girl, is here named, but the girl is given to Tardu's grandson—probably in accordance with the Hiung-nu and Turkish custom that sons take over their deceased father's wives, except their natural mother. The influx of foreigners from the south is partly explained, for it is stated that the Brahmans manage the astrology of the State, and that the year begins with the twelfth moon—practically the Julian calendar. In 631, after China had utterly broken the power of the Eastern Turks, Samarcand offered her vassalage; but the Emperor, whose correspondence is on record, declined to accept such distant responsibilities. There were, however, half a dozen embassies to China between that date and 647, and in 657 the Chinese armies decisively routed the West Turks before the city of Tashkent. The Kings of Samarcand were henceforth

* The better opinion is that *Tash*, and therefore also *Shih* or "Stone," is a corruption of the ancient Jadj (the Chinese *Chesh*), twenty miles south-west of modern Tashkent.

nominated by China, and the Chinese accounts of the wars with the Arabs are amply confirmed by the "Arabian Livy," Al Tabarī (Persian version), who finished his history in A.D. 914.* For instance, the Chinese Tuk-so Pot-t'i who was patented in 691 is the Arabo-Persian Tugshad Patt (a name also borne by the King of Bokhara in 726), and his son Ni-nieh-shī-shī bears the same unidentified name as Ni-nieh-shī, son of the Persian Sassanide King Piruz, who died in China about the year 680. His son, T'uh-hun, has been identified by Marquardt with Tabarī's "Tarkôn, King of Sogd," whose successor U-lék-k'a, is Tabarī's "Ghurek, King of Samarcand." Ghurek unsuccessfully attempted to obtain China's assistance against the Arabs (the Chinese actually mention the Arab General, Emir Kotaiba, under the disguise I-mi K'ü-ti-po); and in a letter to China, dated in the spring of 719, Ghurek mentions Kotaiba's coming "here" (Samarcand) "six years ago" (the siege lasted from October, 711, to October, 712), "after thirty-five years of warfare." When the Arabs killed I-sz-hou (Yezdegerd, father of Piruz) in 654, they captured Maimargh, and in 731, Ghurek's request that two of his sons might be appointed sub-kings of Maimargh and Kabûdhan respectively was granted. One of these sons, Tuh-hot (? Tukhar), ultimately succeeded Ghurek on the Samarcand throne, and sent an official of *moh-ye-mên* (?) rank as envoy to China. This Persian (?) status is mentioned in connection with one of the other States. The last recorded Samarcand mission to China was in 772, after which the Ouigour Turks and the Tibetans dominated all the country between China and the Far West, and distracted China even found a third dangerous enemy in the Nan-shao (old Siamese) empire of Yün Nan. In the year 801, the Siamese† (who had not yet migrated in force to the Ménam Valley) captured a number

* For all particulars, see Chavannes' "Turcs Occidentaux" (Luzac and Co., 1903), and Barthold's "Altürkischen Inschriften und die Arabischen Quellen" (Russian Imperial Academy, 1899). The Chinese make out that in the year 713 both Tashkent and Samarcand were Arab vassal States.

† See "Siam," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1897.

of Abbasside Arab and Samarcand troops who were fighting on the Tibetan side.* After this the Arabs seem to have fallen out with the Tibetans, for the Chinese state that in 785-805 the Caliph Holun (Harún-al-Rashid) who had succeeded his brother Mou-ts'i (Musa), by his rivalry with the Tibetans kept these latter marauders off the Chinese frontier, and the cowed Chinese were only too glad to leave the troublesome Far West to "cook in its own juice" once more. During the tenth century the Arab writer Ebn Haikal writes of the "Sogd of Samarcand."

The once great T'ang dynasty (618-906) now gradually collapsed; the greater part of North China was ruled for half a century by Kitan (Cathayan or Mongoloid), and Turkish Emperors (Ongut branch); the great Sung dynasty (Marco Polo's "Manzi," 960-1260), whilst reuniting most of China, determined to have as little as possible to do with distant adventure in any direction, and we hear absolutely nothing of Samarcand (during the tenth century under the Samanides, during the eleventh and part of the twelfth under the Seldjuks, and during part of the twelfth under the Karakitans) until first of all the Cathayans fly west, and next Genghis Khan sweeps away the Tartar rivals of the Manzi in the north; runs foul of the "King of the Mussulmans" (Sultan of Khwârizm) in the Far West; and advancing in 1219 from the River Irtysh, crosses the Jaxartes, captures Bokhara (March, 1220), and takes Samarcand (April, 1220), which was garrisoned by 40,000† troops, "mostly Kankalis."‡ Genghis left in charge at Samarcand a Cathayan from China of the ex-royal house named Ye-lüh A-hai, who, however, soon after died there. We are indebted to another distinguished Cathayan in Genghis' service (Ye-lüh Ch'u-ts'ai) for a history of

* See "How the Tibetans Grew," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1904.

† I follow Bretschneider; other accounts say the garrison numbered 200,000.

‡ I believe many Orientalists suppose this word to be etymologically connected with K'ang. Another Chinese name for Na-shik-p'o or Naksheb had been Nok-shik-po-lo (? Nakshe-pura), later called Lesser Kesh, because Kesh had subdued it.

Genghis' campaigns. During Genghis' absence at his summer quarters, between Samarcand and Naksheb, the Sultan of the Kipchaks defeated the Turkoid Naimans and reoccupied Samarcand; but he precipitately evacuated the place when Genghis, having been unsuccessful on the Indus, massacred a second time the population of Balkh, crossed the Oxus to Bokhara, and made for Samarcand, where he wintered (1223-1224).

The Chinese have no records whatever of the doings of the Soffarides, Samanides, Seldjuks, and other Turks during this "off" period of 400 years (800-1200). When the Nüchên Tartar dynasty (1115-1234), which succeeded the Cathayan dynasty (907-1122) in the Peking plain and in North China, was firmly established, the distinguished Cathayan Prince Ye-lüh Ta-shih* gradually fought his way past the Ouigour Turks and "all the Western kingdoms," right away to Semiskan (Sîm-sz-kan), where in 1124-1125 he achieved a great victory, and received the submission and tribute of "the Mussulman† King." It is significant that he styled the reign-year 1226 *K'ang Kwoh*, or "Glorious Kingdom," evidently a pun on the words "State of K'ang." After three months' rest, he went on westwards with his victorious host, and even founded an empire in K'i-r-man,‡ thus completely displacing the various Seldjuks. They were succeeded in Khwârizm by the Seldjuk slave governor Cothbeddin Mahommed, who

* This Cathayan himself says the word "Semiscant" means *fei*, or "fat," which, in fact, is translated in Turkish by *semiz*. The Chinese historians of Genghis' wars call it Sie-mi-sz-kan. The Persian syllable *kan* (*kent* or *cand*) has probably nothing etymologically to do with *K'ang* or *K'ang-kü*, which are both likely to be the *Cangitæ* of Carpini, and the *Kankly* of the Arabo-Persian authors.

† This is the first time the term *Hwei-hwei*—the only universally-known Chinese term for "Mussulman"—ever appears in history (see "China and Religion," John Murray, p. 146).

‡ See Sykes's "Persia" (John Murray) on the Kitan tomb remains still existing at Kerman in South Persia. Dr. Bretschneider erroneously concluded that Kermané near Bokhara was meant, not believing the Cathayans could have gone so far.

founded a new dynasty there. It was his great-great-grandson who was ousted by Genghis Khan as above described.

Samarcand was repeatedly visited by Europeans in Genghis Khan's time ; it was the seat of a Latin Bishop, and also possessed a Nestorian church. The Christians of the day styled it Semiscant ; and Haithon, King of Armenia, who visited Tartary, called it Semergent. The Taoist monk, who was sent for from China by Genghis, calls it Ho-chung Fu—*i.e.*, "Mid-river Prefecture," or (a second) Mesopotamia ; *i.e.*, "Between the Rivers (Oxus and Jaxartes)," or the Arabic *Bein-naharein*. Marco Polo mentions a Christian governor of Chinkiang in China, named Mar Sarghiz, from "Samarcan," and he also mentions a hanging pillar in a temple there. These statements are confirmed in a striking manner by the Russian Archimandrite Palladius* (Ivanovitch Kaporoff), who about twenty years ago discovered confirmation of both assertions in a Chinese work on Chinkiang. As Marco Polo points out, Samarcand was in the hostile hands of Kublai's cousin, one of Jagatai's descendants, and nothing more is heard of it in Chinese history until 1308, when the Mongol Emperor Hayshan sends an envoy thither. A return missionary named Eleman Ghazan came to Peking from Samarcand, bringing with him a census of the place as it was in Genghis' time. The Mongol envoy Seridai Temchu took the opportunity to make modifications in the dates upon which taxes—or, perhaps, tribute—were payable by Samarcand, Tashkend, and Talas.

It is curious to find that the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) places Sa-ma-r-han State in the Cabul Valley, and identifies it with the Ki-pin (Cophene) of 1,300 years previous, and with the Ts'ao (Ghazna of Zâbulistân) of 700 years

* See "China and Religion," p. 184. In the Escorial near Madrid there is a similar marvellous central pillar, which appears to support the whole roof, like the pillar in the chapter-house of Westminster ; but you can insert a sheet of paper between the pillar and the plinth. I have seen it done myself.

previous. But this is not extraordinary, considering* that Tamerlane was so called from the wound he received in Afghanistan, and that his son's capital was at Herat. The history of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) contains quite a long account of "Son-in-law Timur," who must therefore have married a princess of the supreme Mongol house, or possibly a daughter of the Jagatai Sultan Kazan—his master before he himself was elected. Having driven out the Mongols, the Ming Emperor at once sent to "summon" all and sundry to do homage. Timur took no notice of this for twenty years, but in 1387 he despatched the *mollah* Hafiz with "tribute"† of fifteen horses and two camels. His subjects for many years drove a lucrative horse trade with the Chinese frontier merchants, as the Hiung-nu, Turks, and Ouigours had always done before. Owing to 1,200 of his merchants scattered about all over China having been sent back, Tamerlane wrote a long letter of remonstrance, which is still on record; its literary graces secured the commendation of the Emperor, who sent back a gracious—rather too gracious—reply in 1395. The exacting Chinese envoy, however, was detained for ten years in Samarcand, and in 1405 the alarming news came that Tamerlane, with a view to restoring a Mongol dynasty, was marching upon China by way of Bishpalik, where precautions were at once ordered to be taken. But, luckily for China, he never reached Bishpalik, having, at the ripe age of seventy, breathed his last at Otrar, the identical town where, two centuries before, Mahommed of Khwârisim had caused Genghis Khan's envoys to be murdered, and had thus caused the conquest of the West. His grandson, Ha-li (Khálil) sent the Chinese ambassador safely back, on which the mollified Emperor despatched an envoy to sacrifice—equivalent to our "laying a wreath"—on Timur's

* See "China and the Cabul Valley," in the *English History Review* for October, 1905.

† The "Encyclopædia Britannica" is wrong in saying Timur's capital fell later on into the hands of the Chinese.

tomb. The Castilian envoy Clavijo was at Timur's Court the year before the latter's death; he calls it "Cimesquinte," or "Great City." Schildberger was also there, and has left an account of his experiences. For many years after this, friendly missions were exchanged; but, according to the lengthy Chinese accounts, the Samarcand envoys always displayed an overreaching, chaffering, and greedy tendency throughout. Their usual route was the most northerly one, through Turfan, but on at least one occasion they chose the sea route *viâ* Canton, buying up handsome girls as they went. Between 1407 and 1618 Samarcand sent over forty missions to China, and a number of kings are named whose Chinese disguises are not always easy to penetrate in the Western annals—*e g.*, Ulupê Gurkhan (1435); Busaïn (1457); Sultan Musa (a little later); Achmat (1487), etc. Abdullah Khan in 1538 was the last great ruler of Samarcand and Bokhara combined. First the Kirghis, and then (1700) the Eleuths, exercised a sort of domination over it; then it fell to Bokhara. The Empire of Shah Rukh is treated by the Chinese as though it were quite a separate country. Tashkend, Sairam, Yangi, Kesh, Termed, Bokhara, Bishpalik, Andkhui, Badakshan, and Herat are all specially described, and there is much more of interest to say about Timur, his relatives, his vassals, and his descendants; but the specific object of this paper is to treat historically of Samarcand, and space is sternly limited.

During 400 years (1440-1840) we in Europe have also had our "off" season with Samarcand, during which no Western accounts whatever have appeared. According to Dr. Sven Hedin, however, in 1620 a Russian envoy, Khokhloff, went there, and also in or about 1795 a Russian officer named Yefremoff. The same authority mentions a revolt in 1722 against Abul Feiz Khan, on the ground that he had failed to take his seat on the *kok tash*, or "holy stone," preserved in a saint's tomb there, near Tamerlane's tomb. A Russian scientific mission went to Samarcand in 1841; Vambéry visited the place in 1863; and in 1866 it was

occupied by the Russians under General Kaufmann, who suppressed a revolt in 1868. An account of the more recent Trans-Pamir dealings of the Manchu dynasty was given by myself in the *Contemporary Review* for December, 1896 ; but Kokand and Bokhara seem to be the only powers in that region taken seriously by the Chinese. We may revert to the later history of Samarcand again.

THE YUNAN EXPEDITION OF 1875, AND THE CHEEFOO CONVENTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF COLONEL (NOW GENERAL)
HORACE A. BROWNE.

(Continued from p. 354, April, 1906.)

January 29.—I consider that the farce has lasted long enough, so I ride into Bhamo to see if mules cannot be procured to go by the upper route. Cooke, accompanied by a Tsa-re-daw-gyee, goes to Tse-kaw to see about them, and I engage boats to carry our baggage from Sawaddy to that place, but direct them not to put in an appearance before to-morrow morning, lest the Kakhyengs, on seeing them, should bolt with our baggage during the night. The Won anticipates difficulties, and says that the Kakhyengs will not give up our things unless a stronger force is on the spot, so he is going to send reinforcements.

January 30.—I summon the Tsawbwa and his followers to a solemn audience. With the sternest voice and the most severe countenance I can assume, I enumerate my grievances against them. Here we have been for a week, and our departure seems as far off as ever. Our provisions are being consumed, and we cannot live on rice alone. The Tsawbwa's first statement that he had arranged with the other Tsawbwes for our passage is not true. I have therefore abandoned my idea of going by this route. The Tsawbwa replied that he was angry when he refused to accompany us. Now he is ready to do so. The bullocks having come, their hire must be paid. I demurred to paying for bullocks whose owners refused to start, but as I knew that the Pawmaings had been put to some expense, I would make them a small present if our baggage is brought back at once.

Whether it was in consequence of my threatening mien,

or the promise of a present, or the knowledge that a large Burman force was at hand, or a combination of all three causes, I know not, but in a very short time I had the satisfaction of finding that our boxes had all, with the exception of course of what the Kakhyengs had already stolen, been brought back to our encampment. We had no time to verify the exact amount of our losses by theft, but it was considerable. Sugar and salt had all gone. Of brandy they left us a little. The Sikhs' provision boxes had all had holes drilled in them, and specimens of their contents extracted. The holes, it must be admitted, had been most considerably stopped up with rags. Moungh Mo was in such a fright that he absolutely refused to convey my remonstrances to the Kakhyengs in their own language, and when I found other means of making my feelings known to them, they blandly smiled and assured me it was quite a mistake to suppose that they were the culprits. The most one could do was to congratulate one's self that things were no worse.

January 31.—The Pawmaings appear in the morning without the Tsawbwa, who sends word to say he is going to send me an explanatory letter. I wonder what this will contain. If the Burmans have really been instigating the Kakhyengs to thwart us, the Tsawbwa will no doubt say so.

The baggage having gone we ride into Bhamo. I find that the Won, in his anxiety for our safety, has been collecting a naval force—that is, he has put some gingals into boats which he has manned with 300 men, who now to their great delight can go back to their homes.

I hear that the Tsawbwas on the upper route are ready to bring in mules.

Moungh Yo, my Yunan Chinaman receives the congratulations of his countrymen on his getting back safe from Sawaddy. They have themselves, they say, tried this route, but were robbed of everything.

February 1.—Two petty Tsawbwas of the Central route have just returned from a visit to Mandalay, where, in

consequence of the King's Embassy having been safely conveyed through their territories, they have been decorated with golden phylacteries, on which are inscribed their titles, and golden umbrellas. Ponies also with gilded saddle-flaps and housings have been bestowed upon them, and in these they paraded through the town this morning, preceded by heralds proclaiming their titles. The taste for decorations and gewgaws of this kind, it seems, is not a product of civilization, but rather a relic of barbarism.

February 2.—After having, at Cooke's suggestion, changed all my coin into Chinese silver lumps, I find that since my arrival there has been a complete revulsion of popular feeling on the subject. Some brand new effigies of Her Majesty have so taken the Kakhyengs' fancy, especially the women's, that all now are anxious to have them. But now the Chinese money-changers declare that they have sent all my rupees away.

February 3.—That slaves are still bought and sold in Upper Burma is a well-known fact, but slavery is not an offensively prominent factor in Burmese social life, and has never come under my notice till to-day, when a little girl was offered to me for sale by a Burman woman, the price demanded being Rs. 45. The unfortunate creature appeared to be half starved. The father had been killed by Kakhyengs, who captured the girl and her mother and brought them in for sale. The mother had already been sold.

I have been considering the advisability of riding up accompanied only by Margary, through the Kakhyeng Hills to Manwaing on the Chinese frontier, leaving the baggage and the others to follow. The Won earnestly dissuades me from doing anything of the kind. A big man, he says, would be as valuable to the Kakhyengs as our baggage, and if I went he might have to send an army to rescue me from captivity.

There arrives a man from the Sawaddy route to say that the Tsawbwa holds a letter from the Burmese authorities which will explain his conduct, and this he will show to

Cooke if Cooke will visit his village. This is vague and mysterious, but shows that the Kakhyengs want to impute our failure to the Burmans.

February 6.—Our baggage having arrived at Tsekaw, I ride up there a distance of fifteen miles, along the tortuous course of the Tapeng River, which one has to cross three times. Before leaving Bhamo I learnt that a Russian traveller named Lenewkow or Leneffkoff arrived there yesterday. I was curious to know what his business was, but could not ascertain before I left. Russians are not given to wandering about without a purpose like simple English globe-trotters.

February 7.—I commence my palavers with the Kakhyengs of this route. They are divided into two principal clans—the Lakwons and the Atsees, but the number of Tsawbwas is more than a dozen. At the time of the last expedition only three chiefs of note—viz., Poonlien, Poontsee, and Tsarai were met with, but now that trade is reviving the Tsawbwa's business has been found to be profitable, and some fifteen heads of villages have set up as free and independent Tsawbwas, entitled to have their say to all caravans passing between Tsekaw and Manwaing. The chief Tsawbwas of the Lakwons are Poonlien, Poontse, and Tsarai, and the head of the Atsees is Wonkaw.

About mid-day the Poonlien Tsawbwa stalked into the monastery where we were staying. Over his head was borne a gold umbrella, conferred upon him by the King of Burma, and on his head was a greasy old felt hat surmounted by a brass button, a distinction given to him, he says, by the Emperor of China. Of this decoration he is inordinately proud, though it is one which is bestowed, as Margary informs me, upon petty officials, such as corporals, peons, etc.

This Tsawbwa is one of the dirtiest and most repulsive specimens of his race, which is saying a good deal. He awkwardly poked out a filthy fist to shake which was rather

repugnant to one's feelings, and then squatted down on a chair with his feet on the seat. At first he was sulky and reticent, and tried to do the *grand seigneur*, but, after imbibing a good part of a bottle of brandy, he became more communicative. He took his liquor neat, as water, he said, destroyed its flavour, which he admitted to be excellent. Margary addressed him in Chinese, which so astonished him that he dropped for a moment the dignified air which he had been trying to keep up. He had no idea that there were any Europeans acquainted with this tongue. At first he replied volubly enough, but then the idea appeared to cross his mind that the Burmans might not like his communicating with us in this manner, so he excused himself on the plea that Margary spoke the Court language. The Imperial passport was then exhibited to him, but though he wears the brass button this did not appear to impress him much.

There being sixty-three Kakhyengs present we commenced to talk business. The result was that we are to be supplied with mules from here to Manwaing at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ tickals each, plus Customs dues at 5 tickals per load. This last item appeared to me to be exorbitant, and I informed them that though I should not object to pay a little more than a trader the sum demanded was preposterous. On this a Pawmaing remarked that when the Emperor of China or the King of Burma sent anything across their hills this rate was always paid, and they, the Kakhyengs, did not like to make invidious distinctions between their monarchs and the Queen of England. I replied I was willing to pay at the same rate as His Burman Majesty, and I should like to know what this rate was. None of the Burmans could or would give any information of this point, saying that all such arrangements were left to the King's agents at Manwaing. The point therefore was left for subsequent discussion.

It is agreed that all the Tsawbwas on our line of march are to come here on the twelfth instant, to take an

oath of fidelity, and we are to start immediately afterwards.

At the close of the conference the Tsa-re-daw-gyee announced to the Kakhyengs for the first time that he was going to accompany us with a force of 400 men. This may have dispelled visions of loot, and did not seem to please them.

I was not sorry when the long palaver was over, as Kakhyengs' society manners have a striking likeness to those of monkeys. We unfortunately had no insecticide, but luckily the doctor had some eau-de-cologne. I then had a conversation with one of the Chinese traders here. His concise description of the Kakhyengs is that they are "dogs." They are utterly untrustworthy. The merchants have to bribe them heavily to let their caravans pass, and it often happens that the men they bribe most heavily are the very men who loot them. Half the caravans this year have been attacked. Some hundred years ago, he said, the Emperor of China, tired of the complaints made, ordered that four of the savages should be buried alive under each of the gates of Momien. This was done, and the Kakhyeng nuisance was abated for many years. Since the Mohammedan rebellion they have commenced their old practices, and until the Emperor repeats his order the road will never be safe.

I have decided to let Elias alone explore and survey the Sawaddy route. The Tsawbwa there having invited Cooke to go to his village to inspect the document, which, he says, will show that the Burmans and not the Kakhyengs are responsible for our check on this line; the opportunity will be a good one for sending Elias with him. As he will travel without any valuable baggage to attract the cupidity of the Kakhyengs, he may get through and rejoin us at Momien or Yoonchang.

February 8.—I have a visit from the son of the Poonlien Tsawbwa, a boy of about fourteen. He has been in charge of the Won of Bhamo, who was instructed by the King to

endeavour to educate and civilize him. The Won deserves credit for the improvement he has effected in him. The boy is actually clean and reads a little. His sister is in the royal harem at Mandalay. He has returned to his father, but has now been called in to serve as a hostage for our safe passage. Another Tsawbwa, the Wonkaw man, comes in to-day. He is a trifle cleaner and more intelligent than the others. I paid him subsistence money for his followers, at the same rate as the others—viz., R. 1 per head. One of these men remarked that the Kakhyengs were a numerous people, and those off the line of march would probably be angry if they did not get the same as the others. I at once repudiated the idea of subventioning the whole of the nation, and said I should treat only with the chiefs along the road. These are numerous enough—fifteen of them between this and Manwaing, a distance of forty miles. The Wonkaw asked to see the Imperial passport, and this appeared to impress him more than it did the Poonlien man.

February 9.—A lot of Kakhyengs have been loafing about our encampment all day, peering curiously into everything and taking a mental inventory of all our belongings. We treated them to some shocks from a galvanic battery. The Poontsee Pawmaing proved to be a man of strong nerve, as he stood the strongest shocks without wincing.

I had a visit from Wong, a substantial and pleasant-looking Chinaman, who has resided here for many years. It is a pleasant change talking to a clean, polite, and intelligent Chinaman after several hours chatter with savages. He believes that Li-ssu (Li-tsee-ta-he), who is a strong man, will eventually be able to control the Kakhyengs. He has already, partly by bribes and partly by threats, made them quieter than they were. From him I learn that the amount of "Pouk-to" (this seems to be the Chinese word for blackmail adopted by the Burmese) paid to the Kakhyengs is three mace per mule-load. This is about one rupee, whilst the Kakhyengs wanted to make me pay Rs. 5.

I have not hitherto said anything here about the 1 per cent. transit duty on goods intended for China provided for by our treaty with Burma, but mentioned it now to Wong, who had never heard of it before. He said, however, that it would not be of much use at present, as, since the rebellion merchants with large capital do not exist in Yunan; there is no one there who can send down more than twenty or thirty mule-loads at a time. When trade has revived, this treaty provision will be very useful. At present, in the absence of merchants, the officials are taking to trade, and to this the merchants do not object, as the fact of these bigwigs being interested in the safety of a caravan is an additional protection.

February 10.—The Tsaredawgyee informs me that when he conveyed the King's Embassy to China, the Ambassador presented each man of the guard with a red turban, the effect of which was to "make the hills blossom like a garden of flowers." This is a hint to me to do likewise; and, as the poor Burmans suffer by our presence here, a tax of Rs. 2 per house having been levied to pay for our escort, I take the hint.

February 11.—We are favoured to-day by the visits of numerous specimens of the "fair" (?) sex, who have accompanied the Tsawbwas. They are as dirty and repulsive as their lords and masters. They bring presents of yams and "sheroo" (rice beer), and get in return glass beads and two-anna pieces. They are anxious to see and try the galvanic battery.

It appears that the Kakhyengs intend the "oath of fidelity ceremony" to be attended with the slaughter of bullocks and buffaloes. Against this I make a protest. Neither the Burmans or Chinese have given in to the Kakhyengs by adopting this custom, and I do not think that taking part in these rites adds to the dignity or prestige of British officers, especially when it is very repugnant to the Burmans to have these sacrifices performed on their territory. After all, the system appears to be but a cunning

device on the part of the Kakhyengs for getting a good meat dinner, and if they get money to buy pork with they will probably be just as well satisfied.

February 12.—The Won arrives and invites me to preside at a plenary conference with all the Kakhyeng Tsawbwas. They are asked whether they will guarantee the expedition when passing through their territory against all attacks. The answer was a unanimous "Yes." They will take every care of us provided we give them plenty of presents. I promise them presents on our safe arrival at Manwaing. An agreement to this effect was duly drawn up in Burmese and signed. As far as words go, nothing can be more satisfactory than the behaviour of the Kakhyengs on this route, but, as the Won remarks, "their words in the plains and their acts in the hills are often widely different." The Won has got the Poonlien's son as a hostage, and has demanded two others from Poontsee and Tsarai.

February 13 and 14.—I have to defend my money-bags against the insidious assaults of the Tsawbwas. They began by asking that the whole of the mule-hire should be paid in advance. Then they wanted half of it, and at last they would be satisfied with some presents which they might display when going through their hills. To all these proposals I turn a deaf ear, and consented only to give them Rs. 50 wherewith to make preparations for the oath of fidelity ceremony. They promise to pack to-morrow and start the day after.

The Chinamen here are getting quite cordial and communicative. They state they were suspicious about our intentions at first, as they thought we were of the same religion as, and allied to, the Panthays. These suspicions they find were unfounded. Believing us now to be well affected to the Imperial Government they will be pleased to aid us in opening out a trade route. But there will be no trade to speak of, they say, until the Kakhyeng nuisance is put down. They have hopes of this being done from

the Chinese side, but expect no assistance from the Burmans, who, they say, are an idle race and afraid of the savages. "Do not believe," one of them said, "that the Burmans really wish you to succeed. They will help you from fear of you, but they hope you will fail. They well know that if you and the big Chinamen put their heads together, they (the Burmans) will be pinched up as in a vice; they will encourage the savages to make exorbitant demands, but don't give in, or you will make matters worse for yourselves and for us too. Do not be too familiar with the Kakhyengs, or they will despise you and fleece you. Do the big man and they will be afraid of you. Do not give them too much money, or you will spoil our business."

Some Chinese just arrived report that the Shans at Manwaing have received orders from the Governor of Momien to prepare for our reception.

February 15.—The Kakhyengs killed their sacrificial animals this morning. This was to have been done in an out-of-the-way place in the jungle, but by a coincidence, which can hardly have been accidental, a buffalo, after having had its throat cut, made straight for our camp, and was there despatched. The first thing I saw in the morning was the carcass being cut up in front of the monastery, and the head decorating one of the veranda posts. I am very angry at such a wanton insult being offered to the religious feelings of the Burmese and Shans.

The Poontsee Pawmaing appears and asks if we are not ready to start at once. I know he has no intention of starting at once, and that the question is put simply to give them an excuse to claim demurrage, so I tell him we are quite ready and are only waiting for the mules, whereupon he disappears.

In the evening the Wonkaw and others appear, to receive the advance which was promised them. I requested that all who were entitled to any part of it should attend. For some occult reason this did not suit them, and it was said that one man, the Poonlien Tsawbwa, was empowered to

receive the whole. This appeared to be a fact, and, after a complete understanding that no further demands would be made upon me till we reached Manwaing, I paid the amount, Rs. 700. The expression of the hideous Poonlien's face, as he grabbed at the silver, was a study for a physiognomist. He reminded me of a tiger pouncing on his prey, and a Shylock reaching for his pound of flesh, if such an animal as a Shylock with the nasal development of a gibbon can be imagined.

February 16.—We were ready to start at daylight, but the morning was spent in combating some more wily attempts to extort money from me. The mule-men come in slowly, and leisurely arrange their loads. Having taken the whole of the baggage, they calmly assert that the payment of the whole of the mule-hire is a necessary preliminary to a start. I do not attempt to argue, but shrug my shoulders and smile at the preposterous demand. When a Kakhyeng enters into a solemn engagement one day and breaks it the next, I find it is useless to remind him of his promise. That only infuriates him. The policy of *vis inertia* and unlimited patience is the best.

A characteristic incident showing the Kakhyengs' ideas about meum and tuum occurred to-day. Their pack-saddles are furnished with straps for securing the loads, but they discovered that we had a supply of rope with us, whereupon the straps disappeared and I was called upon to furnish rope. This vanished with marvellous rapidity, and I detected a roll of it hidden in a Kakhyeng's bag. Restitution being called for, the thief and his companions were highly indignant at his being deprived of the fruits of his industry. According to their code, the man who had been clever enough to transfer the rope from my basket to his bag was the lawful possessor, and I who tried to recover my property was the wrongdoer.

The Chinamen of the place are highly interested spectators of the struggles between myself and the Kakhyengs, and they applaud my tenacity. Justice and liberality, one

remarked, have an effect on these savages, exactly the reverse of that which they have on ordinary human beings. The possessor of these qualities, instead of being admired, is despised by them.

A rumour that the Poonlien has appropriated all the money I advanced him yesterday causes great excitement, so I force this Tsawbwa to come forward and make an equitable distribution on the spot.

Then it was declared that not only had the whole of the subsistence money which I had given been expended, but the mule-men had been obliged to contract debts in the village. The idea of any of these savages having been able to procure anything on credit in a Burman village was so absurdly improbable that the Tsaredawgyee settled this matter by promising to pay all such debts himself.

Then objections were made as to the size of some of our boxes, but on my stating that any such boxes I would leave behind, the objections were withdrawn.

The last cause of delay was that Poontsee had cheated Wonkaw by getting hold of more mule-loads than he had a right to. A vigorous fight of words and offensive gestures followed. Poontsee drew his sword, upon which the "Khyoung Oke," a very vigorous and useful Burmese officer, went at him and compelled him to sheathe his weapon and subside into silence.

At 4 p.m., or ten hours after we were ready to start, the Kakhyengs got under way, and we encamped for the night at the village of Tsehet at the foot of the hills. The Burmese escort squatted round the camp to prevent pilfering, and kept watch very well all night.

February 17.—The mule-men would not stir before 8 a.m. Immediately after leaving the village we commenced to ascend, and in an hour and a half we reached the first of the Burman guard-houses which have been established on this line. In another hour, after passing a second guard-house, we mount a ridge from which a splendid view is

obtained, and at noon we reach Poonlien's village and pass in front of his house. His wife, a fat, elderly woman, almost as repulsive a creature as the Tsawbwa himself, comes out to meet us. I give her some beads and silver pieces, after which she brings out some "sheroo," for which she demands payment, though the presents I had given her were fifty times the value of the beer.

At 1 p.m. we reached the fourth guard-house where we encamped, having come about fourteen miles. There were no great difficulties on the road anywhere. The highest point reached was 2,300 feet above sea-level.

The Wonkaw Tsawbwa has been at my side all day, singing his own praises and abusing Poonlien. It is satisfactory to find that jealousy exists among these Tsawbwaws. It is an additional security for us. The arrangements made to prevent desertion on the part of the mule-men have been effective. At each cross-road a Burman and a Kakhyeng sentry were posted to prevent the wrong road being taken.

The Tsaredawgyee, coming back from a visit to the Wonkaw's house, asks me not to start early to-morrow morning because the Wonkaw's wife wishes to pay us a visit. Moungh Yo afterwards suggests that the real reason for this request is that two unknown Kakhyengs have passed and spread a report that there will be difficulties for us on the road beyond Tsarai, and that the Burmans are greatly alarmed about this rumour.

February 18.—The Wonkaw's wife does not pay the promised visit, but the Tsaredawgyee appears and reports that certain Chinese and Shan robbers, whose rapacity has been excited by hearing of our valuable caravan, intend to attack us on the debatable ground between Tsarai and Manwaing. I surprise him by telling him that this rumour had already reached my ears, but I had not placed much reliance upon it. I suggested that as the threatened danger is beyond Tsarai, and as we are still some distance from that place, we should move on to it, as we should then

be in a better position to ascertain the truth. I further suggested that our fifteen Sikhs and his brave army of Burmans would be more than a match for any band of Chinese dacoits, and that the Chinese officials would certainly assist us. The Burmese officers present sided with me, and answered by approving shouts and gestures of defiance to an imaginary enemy.

"Yes," they said, "let them come. Where are the Chinese who would venture to face the soldiers of His Most Excellent Majesty, the Lord of the White Elephant? Let us advance and annihilate them."

But the more cautious Tsaredawgyee remarked that, although he thought there was not much danger to be feared, he had been ordered by His Majesty to "conduct us smoothly and pleasantly to the frontier," and if His Majesty heard that from any want of caution we had fallen in with bad men, he, the Tsaredawgyee would be disgraced. It was finally agreed that we should move on a couple of miles to the fifth Burman guard-house, and from thence send forward a small party to see if the road was clear.

This last guard-house we found on the bank of the Namhpoung River, which is here a rapid stream of clear sparkling water, fordable in most places, but with deep pools in others, running through a valley only a few hundred yards broad. This river may be considered to be the boundary between Burma and China, though the Burmese claim authority right up to Manwaing, and the Chinese, they say, have in an indirect way repeatedly acknowledged this claim; for when a Chinese official comes to Bhamo, he is invariably taken charge of by a Burmese Guard at Manwaing, just as Margary was.

As soon as we had encamped, two Tsawbwaws with a numerous following appear on the hills opposite, beating gongs and firing muskets. Our Sikhs, thinking this was a hostile demonstration, ran to their arms, but it turned out to be only a friendly salute.

All the Kakhyengs, except the Wonkaw, deride the

fears of the Burmans, and want to go on at once, as they are afraid of their rice running short. No provisions of any kind are obtainable in these hills. As the Kakhyengs live mainly on what they steal, and as when travellers are not abundant they rob one another, they do not grow enough grain for their own consumption, and what grain they have is never husked until the day on which it is to be cooked, in order to lessen the risk of its being stolen. To prevent the mule-men making their want of provisions an excuse for running away, I supply them with rice from our stores.

A Burman informs the Tsaredawgyee that he has just arrived from Manwaing, where he was informed by the King's cotton agents that Li-ssu is in league with the Tsarai Tsawbwa to prevent our entering China. I happened to meet this man on the road before he had seen the Tsaredawgyee, and was informed by him that all was well at Manwaing. Which of these two statements is false?

Margary, who met Li at Nanteng, and was so cordially received by him, utterly discredits this man's story, and wishes to go on at once to find out what is going on.

Moung Yo, Li's relative, derides the idea of Li, the faithful Chinese officer, opposing anyone who is travelling, as we are, under the protection of the Emperor's passport.

(To be continued.)

THE RURAL INDUSTRIES OF JAPAN.

BY J. ELLIS BARKER.

THE British nation is a nation of town-dwellers. It subsists chiefly on foreign food, and the food products raised in this country suffice to nourish only some ten million of people. Our dependence on foreign wheat, butter, cheese, eggs, meat, sugar, vegetables, fruit, etc., is complete, and has come to be considered as inevitable. In fact, we have so often been told that this country is too small and too densely populated to nourish its inhabitants with the produce of its soil that our statesmen, our political economists, and the majority of intelligent citizens look upon our dependence on foreign countries for the food we eat with complacency, and consider it as a matter of course. They see in this dependence a state of affairs which may perhaps be regrettable, inasmuch as it increases our vulnerability in case of war, and makes our population the prey of unscrupulous foreign speculators in food-stuffs, but which, all the same, cannot be helped. However, if this country were peopled by Japanese, it would be found self-sufficing, not for ten millions, but for more than a hundred million people. This assertion seems so startling and is so opposed to generally accepted ideas that it appears worth while to investigate how it is that the Japanese possess in their narrow islands such a wonderfully flourishing agriculture. Such an investigation may teach not a few valuable lessons to this country and its agriculturists.

The area of Japan is by about one-sixth larger than that of the United Kingdom, and the population of the island empire is by about one-tenth greater than is that of this country. Therefore it would appear at first sight that Great Britain and Japan are, as regards size and population, very similarly situated for the pursuit of agriculture.

In reality, however, the difference between the two countries is very great, and is as regards the successful pursuit of agriculture greatly in favour of this country. Owing to the mountainous nature of the ground and the natural barrenness of the soil, only about one-sixth of Japan, or an area smaller than that of Ireland, is cultivated, whilst three-fifths of Great Britain—namely, almost 48,000,000 acres out of a total of 77,681,644 acres are described as cultivated in our agricultural returns. As Japan raises on her cultivated area food sufficing for more than 40,000,000 people, Great Britain, the cultivated area of which is three times larger than that of Japan, should theoretically be able to raise on her soil food for at least 100,000,000 people, especially as climatic and meteorological conditions in this country are, on the whole, far more favourable to agriculture than they are in Japan.

The chief reason why the Japanese are able to raise more than ten times more food on a piece of ground than Englishmen seem able to produce lies in their industry, their frugality, their progressiveness, their application of science to the rural industries, their co-operation, and last, but not by any means least, in the wise and far-seeing protection and encouragement which are given by an energetic and able Government that is singularly free from fads and fancies, and possesses an open and intelligent mind, together with habits of business.

Japanese agriculture labours not only under the greatest natural disadvantages, such as the ruggedness and natural sterility of much of the arable soil which is usually found in volcanic countries, the limited extent of the arable land, the inclemency of the Japanese climate, the frequency of natural calamities, such as earthquakes, floods, etc., but also under great disadvantages of a different kind. There are about 4,800,000 families, or approximately 28,000,000 people engaged in farming in Japan, and most families till their own natural land being almost exclusively freehold, the plots are consequently exceedingly small.

The average holding of a farmer consists of two and a quarter acres of land or a little more than is contained in a square piece of ground of which each side is 100 yards long. Farms containing ten acres are exceedingly rare, and farming on horseback is unknown in Japan. The average Japanese farm is therefore no bigger than a very small suburban field is in England. But unfortunately the property of the Japanese farmer is not only exceedingly small, but is besides very much subdivided and scattered about hills and dales. Through the broken nature of the ground, and through frequent splitting, caused by inheritance and consequent division among children, etc., fields have gradually become exceedingly small and awkwardly shaped. The average size of a Japanese field is, according to official statistics, only about one-twentieth of an acre, or almost exactly half the size of a lawn-tennis-court, and the fields are frequently very far away from the farmer's dwelling-house. Consequently, farm-work is exceedingly laborious, many journeys to and fro from field to field have daily to be undertaken, the drainage and irrigation of the tiny, irregularly-shaped patches is difficult and costly, and the numerous footpaths which are necessary encroach severely upon the cultivable ground.

Therefore the Government resolved to come to the assistance of the farmer, and brought out a law for the adjustment of farm-lands, which came in force in January, 1900, and which has already led to numerous rearrangements of fields. The authorities encourage and assist, under the provisions of this law, exchanges of land between various owners with the object of enabling the farmers, by exchange and concession, and money payment where necessary, to acquire from their neighbours fields adjacent to their own, and thus gradually to obtain one compact field for their numerous scattered tiny plots.

Excellent progress has already been made in this direction, and in consequence of the rounding-off which has taken place, much unnecessary labour by going and carry-

ing to and fro is saved, much waste of time is avoided, farm animals and labour-saving machinery which were unusable on the small fields can more easily be employed, and farm-work is considerably expedited and facilitated. Many paths have been straightened, and others have become unnecessary and have been turned into fields, and in many instances the producing power of the land thus treated has been increased by five per cent. Drainage and irrigation, which in Japan are particularly necessary owing to the nature of the ground and of the crops, can now be brought to a state of greater perfection with larger and more regularly-shaped fields, and the extension of the movement for bringing together the scattered plots is bound to increase considerably the productive power of agricultural Japan for many years to come.

The Japanese Government also reclaims year after year large stretches of land which were hitherto considered to be waste land. How energetically the Government proceeds in this respect may be seen from the following progressive figures :

AREA RECLAIMED FOR AGRICULTURE.

			Cho.*
1893	...	...	8,691
1895	...	...	15,677
1897	...	...	24,697
1899	...	...	37,002
1901	...	...	35,924

A farmer's family consists on an average of 5·8 members, and possesses on an average $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, or a little less than one cho. Therefore the Government reclaims now in every year enough land to give a living to about 40,000 farming families, or to more than 200,000 people, and herein lies to a large extent the reason why, in spite of the density and the rapid increase of the population of Japan. the emigration from that country is exceedingly small. These Government is steadily extend-

cho = 2·45 acres.

ing the arable area of the country by judicious rearrangement of holdings and by reclamation of barren lands.

How considerably the area planted with the most important crops has of late been expanding may be seen from the following figures :

AREA UNDER STAPLE CROPS.

			Rice.	Wheat, Rye, and Barley.	Soja Beans.	Sweet Potatoes.
			Cho.	Cho.	Cho.	Cho.
1892	...	...	2,760,662	1,739,000	435,852 *	238,943 *
1897	...	...	2,787,181	1,749,000	435,605	259,167
1902	...	...	2,847,395	1,804,000	466,149	276,971

A glance at the foregoing figures shows that during the last ten, and especially during the last five, years, the increase in the acreage of the most important crops has been very rapid and satisfactory.

For the successful pursuit of agriculture, money for buying implements, machinery, fodder, fertilizers, etc., and for making the necessary improvements, is almost as necessary as are land and labour. But the capital of the Japanese farmers, both invested and liquid, stands, by its smallness, in proportion to the smallness of the holdings. According to the latest statistics available, the value of the arable land of Japan is estimated at £700,000,000, or £145 17s. per family. Agricultural land is, therefore, apparently far more expensive in Japan than it is in Great Britain. The value of farm buildings, dwellings, outhouses, etc., is computed at £29,000,000, or at £6 10s. per family, and the value of the farming implements, tools, machinery, etc., is estimated at £8,250,000, or at £1 14s. per farm. The farmer whose house, sheds, implements, etc., represent a combined value of but £7 15s., whose fields extend only to $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres, and who has to pay the enormous sum of about £60 per acre for his land, labours, of course, under the greatest difficulties if he has to find the money required for even the cheapest

* Figures for 1894.

implements, the most modest improvements, and the lowest priced manure. However, modern agriculture requires the application of much capital. Therefore the Government resolved to supply State assistance where assistance was needed, and to organize and encourage co-operation among the cultivators for supplying their financial needs. With this object in view the Government established after the Chinese-Japanese War the Hypothec Bank of Japan.

- \ This Bank has a capital of 10,000,000 yen, and it is allowed to issue mortgage bonds. Its turnover has grown from 24,885,165 yen in 1897 to 68,214,348 yen in 1902. Loans are mainly of two classes—those which are repayable within thirty years, and those which are repayable within five years. The business of this bank is restricted to loans of large amounts required for works of general utility which indirectly benefit the farmer. It serves besides as a main reservoir of agricultural credit to forty-six local agricultural banks which also were created when the Hypothec Bank was established. Therefore, it acts as a banker to those provincial institutions which look after the credit requirements of the Japanese prefectures. These local organizations find the necessary capital for reclaiming, draining, and irrigating land, constructing and improving roads of importance to agriculture, assisting the settlement of families on newly reclaimed ground, purchasing seeds, young plants, manure, implements, machinery, boats, waggons, cattle, horses, etc. Besides, they advance money for constructing and repairing buildings used in agriculture, for making improvements of various kinds, adjusting farm-lands and fields, etc.

However, even these local agriculture banks proved, as was only natural, too large to deal satisfactorily with the tiny credit requirements of the individual farmers throughout the rural districts. Hence these banks advance their money to the cultivators of the soil, not by dealing directly with them, but by lending money through local public bodies and through local co-operative societies

which serve at the same time as agents and as guarantors. Thus money is not only wisely lent, but is advanced on good security as well. These banks lend out their funds also on joint application of no less than twenty persons, "who are considered thoroughly trustworthy, and who are engaged in agriculture or manufacture." Evidently, care is taken that agricultural credit is given with due regard to the merits of each individual case, and *bond fide* borrowers have no difficulty in obtaining funds even if there is no co-operative society near. Numerous co-operative societies for obtaining funds from these banks and for distributing them to the poorer peasants exist everywhere throughout the country, and these tiny and thoroughly democratic organizations have proved a great blessing to the poor cultivators; for credit guilds, as they are called, secure advances at the, for agricultural Japan, very low rate of 10 per cent., whereas the rural usurer used to extort 30 and 40 per cent., and more, exactly as he does in India.

In view of the smallness of the means which are possessed by the Japanese farmers, their co-operation was a necessity, and already in the distant past co-operative societies of a somewhat crude kind existed in Japan. When Japan became opened up to the countries of the West, and the spirit of unification and progress was abroad in politics, the benefit of unity and progress in agriculture became quickly recognised, and, in the year 1889, a special law for encouraging the formation of co-operative societies and for giving them financial State aid, was promulgated. In 1903 there were in existence 46 agricultural prefectural societies, 561 districtional societies, and over 10,000 local societies. As there are only 13,060 villages in Japan, the majority of these have an agricultural society of their own.

The organization of these agricultural societies seems to be well devised, and to be not unlike the organizations of the credit societies described in the foregoing. It is modelled on the centralized political organization of the

country, which gives the fullest scope to individual energy. The principal societies, which serve as local centres, are subventioned and supervised by the State, and they assist the individual agriculturists through the small local organizations which act as their agents.

During 1903 the 46 prefectural societies spent 511,021 yen, to which the State contributed 148,496 yen. Japanese State subventions are, as a rule, small if compared with the voluntary contributions to which they are added. Thus the State gives help without extinguishing the initiative of the individual. It offers a money prize for encouragement, but it does not put a premium on indolence. It assists the individual, but neither makes him an exploiter of the State, nor does it convert him into a helpless pauperized being that is ever relying on the State and clamouring for State help, as is the case in so many countries where State help is somewhat indiscriminately given, and where the man who receives State help is so often either a fool or a knave.

The Japanese Government does not rest satisfied with increasing and improving the arable land, providing the farmer with cheap capital and securing for him the benefits of co-operation for obtaining credit, selling his produce, buying his cattle, machinery, manure, etc., but it elevates agriculture above the level of slavish drudgery by making science the handmaid of agriculture. Apart from agricultural schools, there are at present no less than thirty-eight agricultural experiment stations spread throughout Japan, which have gradually been established, partly by the State, partly by the local authorities with the assistance of the State, for the Government knew how to rouse a keen competition among the principal prefectures for founding such stations.

The mother-station is situated at Nishigahara, near Tokio, and is a large and well-found institution. It is divided into nine departments, which attend to the following subjects : cultivation of crops, selection of different

varieties of crops, rearing and breeding of agricultural plants, researches in vegetable physiology, researches into the relation between crops and climate, soil and manure, examination of seeds and plants, study of farm implements and soils, and amelioration of soil, distribution of seeds and seed plants. The chemical department makes chemical investigations of crops and farm products, experiments on manure, and on micro-organisms present in soils and manures. It studies agricultural technology, examines soils and the crops usable for them, investigates and surveys mineral fertilizers which are found in Japan, and makes researches as to the productive powers of various kinds of soil. The entomological section classifies and studies the life-history of injurious and useful insects and their geographical distribution, the treatment of insect pests, and the utilization of useful insects. The section of vegetable pathology deals with prophylactics and therapeutics of plant diseases caused by fungi and bacteria, with the application of pathogenic fungi and bacteria for the destruction of injurious insects, and examines and experiments with parasitocides. The tobacco section studies the selection and cultivation of tobacco, and the relation between the quality of tobacco to climate, soils, fertilizers, etc., and investigates the curing, fermentation, and preservation of tobacco leaf and its manufacture. The horticultural section is occupied with the selection, propagation, and cultivation of fruits and vegetables, the cross-breeding of horticultural plants, the harvesting and preservation of fruits and vegetables, the forcing of horticultural plants, and the distribution of seeds and seed-plants. The department for stock-breeding makes researches with regard to natural and cultivated fodder plants, the feeding and management of domestic animals, zodotechnics, and the distribution of seeds of fodder plants. The section of reports and of general affairs publishes the results of the experiments and investigations made by the Imperial Agricultural Experiment Station, its branches, and the

prefectural stations in a series of practical essays of which several hundred have been published for the information of the farmers.

Besides these experiment stations, which receive some imperial and some local financial assistance, there are 40 prefectural experimental farms throughout the country maintained mainly at local expense. Their object is purely practical. The local authorities assist them with about 400,000 yen per annum, and the State contributes a sum not exceeding 150,000 yen a year. There are also about 110 small sub-prefectural model farms which serve a similar purpose.

By means of these numerous institutions science is made subservient to agriculture, and cultivators in need of expert advice know where to obtain it. From these institutions the peasants receive from time to time selected seeds gratis, more than 10,000 samples being thus distributed every year. As the 200 organizations existing are not numerous enough for the requirements of rural Japan, some 300 ambulant lecturers on agriculture are constantly travelling through the country. They do not give professorial lectures to rustic audiences, being only stared at, but not understood, by the bewildered peasants, as so often happens in countries where the professor is so very prominent. They are thoroughly practical men, who have been trained at experimental farms, who are able to answer all inquiries on practical subjects addressed to them by the farmers, and who do not bring with them the atmosphere of the study, the laboratory, or the class-room.

The foregoing shows how the Japanese Government achieves very remarkable results at a trifling cost to the State, but the efforts of the Government would be unavailing if the whole country did not act like one large family. In Japan the Government trust the people and the people trust the Government, and every man tries to do his best for his country.

That the wise agricultural policy of Japan has been a

signal success is shown by the subjoined table which gives the product of the principal food crops :

		Rice. Koku.*	Wheat, Rye, and Barley. Koku.	Soja Beans. Koku.	Sweet Potatoes. Kwan.†
1886	...	37,191,424	16,033,960	—	—
1889	...	33,007,566	15,316,897	—	—
1892	...	41,429,676	15,951,146	3,110,665	568,371,606
1895	...	39,960,798	19,537,840	3,163,683	711,813,132
1898	...	47,387,666	20,462,053	3,108,708	716,956,146
1901	...	46,914,943	20,521,950	4,069,619	711,639,519

From the foregoing figures it appears that the production of the principal food-stuffs in Japan has, during the last fifteen years, most satisfactorily increased ; but the full extent of the progress which the rural industries of Japan have achieved can only be seen when we investigate those rural products which have not been considered in the foregoing.

The expansion of the rural industries of Japan will very likely continue for a long time, especially as better implements are gradually being introduced into the country districts. With the weak instruments hitherto used the Japanese have been able only to scratch the surface, and whilst much of the surface soil has been exhausted, the subsoil has, in many parts, been left practically untouched. With the introduction of more powerful instruments the productiveness of the Japanese soil should be very considerably increased.

The agriculture of Japan not only gives food to the people but furnishes also the raw material for Japan's most important export products—the cocoons from which Japanese silk is won ; for about 40 per cent. of Japan's exports consist of silk and silken products. How wonderfully the Japanese silk exports have increased, especially since 1885, for reasons which will be explained hereafter, may be seen from the following table, which does not supply figures for the entire export of silken goods :

* One koku = 4·96 bushels.

† One kwan = 8·27 pounds.

EXPORTS OF RAW SILK.			EXPORTS OF SILKEN TISSUES.	
		Yen.		Yen.
1870	...	4,278,752	—	—
1880	...	8,606,867	—	—
1885	...	13,033,872	—	—
1890	...	13,859,339*	818,537	818,537
1900	...	44,657,029	17,436,381	17,436,381
1903	...	74,428,907	27,510,478	27,510,478

Had it not been for her prosperous and powerful silk industry, Japan would not have been able to introduce European culture into the country regardless of expense. Therefore, it may be said that her silkworm-raising peasants have provided Japan with railways, telegraphs, machinery, her splendid army and navy, and the sinews of war.

The silk industry of Japan is of great antiquity, and has been fostered by the State for more than fifteen centuries. In Japan, as in China, the production of silk was based, not on scientific investigation and experiment, but on observation, ancient custom, tradition, experience, and the rule of thumb. Still, the results were on the whole gratifying, owing to the exceedingly careful attention which the peasants bestowed upon their work. During the classic period of Japan, Prince Shotoku, who lived from 573 to 672, had taught sericulturists that they should rear the silkworms as parents nurse their infants, that they should think of them as their own children, that they should carefully heat the rooms in which the worms were kept, and that they should see that the temperature was neither too high nor too low, that they should attend to good ventilation, and that they should lavish the utmost care upon the worms both night and day. These were the principles by which the sericulturists were guided until a recent date. Not many years ago the use of the thermometer in silkworm raising was practically unknown.

* Exceptionally bad year.

The opening of Japan to foreign trade led, unfortunately, to a rapid degeneration of the Japanese silk industry. As a considerable demand for Japanese silk sprang up, exporters and producers alike were chiefly bent on obtaining the largest possible quantities of silk as rapidly as possible; hence the material sent away became more and more shoddy from year to year. At the same time the same epidemic disease of silkworms, which had so terribly injured the silk-raising industry of France and Italy, and which in those countries had successfully been combated by the discoveries of Pasteur, made its appearance and began to ravish Japan. Therefore the Government established in 1884 the Silkworm Disease Laboratory in Tokio, and took vigorous steps to stop the degeneration in the quality of the silk produced which threatened to kill the silk industry by ruining its reputation abroad. Silk guilds were formed throughout the country at the instigation of the Government, and, in consequence of the law of 1885, they acted as unpaid agents to the Government; and through these guilds regulations were enforced which saved the industry from decay, and proved the greatest blessing, for only since then has the Japanese silk industry become of paramount importance in the world, as may be seen from the foregoing figures.

The immense importance of the silk industry to Japan is evident from the fact that 2,548,228 families are engaged in silkworm raising—a number which equals 53 per cent. of the whole agricultural population. Silkworm raising is not a separate industry. It is an occupation which is pursued by the Japanese farmers much in the same way in which the farmers of Europe raise poultry, and in Japan, as in Europe, this subsidiary occupation largely devolves on the womenfolk and the children on the various farms. How vigorously the silkworm-raising industry has progressed during the last decade may be seen from the following figures :

AREA UNDER MULBERRY-TREES. COCOONS GATHERED.

		Cho.*	Koku.†
1892	...	231,401	1,480,705
1902	...	317,146	2,549,224
Increase	...	+ 37·3 per cent.	+ 72·3 per cent.

Whilst the number of mulberry-trees has, during the last ten years, increased by 37·3 per cent., the quantity of cocoons gathered has grown much more rapidly—namely, by 72·3 per cent., or almost twice as quickly. During ten years the cocoons produced per tree have increased from 6·4 koku to 8 koku—an increase of exactly 25 per cent. This splendid result has been achieved through the thorough and scientific methods in silkworm raising which have of late been introduced. This gratifying result is to some extent due to the breeding of silkworms in artificial heat, for the autumn crop has grown from 104,404 koku in 1892 to 414,516 koku in 1902, or has almost quadrupled, whilst the whole crop has only grown by 72·3 per cent.

The farmer, and especially the farmer in the Far East, is by nature conservative, and opposed to all innovation, but the Japanese Government knew how to introduce science into the humblest farms. The Silkworm Disease Laboratory, which had been established in 1884, made exhaustive studies of the treatment of the various diseases to which silkworms are subject, and made the farmers acquainted with the results of its investigations through a number of pamphlets which were distributed free of charge. At the same time, a large number of students were trained by the Laboratory to act as sericulture experts, especially with regard to silkworm diseases, and these men were sent through the silk-producing districts for the purpose of instructing the farmers and of helping those who required help. Besides, the Laboratory distributed eggs of those varieties of silkworms which were the hardiest and the most prolific. Therefore the farmer soon learnt to treat

* One cho = 2·45 acres.

† One koku = 4·96 bushels.

the emissaries of the Silkworm Disease Laboratory no longer with suspicion, but with respect. During 1901 the cost of inspecting silkworm eggs amounted to 321,403 yen, to which the Government contributed 99,496 yen. Here again, we see that the Japanese Government helps on principle only those who help themselves, that it acts as a partner, but by no means as a sleeping partner, and that it affords financial help only under the same conditions under which Mr. Carnegie gives money for free public libraries.

When the pioneer establishment had proved its national utility, two sericultural schools were opened in 1896, where scientific and practical courses extending over two years are given, whilst the purely practical part of sericulture can be studied in separate courses which require only five months' attendance. These schools are very popular, and train a considerable number of experts. As soon as the beneficial effect of these institutions came to be widely felt, the local authorities in the silk-producing districts and many munificent individuals interested in the silk industry hastened to create similar establishments throughout the country. Local sericultural schools and laboratories have, therefore, sprung up like mushrooms, and there are now no less than 125 of these institutions in existence.

When the export of Japanese silk had grown to considerable proportions, the Government resolved in 1894 to open an institution for the protection of the foreign silk buyers, who hitherto were frequently defrauded by unscrupulous sellers and middlemen. This institution was founded for the purpose of examining the weight of silk submitted to it and its condition as to elasticity and tenacity, the uniformity in texture of the thread, its chemical qualities, the number of breakages, etc. This establishment, which is called the State Silk-Conditioning House, has proved an immense boon to Japan, and the number of examinations made by it has increased from

1,236 in 1896 to 11,189 in 1900, and to no less than 67,665 in 1902. Thus the Japanese Government has developed the native silk industry very considerably by looking as carefully after the interest of the foreign buyer as it looks after the welfare of the native grower. By making the interest of the foreign silk purchaser its own, the Japanese Government has given the greatest stimulus to its rural industries at trifling expense.

Whilst the staple food crops of Japan are increasing at a very satisfactory rate, and whilst the most important silk industry is progressing by leaps and bounds, the production of tea, of which a considerable quantity is exported, has fallen off to some extent during the last few years owing to the competition of cheap teas from India and Ceylon. But the Government is taking energetic measures to assist the native tea industry in the same manner in which it has fostered the silk industry. Whether it will succeed in its endeavours, remains to be seen, for the peculiar flavour of Japanese tea is disliked by many. However, it will be interesting to watch the activity of the Government during the next few years.

Various minor agricultural products, which have proved unsuitable for cultivation in Japan, notably cotton and indigo, are rapidly losing ground. The fibre of the former is too short, and the cultivation of the latter is decreasing fast, chiefly in consequence of the competition of the chemical indigo made in Germany, which is also crippling the indigo industry of India.

The culture of fruit is rapidly expanding. Formerly trees were grown in Japan chiefly for their flowers, but through contact with Western nations, Japan has learned to appreciate fruit. After having been an importer of fruit, Japan has now become not only a large grower of fruit for home requirements, but has turned an exporter, and large quantities of fruit, especially apples, are now exported every year to the United States and Siberia. Horticulture is being scientifically pursued with the assist-

ance of Experimental Gardens, which the Government has established for the purpose of selecting and cultivating indigenous and foreign fruit and vegetables, selecting and testing seeds and saplings, studying the preserving and curing of fruit, effecting the distribution of seeds to the growers, etc. This establishment has, as is usual in Japan, been copied by the local authorities, as soon as its value was recognised, and it is expected that the beneficial effect of these institutions which now exist in many parts of the country will soon become noticeable, for there is a large scope for horticulture in Japan.

Rural Japan labours under the great disadvantage that the country possesses an exceedingly small number of horses and cattle. Consequently, there is a sensible lack of stable manure in Japan, and much rural labour which in Europe is done by horses, has to be done by men in Japan. The cattle in Japan number only 1,275,382, or about one-tenth of the cattle kept in the United Kingdom. Consequently, the Japanese farmer has to rely mainly on vegetable manure, fish manure, and chemical manure, for enriching his fields. He has to buy the manure which the European farmer gets gratis from his live-stock. Happily, the enormous fisheries of Japan supply vast quantities of fish manure. Vegetable manure in the shape of bean cakes, etc., is largely imported from China, and large quantities of chemical manure are manufactured in Japan and are imported from abroad. As the manufactures of fertilizers started to palm off worthless substitutes on Japanese farmers, an experience through which European agriculturists also have gone, the Government resolved to control the manufacture and sale of fertilizers, and not to allow the most important industry of the country to become the prey of unscrupulous manufacturers and middlemen. Since December 1901 manufacturers and dealers of fertilizers have to submit samples of their goods for analysis to the Government, and to furnish guarantees as to their composition and uniformity. The Government appointed

116 inspectors of fertilizers, and 20 chemists on the State experimental farms were told off to analyze manures.

The Japanese Government is alive to the necessity not only of increasing the number of cattle and horses, but also of improving the breed, for cattle as well as horses were of very poor quality. Owing to the large hold which Buddhism had taken upon Japan, meat was formerly only consumed by outcasts. Hence the strongest stimulus for improving the breed of cattle was missing. Both cattle and horses were chiefly used as beasts of burden, and waggons and carts drawn by cattle or horses were practically unknown in Japan. The exceedingly tiny size of the fields also did hardly allow of using animals for pulling the plough, etc. As individuals interested in agriculture and local bodies as well were too inexperienced and hardly able to undertake the national task of improving the breed of horses and cattle, an Imperial Cattle-Breeding Farm and extensive horse studs were opened by the Government. Under the guidance of the best experts, a large number of carefully-selected animals were bought in the United States and Europe and brought over to Japan for breeding purposes, and at the same time measures were taken to prevent those bulls and stallions which did not come up to the standard from further propagating an inferior race of animals. Since 1901 all stallions which are not approved of by Government inspectors must be castrated at the expense of the Government.

Though cattle and horses have so far increased but slightly in number, their type has been considerably improved. Between 1897 and 1901 the number of breeding bulls above the standard has increased from 449 to 1,022, and that of the breeding stallions of the best type has increased from 3,271 to 3,967. During the same time the number of bulls below the standard has remained almost stationary, whilst that of breeding stallions has decreased by about 50 per cent. The number of cattle and horses possessed by Japan will probably remain almost

stationary until the misfits have been weeded out, but very soon an increase in the number of animals kept, and a great and general improvement in their type, should become noticeable. During the last ten years the consumption of meat in Japan has enormously increased, and the demand for meat will no doubt provide an additional incentive to the farmer for improving the type of the cattle, whilst the rearrangements in holdings which are taking place will enable farmers to utilize horses in agriculture.

Rinderpest, anthrax, glanders, foot and mouth disease, etc., had at various times inflicted huge losses upon Japan. In order to stamp out these diseases, the Government proceeded in its usual fashion by opening an Animal Diseases Laboratory for the scientific study of these diseases, and began to train a very large number of veterinary surgeons, who took the place of practitioners who might perhaps more fitly be described as animal witch-doctors. As the animals which carried the infection into Japan came usually from Korea, the Government opened offices for the inspection of animals at Kobe and Nagasaki which have had the most gratifying success; for we read in an official report:

“Since the establishment of the inspection offices, it was only once at Nagasaki, and that time through the negligence of a foreign steamer, that the country suffered from the introduction of afflicted beasts, the entry of such having been stopped in all other cases.”

A law for the prevention of tuberculosis in cattle was promulgated in 1903, and it is hoped that that disease, which at present is very frequently found in slaughtered cattle, will soon be stamped out. At present 200 men are being trained in bacteriology, post-mortem examination, dissection and examination of milk, flesh, etc., to this disease. Evidently Japan is thorough and up-to-date.

agriculture is, and will probably for a long time remain, Japan's most important industry, notwithstanding

the marvellous progress which the manufacturing industries have made in that country, which have excited the astonishment of the world. European observers have so far been chiefly attracted by the meteoric development of the manufacturing industries of Japan, and have therefore overlooked the quiet, but very great, progress which has taken place in her rural industries. Japan is wise enough not to neglect one industry for another. She strives to develop all her resources, rightly believing that the economic stability, strength, and prosperity of the country is best secured if it possesses a multiplicity and a great variety of industries. Therefore she tries to develop her elementary industries, notwithstanding the great success which she has achieved in manufacturing, and she will certainly not allow agriculture to decay. In that respect she is determined not to imitate Great Britain, notwithstanding her great admiration for this country.

Though the rural districts of Japan are suffering here and there, agriculture as a whole is flourishing and prosperous in Japan, notwithstanding the enormous difficulties with which that country is beset. Japanese agriculture had to be carried on in a style which can only be described as microscopic, artificial irrigation was necessary for the larger part of the crops, the implements used were feeble and one might almost say futile, the country had practically no horses and cattle, all labour had to be done by hand, and transport was effected by men. Animal manure was very scanty and was only used in certain parts of Japan, scientific farming was unknown, everything had to be created, everything had to be taught. But in spite of these enormous difficulties, which might have proved too great for a rich nation, Japan has succeeded owing to her energy and her exertions in reforming her rural industries root and branch, and placing them on the most scientific basis notwithstanding her very slender means. That she has succeeded in developing her rural industries in the way she has done should not only be a

cause for admiration. People in this country who have despaired of British agriculture, and who have declared that Great Britain could not successfully carry on her rural industries because this country was too small and too densely populated to nourish its inhabitants, and that therefore our dependence on foreign countries for our food was inevitable, should ponder over Japan's example and learn from it.

OPHIR.*

By J. F. A. McNAIR, MAJOR R.A., C.M.G.,

Late Officiating Lieutenant-Governor, Penang.

WHERE was it? and was it a territory, a mountain, or only an emporium or mart for gold?

This is a question the solution of which has concerned many ancient geographers and historians, and, though treated upon by numerous writers since their time, has certainly not been satisfactorily answered, even at the present day.

It might, therefore, appear somewhat adventurous on my part, in the face of so many more able men, to endeavour to make an attempt to throw some light on the subject; but I do so with the feeling that if I can only advance our knowledge in the smallest degree in the right direction, it will not be altogether unprofitable.

It is common knowledge to us all that the situation of this gold-producing region was thought by Arias Montanus, a Catholic divine and learned Orientalist, to be in Peru, where there are still gold-washings, but the country provides more silver than gold. Raleigh believed it to be in the Moluccas, in the easternmost division of the Malay Archipelago. Calmet, who wrote a history of the Bible and the Jews, fixed it in Armenia, the site of Mount Ararat, or Noah's Mountain, according to the Persians. Purchas, Milton, Huet, Bruce, Robertson, Quatremère, Manch, and others, are unanimous in their belief that the true Ophir was only to be found in Africa. Then, again, Arabia had its votaries in Michaelis, a learned Biblical scholar and Orientalist of some distinction; in Niebuhr, the great

* The word "Ophir" is clearly in a language of inflectional type, and may be either from the Semitic or Arabic. If from the latter, the word "Woffah," meaning length and duration, would phonetically represent it, and might refer to the length and duration of a voyage—"Woffah," or, as we have it, "Ophir."

linguist and traveller ; in Gosselin, Vincent, Winer, Fürst, Forster, Crawford, Kalisch, Twistleton, and others. And, lastly, we have in favour of India, Vitranga, a noted Professor in Oriental languages ; Lassen, a Sanskrit scholar and eminent Orientalist ; Ritter, a German geographer of great repute ; Bertheau, Ewald, down to Max Müller, the well-known and attractive writer on philology, and the editor of the sacred books of the East.

In addition to this weight of testimony, we come to that admirable digest on this subject from the pen of Professor Keane, who in his work "*The Gold of Ophir*" has gone most exhaustively into this field of inquiry ; and though I held views at variance with his, I felt that he had made good his argument in favour of Havilah (the Rhodesia of Africa) as the country from whence the "gold of Ophir" was obtained, and that the true Ophir was an emporium in Arabia.

In his volume he refers to the labours of Dr. Carl Peters, who has written two valuable works, in both of which he treats on this subject—viz., "*King Solomon's Golden Ophir*," and his more voluminous book, the "*Eldorado of the Ancients*," published as late as 1902. He is in favour of Africa, and thinks that the ancient name of Ophir has survived up to our own times in the Latin form, "*Africa*."

Professor Keane also does full justice to the diligent researches of Messrs. Bent and Swan amongst the ruins of Zimbabwe in South Africa, and to the interesting volume published by Hall and Neal on these ancient ruins. There is also a short sketch of these Zimbabwe ruins by Sir John Willoughby, with some plans which add very much to our knowledge as showing the disposition of the various parts of these ruins.

All our information so far, therefore, led us certainly to the conclusion that in Rhodesia we had at last found the gold-yielding land of the past, and that the question of the situation of Ophir had been for ever set at rest. When,

to our dismay, comes in the disturbing element in the shape of a statement by Mr. St. C. Boscawen, in the *Globe* newspaper of so late as November last—viz., that Mr. Randal MacIver, who had done excellent work under Dr. Petrie in Egypt, after visiting and exploring the ruins at Zimbabwe in Rhodesia, came to the conclusion that they were planned on the well-known lines of the Kaffir kraal, and he had therefore been compelled to throw over the theories of Messrs. Hall and Neal and others, and to tell us that it would now be necessary to look elsewhere for the site of Ophir.

Upon reading this I was led to refer again to what I myself had written upon the subject so far back as 1878, in a work entitled "Perak and the Malays," and, this work being now out of print, I may as well transcribe what I said at that time, which was as follows :

"Of the ancient history of the gold of the Malay Peninsula much may be said, for it has been famed for its production from all ages. This peninsula was the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients, and although the evidence is not conclusive that Josephus is right when he says that the Mount Ophir of Malacca, some 150 miles south of Perak, and called by the modern Malays Gunong Ledang, or the Ophir of Solomon, there is much that is in favour of this supposition ; and being a subject of such great interest, it may be worth while to investigate the question, even at the risk of being somewhat tedious."

It may be taken as a matter of fact that from the very earliest ages there was intercourse between the Arabians and Malays, and hence it is reasonable to suppose that the precious metal gold would, with spices, be amongst the articles of trade. From the earliest times we know that the Arabians sent into Sabæa both spices (frankincense) and gold ; but whether the latter came from Sofala, on the east coast of Africa, the seaport of the Mount Ophir of Bruce and Le Grande, or from the Mount Ophir of Malacca, is an open question. There is also, it should be

added, a Mount Ophir, or the Golden Mountain, in Sumatra ; but this may be left out of the argument, as this name was conferred upon it by Europeans at a comparatively recent date.

Lassen, the Orientalist, has placed Ophir, the origin of Solomon's gold, somewhere about the mouth of the Indus, and his hypothesis, says Mr. Crawford, is founded on some resemblance between the Hebrew and Sanskrit names of the commodities brought from this ancient spot. The nearest resemblance is in the words for an ape, that in the Hebrew being "Koph" or "Kof," and in Sanskrit "Kapi" or "Kopi." Mr. Crawford, however, in view of all the difficulties connected with its geographical position, comes to the conclusion that the Ophir of Scripture is simply an emporium where Solomon's fleet obtained gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks ; and he fixes this emporium somewhere in Arabia, either at Sabæa or at a spot on the southern coast. But as we read that the ships of Solomon "came to Ophir," it is more natural to conclude that they went to a place bearing that name, and not to a convenient emporium where the gold of Ophir and the other commodities were exposed for sale. The question, then, seems to lie between the Ophir of the eastern coast of Africa and that of Malacca.

There are many things in favour of the mount in the Malay Peninsula being that of Scripture, and the idea is supported by many writers. For instance, Dr. Kitto in his encyclopædia states that the natives of Malacca call their gold-mines "Ophirs," to which may be added that, the Malays being decidedly a non-progressive people, their term probably comes from time immemorial. De P. Poivre, a French author, writing in 1797, gives the same statement, adding of the natives of Sumatra : "On y trouve plusieurs mines d'or que les habitants de Malacca et de Sumatra nomment 'Ophirs.'"

When we consider the objects sought, we find that they were apes, peacocks, ivory, and gold. Now, though the

ape proper may not be indigenous to the Malay Peninsula, monkeys of large size abound.* It is the home of one of the most beautiful of the peacocks. Ivory, if not abundant, is procurable; elephants are plentiful; spices follow as a matter of course, for this is the very centre of the production, and gold is worked to the present day. Gold, apes, and ivory are certainly found in Africa, but the other articles named have to be brought from the Eastern Seas.

To go back to the ancients for support of the theories that Solomon's vessels may have traded with the Malays, Pliny tells us that Eratosthenes (born 276 B.C.) speaks of Meroe, India, and the Thiniæ; and Agastharcides, a contemporary of the latter (about 104 B.C.) says of Sabæa, now Yemen, or "the Blest": "The people are robust, warlike, and able mariners; they sail in very large vessels to the country where the odoriferous commodities are produced, they plant colonies there, and import from thence the Larimma, an odour nowhere else to be found—in fact, there is no nation upon earth so wealthy as the Gerrhel and Sabel as being the centre of all the commerce which passes between Asia and Europe." The same writer also refers to the Maldivé and Laccadive Islands, and coupled with these is a reference to Malacca, or the Golden Chersonese.

According to Dr. Vincent, the Chinese had not then passed the Straits of Malacca, but the Malays seem in all ages to have traded with India, and probably with the coast of Africa, and he ends by saying:

"All this induces a belief that in the very earliest ages, even prior to Moses, the communication with India was open, that the intercourse with that continent was in the hands of the Arabians, that Thebes had owed its splendour to that commerce, and that Memphis from the same cause

* According to Wallace, our best authority, there is a curious ape, not uncommon in some parts of the Malay Peninsula, named by the Malays a "Siamang"; and the Orang-utang, also so named by the Malays, is found in Sumatra, though not now known in Malaya.

came to the same pre-eminence, and Cairo succeeded to both in wealth, grandeur, and magnificence."

If, then, as this evidence would show, the communication with India and its isles was open before the time of Moses, and in the hands of the Arabians, who from the earliest ages had an intercourse with the Malays, the inference that can be drawn from this may be left to everyone to judge of as he pleases.

There is, however, another significant point which favours the belief that the "gold of Ophir" was obtained from Malacca, for amongst the articles of export to the Red Sea in the time of the *Periplus*, which gives an account of the navigation of the ancients from the east coast of Africa down to Sofala, gold is not mentioned, but only ivory, rhinoceros, iron, and tortoiseshell of a good sort, but inferior to that of India. Dr. Vincent, the last editor and exponent of the work, is so struck with this fact that he confesses to feeling some degree of disappointment in not finding gold, as the fleets of Solomon are said to have obtained gold from this coast. He, however, gets over the difficulty by saying our present object is not the trade, but the geography.

In later days—viz., in the fourteenth century—Barbosa says that gold was so abundant in Malacca that it was reckoned by the *Bhar* of four hundredweight.

In 1615, also, we read in the *State Papers* that at Acheen, in Sumatra, the Admiral's galley had a turret built in the stern covered with plates of gold, a sure sign of the plentiful supply of the metal.

Later still, in Herbert's "*Travels*," printed in 1677, he says that Malacca had the name *Aurea* given to it on account of the abundance of gold carried thither from Menang Kabau, in the neighbouring isle of Sumatra; and, again, Valentyn says in 1737: "Acheen exported gold by the thousand ounces at a time."

I then suggested that a practical mineralogist and geologist should be sent out from England in order

to examine and report upon the capabilities of the Malay Peninsula in this respect, which has not yet been done, as far as I am aware.

I may here add, by way of information, that the Sabæans* were the ancient inhabitants of Yemen, in Southern Arabia, and are the people called Sheba in Gen. x. 28, xxv. 3, and Job vi. 19, and it is probably the Sovereign of this people who paid the celebrated visit to Solomon. The Sabæans were a powerful and wealthy people who, from long before Solomon down to the beginning of the Christian era, controlled the sea and caravan traffic in gold, sweet spices, ivory, ebony, and valuable tissues, that came from India and Africa, and were despatched northwards to Syria. Later on the trade on which the Sabæans relied began to take a sea-route and go up the Red Sea, and from that cause their prosperity and power seem to have declined.

Although Professor Keane restates on p. 62 of his work that the Mount Ophir of Malacca was only named so by the Portuguese in A.D. 1511, and was, moreover, only a moderately auriferous principality of Muar, there is no getting over the fact that it is situated in what was known to the ancients as the Aurea Chersonesus, and Flavius Josephus, who wrote his "Antiquities of the Jews" as early as A.D. 70, says, on p. 226 in Whiston's edition of his work:

"Moreover, the King built many ships in the Egyptian Bay of the Red Sea, in a certain place called Ezion-geber; it is now called Berenice, and is not far from the city Eloth. This country belonged formerly to the Jews, and became useful for shipping from the donations of Hiram, King of Tyre; for he sent a sufficient number of men thither for pilots, and such as were skilful in navigation, to whom

* See "Chambers's Encyclopædia," under "Mandæans," an Oriental religious sect identifying themselves with the Sabæans. See also Wilkinson's able paper on the Peninsular Malays, 1906, and Professor Chwolsohn's work, "Die Sabier u. der Sabismus," 1856, as to early intercourse between Arabs and Malays.

Solomon gave this command, that they should go along with his own stewards to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonese, which belonged to India, to fetch him gold, and when they had gathered four hundred talents together they returned to the King again."

In chapter vii. of the same work it is, moreover, added: "About the same time there were brought to the King from the Aurea Chersonese, a country so called, precious stones and pine-trees." Again, "Now the weight of gold that was brought him was 666 talents, not including in that sum what was brought by the merchants, nor what the Toparchs (Governors) and Kings of Arabia gave him in presents. The King had many ships which lay upon the sea of Tarsus; these he commanded to carry out all sorts of merchandise into the remotest nations, by the sale of which silver and gold were brought to the King, and a great quantity of ivory, and Ethiopians and apes, and they finished their voyage going and returning in three years' time."

Balfour also, treating upon this subject in his encyclopædia, says much the same, and repeats that the Tarshish fleets arrived at Ezion-Geber only once every three years, and then adds it may fairly be inferred that the voyage was a considerable one, and that the ships had to go with the S.W. monsoon and return with the N.E. winds. Solomon's navigators, therefore, seem to have crossed the open sea and traded with India. He adds there are at present in Further India two places called Mount Ophir, one of them in Sumatra, 9,770 feet above the sea, to which the name was given by the Portuguese, and they gave the same name to Gunong Ladang, a mountain forty miles north of the town of Malacca, 4,000 feet high. In the vicinity of both of them gold has been found. Josephus expressly says that the Aurea Chersonese was the Ophir of Solomon's time. Malacca, as is thought, is the eastern extremity of what was known as Ophir to the ancient Hebrews, or Sophir to the authors of the Septuagint version, whither

the fleets of Hiram and Solomon voyaged on their trading expeditions, and once in three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks.

To quote again another authority, Professor Max Müller, who believes Ophir to be India, and he supports his opinion by a reference to the ancient names for the articles imported by Solomon which are Sanskrit. He says, also, the nature and direction of the winds blowing in those quarters would allow of a voyage from the heart of the Red Sea to India, stopping at several places on the way, being accomplished by the rude vessels and cautious sailing of those days in a period of from eighteen months to two years.

Again, in Bochart's sacred geography, he affirms that every circumstance required to constitute the Ophir of Hebrew Scripture may be found in the classical Taprobane—the modern Ceylon.

Sir Emerson Tennent, another writer with some knowledge of the subject, has suggested that the Port of Galle may be the Tarshish of the Bible, which lay in the track between the Arabian Gulf and Ophir, and that Ophir itself is in Malacca, or the Aurea Chersonese. He then refers to the articles brought as identical with the Tamil names by which some of them are called to the present day.

I do not wish to encumber this paper with more quotations and reproductions, but I have in my possession rather a rare work upon Malacca, written in A.D. 1613 by the Portuguese Godinho de Eredia, the original of which is in the Royal Library at Brussels. This work was translated into French by M. Léon Janssen in 1882.

I take from it only a few extracts touching on the subject of this paper. He says :

“ Dans les forêts de cette contrée habitaient aussi des Banuas, race sauvage comme celles des satyres donc parle
(Plin.) Banuas comme ceux de l'ancienne Etrurie

étaient sorciers. Ils habitaient le Mont Gunoledam (Mount Ophir).

“ Parmi les animaux de cette contrée se rencontrent beaucoup d'éléphants, et des poules domestiques et sauvages, et une grande variété d'oiseaux au riche plumage, et enfin beaucoup de paon.

“ Nous n'avons connaissance de la Chersonese d'or que par le commerce du Port de Tacola dont Ptolémée parle 163 ans après la venue du Christ. Bien que l'Hindostan et la Taprobane fussent dans la zone torride, recommence et la navigation étaient ouverts. Cela ressort de ce que dit Hérodote, et de ce que rapporte 'Pliné' relativement au commerce de l'Idumée et de l'Égypte par la Mer Rouge, et de ce que confirme l'Écriture touchant la navigation de Solomon du Port d'Asiongaber.”

These extracts will suffice to show his belief in the trade from the Red Sea to the Aurea Chersonese in the time of Solomon, and the presence on the Malay Peninsula of the articles brought to the King.

Now let us turn to the Holy Scriptures, a safe guide in more ways than one, and the first reference we have to Ophir is in Gen. x. 29, where we read that Ophir and Havilah were the names of two of the sons of Joktan, out of the thirteen born to him.

From Smith's admirable “ Dictionary of the Bible ” we learn that the land of the Havilah and the land of the Joktan were in the south of Arabia, though kindred tribes had their seats in Africa. Doubtless the names of the sons were in process of time given to the region in which they dwelt.

Professor Keane puts it very well on p. 101 of his work “ The Gold of Ophir.” In the popular imagination Havilah and Ophir were thus intimately connected by this golden link, and when Ophir, a real place, was mentioned, it was almost inevitable that Havilah should also be mentioned in association with it.

The next reference we have, taking them according to Cruden's Concordance, is in 1 Kings ix. 26-28, and

2 Chron. viii. 18 : " And King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to King Solomon." And in 1 Kings x. 11 we are told that they brought almug-trees and precious stones. The word "almug" would appear to be from the Arabic, and is probably a plural, as in the Arabic word "Lafz," for instance, the plural of which is "Altaz."

There is one further passage which concerns us—viz., that from 1 Kings xxii. 48 : " Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold ; but they went not : for their ships were broken at Ezion-geber."

From all the evidence I have adduced, it seems pretty plain to my mind that the true Ophir was on the Aurea Chersonesus, and that there were possibly emporia for the sale of gold at several ports in Arabia, and at Taprobane, where the fleets from the Malay Peninsula would have touched on their voyage both outward and homeward bound. That there may have been gold brought from Africa to Solomon I think is not to be disputed, but the bulk of this precious metal came in those days, in all likelihood, from the Aurea Chersonesus, and where also all the other articles mentioned as part of the cargo of the boats could have been obtained without difficulty.

At this period, however, of the world's history, and in the face of such diversity of opinions on the subject, it appears to me to be a question, with the limited knowledge we at present possess, scarcely susceptible yet of a satisfactory solution, nor one to make the mind quite easy about.

To those, however, who are curious on the point, I would say, Take an ancient atlas, and, from the head of the Sinus Arabicus, or modern Red Sea, consider the fleets of Solomon to have been fitted out at Ezion-geber or

Arabah, and, in the rude sailing boats that they possessed in those days, navigating down the coast of Arabia, and touching at ports here and there to water. Their first port might have been Chersonesus (a singular name here), situated opposite to Berenice on the Egyptian side, and from whence we know that even before Ptolemy's days there was a brisk trade to India. Coming to the southernmost part of Arabia, they would in all probability have put it in at Arabia Felix, our modern Aden. They might then have sailed round the south of Arabia and touched at the territory of Sochoh, which is referred to in 1 Kings iv. 10, and where Dr. Smith thinks King Solomon had one of his commissariat districts. Here they would have filled up with supplies for the long voyage across the Mare Erythæum, or Indian Ocean, making a straight course with the S.W. monsoon to Taprobane, our modern Ceylon, and may, as Sir Emerson Tennent suggests, have anchored at the old Dagana or Melhora, our modern Point de Galle. Balfour thinks that this was the old Tarshish to which the Phœnician mariners resorted. These early Phœnicians were supposed to have emigrated from the Persian Gulf to the shores of Syria 3000 B.C. and, as we know, were great traders and worked between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

After taking in supplies at Dagana or Point de Galle, the fleets would shape another straight course to the Aurea Chersonesus, and would sight land at Tacola, or Junk Ceylon, at the entrance to the Straits of Malacca.

Here, on the territory of the Aurea Chersonesus, the sailors of Hiram and Solomon would obtain, as I have said before, every article named in the Bible for their freight homeward. The journey would be accomplished in the three years, one year in crossing by the S.W. monsoon, one year for lading the vessels, and the third year for returning by the N.E. winds to Arabia and Ezion-geber.

It might be asked, Where is Parvaim, from whence gold

was obtained by Solomon? Professor Keane does not agree with Glaser as to its being the Sak-el-Farwaim of North Arabia, but thinks it had rather the same proverbial sense as the "gold of Ophir."

Smith, in his dictionary, is of opinion that it may have been a general term for the East, from the Sanskrit word "Parva," but in the old maps there is a place in East Africa named Parvum, very much in the position of Sofala, but north of it.

It may be well to insert here that I have myself ascended the Mount Ophir in Malacca, and found it to be of granite formation, with here and there auriferous quartz, and at the base of it I came across the remains of several ancient workings for alluvial gold, but saw no trace of vein gold in any portion of the quartz I obtained. But this visit did not give me any leaning or bias in favour of this being the actual place from whence Solomon got his gold; for the Malay Peninsula, or old Aurea Chersonesus, is full of gold, and might have been mined either on the east or west coast, as it is to some extent to the present day.

I would now conclude this short paper by saying that I do not suppose for a moment that the evidence I have brought forward, and the facts I have stated, will have been sufficient to satisfy the minds of those who have made a study of this difficult problem. I have but endeavoured to elucidate the subject, and to remove some part of it from obscurity, keeping as far as I possibly could from speculative reasoning in viewing it in its different aspects and relations.

Although, as will have appeared, I incline to the belief that the true Ophir was the territory of the Aurea Chersonesus, and that emporia for the sale of gold and other commodities existed along the coast of Arabia, I confess that my mind is still in a state of expectation, and waiting for that further knowledge which is promised to us from the researches of the eminent archæologists now occupied in Africa, India, and Malaya.

ON LEPROSY AND FISH-EATING.*

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

THE author, in his preface, states that his main object is to carry conviction to his readers that the fundamental cause of the malady known as *true leprosy* is the eating of fish in a state of commencing decomposition ; that fish, whether fresh or properly salted or cured, is innocuous as an article of diet ; that decomposing fish is the one sole cause of leprosy ; that the malady is not contagious by touch ; that prevention by segregation is of very little use as a preventive ; that the use of asylums in the Middle Ages was not the efficient cause of its decline ; and that the best preventive and antidote of the disease is salt liberally used when fish is taken as a diet.

The author states that his special interest in this disease commenced in 1855—fifty-one years ago—from seeing some cases in the London hospitals, and the conviction was forced upon him that some definite and specially malignant microbe was the fountain and origin of the malady. By a process of inductive reasoning carefully carried out, he came to the conclusion that neither climate nor race was causative of the disease, and that it was most prevalent where the inhabitants lived on islands or shores of the sea, or where their location was near rivers or places adjoining. In 1869 he visited Norway, and there inspected the largest fish-market and the largest leper-home in the world, and discovered that the peasants preferred decomposed to fresh fish. The doctors there were unable to accept the fish hypothesis, though they could not assign any probable theory to account for the disease ; and, as the natives had a greater liking for decomposed than fresh fish, the author

* "A Statement of Facts and Explanations," by Jonathan Hutchinson, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., etc., 1906. Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 16, James Street, London, S.W., 1906.

naturally accepted the inference that fish in a decomposed condition was the main element in its causation and spread.

The discovery of the bacillus of leprosy in 1874 by Dr. Hansen opened a new vista in the apparent causation of the malady, and it was hopefully regarded that the knowledge of this new factor would be of great use, not only in checking the disease in its initial stage, but also in curing the unfortunate sufferers. Many years have elapsed since this important discovery, and as no bacillus was found by experts in fish, the conclusion was apparently obvious that decomposing fish was not the cause of the disease. In 1890 a Government inquiry was made in Natal, and it was announced that the Kaffirs there never tasted fish of any sort, and hence the conclusion arrived at was that bad fish could not have caused the disease. In 1901 and 1902 Dr. Hutchinson visited Cape Colony and Natal, and the evidence obtained there pointed conclusively to the fact that some cases had originated in Natal amongst persons who had not eaten fish. The cases were few in number and only occurred amongst persons who had associated with leprosy patients, and these chiefly among young people, and all the original cases without exception had occurred amongst adults who had been at work at Cape Colony, and presumably had eaten bad fish there. Food handled by the impure hands of a leper, or milk taken from an infected mother, was more likely to have produced the disease. The author blames the fish factories at Cape Town for producing the disease by exporting fish in a bad state to the neighbouring regions.

Next year the doctor visited India, and gave lectures at Colombo, Madras, Calcutta, Lahore, and Bombay, and he states that in these towns nothing was brought forward in the discussion that followed to overturn his hypothesis. It appears that the Protestants in Russia who live on the borders of the Baltic provinces suffer more from this disease

than the orthodox Christians of the Greek Church, as the latter are forbidden fish on fast days, whilst the Protestants have no religious law against it.

Dr. Hansen, with much candour, declares that contagion is not the only factor at work in producing this disease, and states that the fish theory finds "no support in Norway, nor probably in any other part of the world." This is rather a bald and bold statement, for the disease is known chiefly in places where the buying and eating of fish is most prevalent, and where salt is not used as a condiment to the extent it ought to be in curing fish, and the author states that the decline of leprosy is more due to improved dietetic habits than any other factor. Only the southern part of China suffers from this disease, where fish abounds and salt is imported; whereas in Pekin the fish supply is scanty and salt is plentiful, and in this, the northern part, leprosy is unknown. Unfortunately, experimental proof as yet has been of no value as to the inception of the disease, as the bacillus may be present in the patient for a long time without any sign or symptom of the malady, either latent or recognisable.

The author gives a summary in his preface of the chief facts in reference to the disease under eighteen heads, commencing with the "world-wide distribution," and ending with the statement that, "It has been wholly, or almost wholly, absent from Cape Colony, Natal, the Sandwich Islands, and some other places, until factories for the curing of the fish were instituted"; and as to the application of the fish hypothesis regarding leprosy, he states under ten heads, first, the cause of its antiquity, and under the tenth head the reason of its occurrence in *de novo* and sporadic cases; and under a third head gives six rules for the prevention of the disease, such as the danger of eating decomposing fish, eating food taken from the hands of lepers, and not allowing leprous mothers to nurse their infants, etc.

These excellent rules, if carried out carefully and

diligently, would certainly be of great benefit to the public in preventing the disease.

Leprosy is a disease *per se*, and has no affinity with other maladies. Tuberculosis in its first stage is more analogous to it than any other human malady; the bacillus of each has some characteristics in common. It may exist in the body of the recipient without, in the first stage, exhibiting any sign of its presence, and lie dormant for a lengthened period in the system; or it may be roused into action without any apparent cause and produce a great change in the constitution, and death may result; or it may quietly settle down, and fair health may ensue without a relapse, and the patient may continue to have a fair state of health for an indefinite time, and die of old age or some other affection. In some cases of chronic tuberculosis, also, the skin has a thick, flabby appearance on the cheeks and brow; certain glands may be affected and increase in size, and remain so (on the neck and elsewhere); but, unlike leprosy, the breath of such a person, if a nurse, may affect young children with the same disease, and produce tuberculosis on the brain covering, very soon ending in death. Leprosy seems to be entirely a human disease, and has existed thousands of years, with the same characteristic symptoms which attended it from the beginning, and remains, to this day. The author mentions a disease to which sheep are subject and which exhibits an exact parallel to leprosy—viz., fluke. In some few cases recovery takes place, but in the majority the sheep die. Shell-fish and pork when kept for some time and taken as food also exhibit a similar course. As a few patients recover from leprosy and tuberculosis, it may be hoped and expected that even these two formidable diseases may be conquered by the discovery of an antagonistic germ or other method which may prevent or destroy the bacillus and other organisms which favour its growth and development.

The contents of this valuable volume are divided into thirty-seven chapters and are illustrated with sixteen plates,

No. 2 exhibiting the portrait of a young woman taken three years before the leprosy commenced, with a pleasant face, and No. 3 seven years later, showing the same person, the leprosy having existed four years, and the contrast between the two is remarkably striking: the face is very coarse, the eyes half closed, and the tuberosities and callosities which the disease have produced on the countenance and arms appear quite hideous. The other plates chiefly consist of maps showing the diffusion of this disease all over the ancient and modern world.

This dreadful disease shows itself first on the cutaneous surface, giving two symptoms of its presence—the appearance of little brown patches, and loss of sensation following this diagnostic mark, and gradually spreading, if conditions are favourable, over the body. The author states that its chief habitat is on the sea-coast, or near lakes or rivers, and the symptoms are the same in all parts of the world. Singularly enough, in the tropics it affects all classes, and in temperate regions only the poor, and he draws two corollaries with regard to its presence—first, that the poison which produces the disease gains access to the body in the form of food, and second, that the evidence as regards this disease points to fish as being, in all probability, the vehicle by which the poison of leprosy gains access to the human body, and he cites many authorities in favour of this view.

In chapter ii. the author gives a definition of the disease, and he declares it to be “a long-protracted, often fatal, but self-terminable bacillary disease, in which the peripheral nervous system and the skin are chiefly affected, and in which loss of sensation, muscular paralysis, erythematous tumefaction of the skin and acroteric necroses are usual phenomena.”

The disease has certain affinities with particular parts of the body, and the poison is not diffused over all, yet where it chooses its site there it unmistakably remains, destroying the parts affected. The *Bacillus lepra* gives no help as to the cure of the disease, and can only live in the human

body where its conditions suit it. Inoculation, attempted on man and animals, has failed, and the author concludes that "the world-wide distribution of leprosy proves that it is not solely dependent on contagion, but is capable of independent origination; and further, that the irregularity of its distribution makes it certain that it is produced by some article of food which is consumed in some countries and not used in others."

Any kind of fish is liable, and that alone, to produce the disease, according to the author's experience; and in New Zealand, when the Maori lived on fish and fern-roots, leprosy was common; but now, since beef and mutton, potatoes and wheaten bread have been used, leprosy is rare. It is dying out in the island of Madeira; but where, on the contrary, large fish markets exist, there, as in Bergen and Norway, leprosy is plentiful. The chief means of spreading the disease is unlike all other disorders, as it does not contaminate the air, but the food being touched by a leprous hand or the baby taking its mother's milk, are the two chief factors, and its introduction into the system being unknown, it may remain quiescent for many years. In some places it is spoken of as the "Chinese disease," and in many districts the Chinaman is a careless gastronomist and unclean in his habits. It is most common in Kwanting and Fokien, and in the Yangtse, but in the central plain of Yangtse is less abundant, and is altogether absent in the Yangtse plain of the east, with a dense population. The swampy rice-fields of Kwanting are full of it, and other swampy rice-fields are exempt from it. Neither climate nor the sea produces it, and the author is forced to the conclusion that the disease is not contagious, but is due to eating bad fish, which these latter inhabitants do not eat, and in other large tracts of this great empire it is unknown.

The author spared no time or expense in the researches he has made in various towns and places he visited in all parts of the world where the disease has been prevalent, and he has accumulated quite a storehouse of literature

on the subject, all pointing to the fact that stale and putrid fish has, in the majority of cases, been the chief cause of the occurrence of the malady.

Nature keeps her secrets well, whether in the medical or physical world, and the author deserves great praise for his untiring researches into the apparently causative agent producing this malignant and hideous malady; and if in the places mentioned where the disease is still prevalent a law were made and enforced that all stale or putrid or improperly-salted fish was forbidden to be sold or eaten, it might help to lessen the extension of this loathsome disorder.

A PLEA FOR THE BAGPIPE IN INDIA.

BY DONALD NORMAN REID.

IN my letter on Mr. Mitra's lecture* I plead for the bagpipe being made the national musical instrument of India, so as to unite more closely the bonds of love and friendship between this country and our great Dependency. Something of the kind is wanted now that Indians are being treated as aliens in South Africa and in Australia. The duty of Anglo-Indians is to prove that the Indians are not aliens, and that they have as much right to settle in the Colonies as those who enter our possessions with white skins and black hearts. But the heart of the Indian is not black, whatever his skin may be; and in his own country he now marches to the strains of the bagpipes with the best of our white soldiers. Is there a finer soldier in the world than the little Gurkha? And yet Mr. T. Gray, writing in *Man* on "The Measurements of the Indian Coronation Contingent," states that "an interesting result brought out by the chart is the fact that the Tamil and the Himalayan (Gurkhas and Garhwalis) heads are almost exactly alike. This points to the hypothesis that when the Aryans entered India at the North-West they acted like a wedge, and pushed part of the pre-Aryan races on to the slopes of the Himalayas, and part into the Deccan." The Gurkhas are nowadays the flower of the Indian army, the bravest of the brave, with the same contempt for death that the Japanese have; and as for the Madras sepoy, I cannot do better than quote my own words in their defence from an article on "Victims of Circumstances" which I contributed to the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June, 1897:

"In the days when the Madras army was second to none there was a large proportion of Scotsmen among its officers, and the old 74th and 78th Highlanders were the two

* See p. 151 of this *Review*.

British regiments which fought shoulder to shoulder with Madras sepoys in some of the fiercest fights that took place on Indian soil. My mother's father was an old 74th officer, and on my father's side all his mother's brothers were in the Service, as will be seen from the following inscription on a tombstone in the old burying-ground of the Macleods of Drynoch, in the Isle of Skye :

“ ‘Underneath are the remains of Donald Macdonald Macleod, Lieutenant, 50th Regiment Madras I., who died at Drynoch in 1837, seventh son of Norman Macleod of Drynoch, and Alexandrina Macleod of Bernera, whose eldest son Donald died at Gravesend in 1824, Captain 78th Regiment. Norman died in Java in 1814, a Captain in the same corps. Alexander died at Forres in 1828, a Major in the 12th Regiment B.N.I. John died a Captain in 78th Regiment during passage home from Ceylon. Roderick died at Killegray from a hurt received in action on board the *Belvidera* frigate on N.A. station. Forbes died in Madras a Lieutenant, 12th Regiment N.I. This stone is dedicated to the memory of the above-named by their sorrowing mother and her surviving sons, Martin, late 27th, 79th, and 25th Regiments, now of Drynoch, and Charles, now of Glendulochan. 1839.’

“ I give the above record of some of my fighting kinsmen who sacrificed their lives in the East in the service of their country, as the Anglo-Indians, who only know me as a planter, entertain a strong suspicion to the effect that I am a traitor in disguise, owing to the manner in which I espouse the cause of the natives against European traders. But I may well inquire, How shall I address that large class of Anglo-Indians with whom rupees are always a weightier consideration than duties ? In our pursuit of the almighty rupee we forget to take an interest in the welfare of the natives, with the result that we spend our lives in complete ignorance of their thoughts and aspirations. Has not William Watson told us that

“ ‘Hate and mistrust are the children of blindness ;
Could we but see one another, ’twere well !
Knowledge is sympathy, charity, kindness ;
Ignorance only is maker of hell ’ ?

“ If the Tamil and Telugu speaking races of Southern India have so degenerated that they are now only fit to be

hewers of wood and drawers of water, it is solely owing to our present system of government, which, as Sir Thomas Munro pointed out to Canning, is 'much more efficacious in depressing them than all our laws and school-books can be in elevating their character. . . . The improvement of the character of a people, and the keeping them in the lowest state of dependence on foreign rulers, to which they can be reduced by conquest, are matters quite incompatible with each other.' I believe thoroughly in military officers as administrators, for one has only to turn to the many valuable books which were written by the British military officers of the East India Company to judge of their sympathetic demeanour towards the natives, and the following extract from Welsh's 'Military Reminiscences' is well worth quoting. Welsh first of all describes how splendidly the Madras troops behaved at the Battle of Argaum, which was fought on November 23, 1803, and he then goes on to tell how a native officer met his death :

" 'Subadar Ali Khan, a man so uncommonly diminutive in person that we used to call him the "little cock sparrow," was one of the best and bravest of soldiers I ever knew. He was at this time far advanced in life, as he had earned the respect and esteem of every European officer, as well as of every native in the corps ; and, what was very remarkable, this Lilliputian hero had as strong a voice as he had a great soul. In action he was the life and soul of those around him, and in devoted affection to the Service he had no superior. The whole of the flesh and sinews of the hinder part of both thighs being torn away by a large shot, he fell, and could not rise again ; but as soon as the action was over he requested his attendants to carry him after us, that his dear European comrades might see him die. We had halted on the field, upwards of a mile in front of where he fell, when he arrived, and spoke to us with a firm voice and most affectionate manner, recounted his services, and bade us all adieu. We endeavoured to encourage him by asserting that his wound was not mortal, and that he would yet recover. He said he felt assured to the contrary, but he was not afraid of death ; he had often braved it in the discharge of his duty, and his only regret was that he should not be permitted to render further services to his honourable masters.'

" Here is another incident of the Battle of Argaum which is worth recording :

" 'Lieutenant Langlands, of the 74th Highlanders, was close to us in the action, when a powerful Arab threw a spear at him, and, drawing his

sword, rushed forward to complete his conquest. The spear having entered the flesh of the Lieutenant's leg, cut its way out again and stuck in the ground behind him, when Langlands grasped it, and, turning the point, threw it with so true an aim that it went through his opponent's body, and transfixed him within three or four yards of his intended victim. All eyes were for an instant turned on these two combatants, when a sepoy of our Grenadiers rushed out of the ranks, and, patting the Lieutenant on the back, exclaimed, "Achhak iya, sahib, bahut achha kiya!" ("Well done, sahib, very well done!") Such a ludicrous circumstance, even in a moment of extreme peril, could not pass unnoticed, and our soldiers all enjoyed a hearty laugh."

When two regiments of Highlanders took part in the Seven Years' War, the Germans looked upon them as savages who were strangers to Christianity! "The Scotch Highlanders," says the *Vienna Gazette* of 1762, "are caught in the mountains when young, and still run with a surprising degree of swiftmess. As they are strangers to fear, they make very good soldiers when disciplined. The men are of low stature, and the most of them old or very young. . . . Broglie himself has lately said that he once wished that he was a man of 6 feet high, but that now he is reconciled to his height since he has seen the wonders performed by the little mountaineers."

At Fontenoy, when the military reputation of this country was at its lowest, a Highland regiment fought and earned distinction by covering the retreat of the defeated army, on which occasion, according to the account of the French themselves, "the Highland furies rushed in upon them with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest." At Fontenoy the Irish marched into action to the sound of their bagpipes.

When the Marchioness of Hastings sailed for India, she took with her one of her Highland cousins, a Miss Ross, who had been brought up at Raasay. In India this Miss Ross married as his second wife the celebrated amateur artist Sir Charles D'Oyly. While living at Patna with her husband Lady D'Oyly had an elegant set of pipes, "of peculiar workmanship," made for Mackay, the famous Raasay piper. On receiving this present, Mackay, in her

honour, composed the tune, "Lady D'Oyly's Salute," which is so well known to the best pipers of our day. It was one of these Mackay pipers from Raasay who at Waterloo stepped outside the bayonets of the 79th Highlanders, and, marching round their square, played on his pipes the popular air of "Cogaidh nā Sith."

The following extract from a footnote to Robert Carruthers' edition of Boswell's "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides" describes the part played by the bagpipes at our Highland funerals :

"Mr. MacQueen, or, more correctly, Dr. MacQueen—for he had received the degree of D.D., though he did not use it in Skye—was an eminent member of the Scottish Church, and is honourably mentioned by Dr. Erskine in his 'Sketches of Church History.' He died suddenly at Raasay in January, 1785, while on a visit to his cousin, the Laird of Raasay. The funeral of the learned and estimable pastor is still remembered. Raasay gave a liberal 'entertainment' previous to the 'lifting of the body'; there was another 'entertainment' at Portree, and a third at Kilmuir, the place of interment. The whole parish of Kilmuir assembled to receive and accompany the remains of their minister from Portree. There was something very striking and solemn in these large Highland funerals, in the appearance of the vast procession winding among the hills or stretching along the shore, and in the strains of the bagpipe as the 'Lament' was slowly and mournfully pealed forth."

Even nowadays "the whole population of a glen is still ready to pour forth to honour piety, or public service, or ancient descent, in its passage to the tomb"; and this is a Highland custom which might be introduced with advantage into India among our fellow-subjects.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of this Association was held on Monday, March 26, 1906, at Caxton Hall, Westminster. A paper was read by S. M. Mitra, Esq., M.R.A.S., on the subject of "The Partition of Bengal and the Bengali Language."* Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I. (late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) presided. The following, among others, were present: Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., Sir Edward Candy, C.S.I., Sir Frederick Lely, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Mr. and Mrs. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. T. H. Thornton, D.C.L., C.S.I., Colonel William Loch, C.I.E., Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. Anson, Colonel and Mrs. Altaf Ali, Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Mr. L. W. Ritch, Mr. Shakir Ali, Mr. A. M. Fagan, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. T. Morison, Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S., Mr. H. M. Birdwood, C.S.I., LL.D., Mr. J. W. Neil, Mr. R. K. Puckle, C.I.E., Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. W. Wavell, Mr. William F. Piper, Dr. Bhabha, Mrs. and Miss Wolley, Mr. Camruddin Amerudden Abdul Latif, B.A., LL.B., Mr. P. D. Patel, Mr. E. C. Harrington, Mr. S. N. Sinha, Miss Heuer, Mr. S. G. Hart, Mr. Leighton, Mr. A. K. Bakht, Mr. H. Croker, Mr. R. L. Dhingra, Mr. H. Nott, Mr. F. W. Thomas, Mr. H. R. Evans, Mr. S. H. Askari, Miss A. Smith, Major Malet, Miss Chapman Hands, Mr. A. Bakr, Mr. S. C. Kurwa, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

The CHAIRMAN having introduced the lecturer, the paper was read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think we are all agreed that we have heard a very interesting paper, very ably and fluently delivered by Mr. Mitra. The subject of his lecture is divided into two parts. As regards the influence of the partition of Bengal on the Bengali language, I do not think it is necessary for me, at any rate, to say anything, because it seems to me that the lecturer has been putting up a scarecrow in order simply to knock it down again. I do not see how any reasonable man can suppose that an administrative change like that which has taken place, or the drawing the boundary of a province in one place rather than in another, can affect the language, and I am sure that no one who has a robust faith in the capacity and vitality of the Bengali language would ever use such an argument as that. As to the Bengali language itself, I think one may criticise what has been said from two points of view—firstly, from the point of view of the expert in philology, and, secondly, from the point of view of the lover of literature. I have no pretension to be an expert in philology. I hope there may be some members of the Association present who may discuss, and either support or possibly oppose to some extent, what Mr. Mitra has told us. Certainly it did surprise me very much to hear the great antiquity of the language, and the large number of works that have

* See this paper in our last (April) issue, pp. 263-277.

been written in it, both original works and translations from the English. It is also very interesting to know that the Bengal Press has been so fruitful and so copious. I think perhaps Mr. Mitra would allow that a severe critic would hesitate a little to accept his view about the antiquity of the Bengali character as dating back to the time of Buddha, basing it on the ground of a passage in the "*Lalita Vistara*," a work of which we do not know the date, saying that Buddha learnt the "Vanga" alphabet. We neither can trace the date of the assertion nor the authority attached to it, nor do we know that the alphabet that is referred to is the same as the present Bengali alphabet; but possibly Mr. Mitra in his closing speech may be able to dispel these doubts of mine.

From the literary side there are two specially interesting points to me—first, the extent to which Bengali ladies are able to get hold of translations into Bengali of English, French, and Persian writers; and, secondly, the extent to which they are able to understand and assimilate them. It seems to me it is a remarkable thing, and it takes me rather by surprise, to hear that Bengali ladies in any considerable number can read the works of Victor Hugo, Molière, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and so forth. I rather wonder how they have attained that education. We know how very few ladies are educated in schools in Bengal, at any rate outside of elementary schools. Perhaps the explanation is that they have had this education from the hands of their male relatives. If that is so, one must congratulate them on having male relatives so cultivated and so progressive as to desire that their ladies should share in the possession of the knowledge which they themselves have acquired and have rejoiced in.

There is one thing which rather surprised me—namely, that Mr. Mitra did not say more about what is generally supposed to be the extreme divergence between written and spoken Bengali. I have always been under the impression that there was an immense contrast between them, and that an ordinary villager could not perhaps understand a single word of one of Bankim Chandra's novels, or any works of that kind. I remember hearing officers in Bengal say that when a Bengal villager was called up into court and the oath or affirmation administered to him, he would often go off into a fit of giggling. It was a kind of abracadabra to him, and he had not the faintest idea of what it meant. Mr. Mitra seemed to think the great improvement in Bengali, which had taken place about the time of Warren Hastings, consisted in the introduction of a large number of Sanscrit words. I should like to hear from any Bengali gentlemen here how far they agree in that view. Certainly I have heard it said, and it has been my impression—though, as I stated, I speak with no authority whatever on the subject—that it was a misfortune to Bengali to adopt so much from the Sanscrit. It gave it a sort of deadness and antiquity, rather suggesting a comparison between Johnsonese English and the English of the present day. One would like to hear what the opinion of other gentlemen acquainted with the subject may be.

Then there was a very interesting point which Mr. Mitra has brought out about the tone of the popular ballads in Bengal. That really is a very remarkable and very valuable addition to our information about the feeling

of the country. We are much exposed to criticism, and deservedly exposed to criticism, for it is impossible, especially under a foreign rule like ours, that we should not frequently make mistakes, and a great deal of the criticism we have received has been good for us. The only thing is that it should be done in a friendly spirit, and if one knows from such an authority as Mr. Mitra that as far as he can find out there is a widespread feeling of friendliness towards the English rule, it is a great encouragement to those who desire to see improvements of the administration, and who are stimulated by the feeling that their efforts and their aims are appreciated and understood. Mr. Mitra himself has done a good deal towards carrying out that object. He is an educated Bengali who has always done his best to put a fair and favourable construction upon the intentions and work of the English administration, and for that reason I think he has been doing real good to his country, and that we should therefore welcome him here to-day. I understand he has some intention of residing permanently in England, and I hope it may be so, and that the influence he possesses and the information he has will be very useful to the increasing number of English ladies and Englishmen who desire to know more about the state of feeling in India, and how far the Government which we carry on is appreciated and is popular there.

MR. C. E. BUCKLAND, C.I.E., said that, as an old Bengal officer, and perhaps the only person present born at Chittagong, he had listened with great attention to the lecture. He wished he had known as much about the Bengali literature and language at the beginning of his service as he had heard from the lecturer. It was a revelation to him to hear that the Bengali language had existed, and that its characters were known, in the days of Buddha, between 557 and 477 B.C. He thought the Chairman's remarks with reference to the teaching to Buddha of the Bengali language deserved to be followed up, and he hoped that future speakers would be able to throw some light on the assertion made by the lecturer. He, however, wished to make some remarks on Bengali from quite another point of view. Bengali had been referred to both from the points of view of philology and of literature, but he wished to invite attention to it as the language of the courts and the official language which officers in Bengal were supposed to know. The remark had fallen from Mr. Mitra that Bengali was a language tolerably easy to foreigners, and he rather thought that remark had been used with regard to Mahommedans; but perhaps the officers in Bengal might be regarded as foreigners. He could say from experience that the officers in Bengal regarded Bengali as a distinctly difficult language, which was not at all congenial to them, and he must confess that sometimes they did not make themselves very proficient in it. There used, in the speaker's time, to be great difficulty in getting Bengali taught at all before going out to India, and he was sorry to say that now some young officers went out to Bengal without knowing a single word of the language. According to the rules of the Civil Service Commission it was open to selected candidates to take up *either* Hindustani *or* Bengali as their language, and, as a matter of course, most of them took up Hindustani, partly because it was easier, and partly with a view to being sent to Behar.

They could not, of course, all go to Behar, and the result was that some of these young officers had to be sent to Bengal districts without knowing a single word of the language. Then they had to pass their departmental examination, which took a year or two to do, and they had to try little cases and learn their work in a language which was not congenial to them. Naturally they did not much like it, and they often cut rather a poor figure in the examinations. He could speak from experience both as an examinee and as an examiner, and he thought something ought to be done to improve the standard of knowledge which officers in Bengal had of the language in which they were bound to hear cases in court and administer their districts. He had known cases of officers who had been eight or nine years in the country, and when the time came that they were likely to get a district, they had to go back, as it were, to school to learn the language before they could administer a district. Such things ought not to be. There had been, doubtless, distinguished civilians, able administrators, who certainly could not have made themselves understood to the ordinary ryot in Bengal; they had got on *somehow*, but he did not think that was very satisfactory. They were compelled to listen to the evidence of witnesses whose language they did not really understand, except through the medium of an interpreter. Perhaps nothing in the world would have made them proficient speakers of the language, and the only remedy was to put the evidence in writing. The Bengali characters were not difficult to read when put down on paper. He thought something ought to be done to secure a higher standard among the officials, and that they should not be left to depend upon their court officers for explanations of the evidence, or the writing of statements by the natives.

With regard to the other point—namely, the partition of Bengal, he thought the agitators had made a great mistake in taking up the question of the language. He had always been opposed to the partition of Bengal as quite an unnecessary measure, and as entailing altogether unnecessary expenditure; but he had always thought that the matter of the language was not the proper platform on which to fight the question. The learned lecturer had given instances of languages and countries, and had especially referred to Delhi and Lahore and Hindustani as showing the fact that the same language was spoken in several different provinces, and that it made no difference whatever to the language. He might have gone further, because it was not long ago that the north-west frontier province was carved out from the Punjab. Nobody had suggested that that operation made the slightest difference in the language spoken by the people affected. He also believed that in Madras and Southern India the Tamil language was spoken by the people of more than one province or administration, and he had never heard that that fact made the slightest difference to anybody speaking that language. He thought the agitators would have done much better if they had confined their attention to other matters, and, as had been pointed out by the Chairman, the language question really was a scarecrow which had been put up to be knocked down again.

MR. S. N. SINHA said that it was very interesting to him as a Bengali to listen to the lecture which had been delivered by Mr. Mitra, and to learn

that they were indebted to Englishmen for their first dictionary and first grammar. Coming, as he did, from Lucknow, he was in a position to say that the Bengalis who had settled outside Bengal were perfectly in touch with Bengal, its language and its literature. The fact was that the Bengalis outside Bengal were in no way divided either as regards literature or language, or as regards their traditions. It was not to be forgotten that the Bengalis of the United Provinces and the Punjab were no different from the Western Bengalis, and the only visible effect was that they had cultivated Persian in addition to Bengali. The result was that the travelled Bengali was free from the insular prejudices of the stay-at-home Bengali.

SIR EDWARD CANDY said he wished to make a few remarks with regard to one point which the learned lecturer had mentioned in connection with nursery rhymes. Mr. Mitra had alluded to the Bengali rhymes dealing with the Maratha "bargi," and he apparently thought that "bargi" might be the same as the English "bogie." That was not so. "Bargi" was a well-known Maratha word. When he served in Kathiawar, thirty years ago, his escort consisted partly of a dozen Maratha bargis, and they were descendants of Sivaji's bargis, who raided as far as Calcutta. "Bargi" merely meant a rider, the men who formed the cavalry of Sivaji. Mr. Mitra had not mentioned one illustration, which would have been useful to him as an argument, with regard to the languages of different provinces. A little more than forty years ago there were two districts in the Madras Presidency—North Canara and South Canara. North Canara was ruthlessly taken away from the Madras Presidency and joined to the Bombay Presidency. It was hoped by Sir Bartle Frere that if North Canara came under the Bombay Presidency Karwar would become a famous port and the railway would be taken up thence from the coast. Those hopes were falsified; but, still, North Canara had ever since remained under Bombay and the Canarese language had not suffered, although the Canarese of North Canara were under the Bombay University and the Canarese of South Canara remained under the Madras University, and he thought he might add nobody was any the worse. There was one other point he was sorry Mr. Mitra had not touched upon, and that was whether the Bengali language had suffered in the same way as the language of Western India had suffered, by the unnecessary incorporation of many English words into the vernacular. Many amusing stories could be told of vernacular addresses by educated gentlemen in Western India in Guzerati and in Marathi which had been disfigured by the use of English words in cases in which there could have been no difficulty in using idiomatic vernacular terms and phrases.

MR. PESHOTA D. PATEL said that he desired to accept the challenge, which he understood the lecturer to put forward, with regard to the motives of the Government in making the partition of Bengal. With regard to the question of the language, he had followed the arguments brought forward, and had nothing to say against them, but if he did not take up the challenge respecting the motives of the Government, he thought he would not be doing his duty to his people or to his country. One of the reasons put forward by the agitators was that the partition would affect the language;

but that was not the main point which the agitators advanced against the partition. One of the speakers had said that it was a sad thing that their agitators had advanced it. He did not know whether that was the right place to enter into the motives of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN thought they could only deal with the question of the partition as affecting the language, and that the motives of the Government was a purely political question.

MR. PATEL said that under those circumstances he would bow to the ruling of the Chairman.

DR. JOHN POLLEN, C.I.E., said he might possibly be asked what a Bombay civilian knew about Bengal or the Bengali language; but seeing that his friend, Sir Edward Candy (also an ex-Bombay civilian), had spoken most appositely on the subject, he (Dr. Pollen) thought he was perhaps entitled to say a few words. He had a certain knowledge of Bengali, because he happened to be one of the three Bombay officers selected, about thirty-two years ago, in 1874, to help to rescue the people of Bengal from the terrible famine known as "Sir Richard Temple's famine"; and he remembered distinctly the journey to Bengal and his difficulties with the language, and the first interview he had with the great Sir Richard Temple, who was then the "L.G." Designate of Bengal and the Famine Commissioner. Sir Richard desired to see what he called "the formidable Bombay contingent," which consisted of Mr. Horsley, I.C.S. (now a retired judge), the present Major-General Proudfoot, and the speaker (Dr. Pollen). Mr. Horsley, who was the spokesman and a great objector, said he feared there would be great difficulty with the language; but Sir Richard Temple said, "Oh dear no! I assure you Bengali is the simplest possible language! It is very like Hindustani! For instance, when they say 'hai' ('is') in Hindustani, they say 'che' in Bengali, and when they say 'solah' ('sixteen') in Hindustani, they say 'sholo' in Bengali." Then he turned to the Collector and said, "Am I not right, Mr. L——?" And the Collector replied obsequiously, "Perfectly right, sir!" Mr. Temple then galloped off to inspect some famine works, while the contingent stayed to breakfast. He (Dr. Pollen), in the course of the breakfast, said to the Collector, "Sir Richard seems to know Bengali very well"; whereupon the Collector replied, "Oh no! he does not know a word of it; and what he told you was all wrong. They don't say 'che,' and they don't say 'sholo.'" (Laughter.) However, the Bombay contingent found it necessary, in order to save the people of Bengal from this dreadful famine, to learn something about the language, and during ten months Dr. Pollen had endeavoured to master Bengali, but found it very difficult indeed. First of all he made the painful discovery (denied by Bengalis) that there were some hundred letters, or combinations of letters, in the alphabet which rather put one off to begin with. Mr. Buckland had alluded to the way in which English civil servants neglected the Bengali language; but he gathered that Englishmen had helped to construct the language, and he could not avoid feeling, while Mr. Mitra was speaking of those Englishmen who seemed to have made the Bengali language so intricate, that they did not really know their work; that they had rushed in where angels would have feared to tread; and that they ought not to have

tampered in that audacious manner with a language such as Bengali. He gathered that they had put into the lexicon no less than 80,000 words. He thought they would all agree that such a preposterous abundance of words was absolutely unnecessary for any language. A good working language could be made with a few hundreds; but those Englishmen had apparently enriched and complicated the Bengali language by stealing from the Sanscrit, and possibly also borrowing from the English. The same thing happened in the case of Scindi. When the English took possession of Scinde there was no such thing as a written Scindi language, and the work of inventing characters for the Scindi language, spoken by the people of Scinde, was entrusted to two Englishmen—viz., Sir Barrow Ellis and Mr. Sturt. Of course, the first thing these gentlemen had to do was to devise an alphabet. With the simple Roman alphabet ready at hand, one would have imagined that these Englishmen would have selected the Roman alphabet as the best and clearest alphabet, seeing that it was the outcome of the combined genius of Greece and Rome. But not a bit of it. They proceeded to mix up Persian and Arabic, and began by making four “d’s” and then four “t’s” with different dots, and ultimately a most complicated and confusing Scindi alphabet was evolved. Things were no doubt done with the best intentions in all these matters, and it was unquestionably with the best intentions that Bengal had been divided. In the particular circumstances of the case there could be little doubt in the mind of every thinking man that the duplication of administrative machinery in Bengal was the right thing. Possibly it was done in the wrong way, because if people’s language or people’s customs were to be interfered with, the first thing to be done was to carry the people with the reform, and not set them against it; and, as they all knew, the Indian people were people who could be easily led to right conclusions by a little tact and judgment. It was an administrative error to provoke them to be unreasonable. In conclusion, he wished to express his appreciation of the admirable paper that Mr. Mitra had given them. Mr. Mitra was a man who was really working heart and soul for what he believed to be the good of his country, and he was determined, if he could, to carry his fellow-countrymen with him. (Applause.)

MR. MITRA (in replying on the discussion) said that Dr. Pollen was in error when he stated that the Bengali alphabet had 300 letters; the Bengali alphabet was nothing new—practically the Sanscrit alphabet. Both the consonants and the vowels were the same. Dr. Pollen had said that Dr. Carey, the compiler of the dictionary, had no business to put 80,000 words into it. He was not surprised, considering that Dr. Pollen was an apostle of Esperanto, and perhaps wanted all languages limited to 300 words! Then Dr. Pollen had said that Englishmen had been tampering with the Bengali language. Being himself a Bengali, he thought he would have detected if there had been any tampering with the language. Sir Edward Candy had asked whether any English words were used in Bengali. Certainly there were some English words used, and Mr. Mitra had found in his thirty years’ study of his mother-tongue that they could not produce a single Bengali word to express, for instance, “railway-engine.” They drew from the storehouse of Sanscrit, but could not convey any idea of what it meant,

so they had to use the word "engine." That was a specimen of an English word that had come into use in Bengali, just as the English had taken such a word as "sepoys"; but he did not think that was tampering with the language. There were certain things which were expressed more easily in that way.

Another point that had been made was as to the difference between written and spoken Bengali. No doubt there was a great deal of difference between them, but he did not think the difference was so great as outsiders, not Bengalis, generally thought. The peculiar pronunciation of spoken Bengali made it seem to the foreigner a different language. The Chairman had referred to Bankim Chandra's novels, and in those novels the characters were made to speak the modern Bengali. He found that the language of the gentleman class in England differed from the language of the labouring classes, and he supposed there would be the same difference with regard to Bengali. In the same way a Persian gentleman spoke a different Persian to the Persian labourer.

Then, with regard to Bengali ladies discussing Herbert Spencer and Mill, he would point out that there was a large number of Bengali ladies who were graduates of the Calcutta University, and some of them had taken their M.A. degree. The leading Bengali magazine, *Bharati*, was edited by a Bengali lady, and had been for the last thirty years, since it was started by a lady. If they translated the contents of leading Bengali magazines into English, they would compare favourably with English magazines. If they took a copy of some of the leading Bengali magazines, they would find they contained discussions of such subjects as protoplasm and wireless telegraphy, and would refer to some of the greatest works of the German, French, and English, giving quotations with chapter and page from the various authors. It was not a mere reference, but the books had been read and digested by these ladies, and they had brought out the contents in their mother-tongue for the education of their sisters, who, according to the custom of the country, did not come out. He had himself been surprised to find that the Persian work, the "*Vizier-i-Lankaran*," was translated into Bengali. Those gentlemen who had read Persian, and took an interest in it, would know that that was one of the masterpieces of Persian literature. He had spent most of his life at Hyderabad, a great Mahommedan centre in India, and his attention was first drawn to the excellence of that book by a translation of it published by a Bengali lady belonging to the Tagore family. He was proud to refer to the great progress which had been made by the Bengali ladies.

Then Sir Edward Candy had drawn attention to the word "*bargi*," which he said had been suggested as an equivalent of the word "*bogie*"; but he only meant that the words were similar. He could only say that the word was used in some of their nursery rhymes to lull the children to sleep.

Then came the last and most important point, and that was for the philologist and scientist to discover—viz., the origin of the Bengali characters. He might say without fear of contradiction that within the last ten years it had been proved to the satisfaction of Western scholars that Bengali literature was older than had at first been thought. At first

the Western scholars, headed by Dr. Grierson, said that Bengali literature was not older than the fourteenth century; but Dr. Grierson now held the view that it was as old as the twelfth century. With regard to the Bengali alphabet, he had given the meeting the authority of the "Lalita Vistara" that Vishvamitra taught the great Buddha the Bengali characters. It was for the philologists and great savants of Europe to find how much weight was to be given to the "Lalita Vistara." Then they knew that the Chinese priest, Fa Hian, visited Tamruk in the third century of the Christian era, 1,600 years ago, and went to Bengal. That could be traced, and the Chinese priest's visit to Bengal was an historical fact accepted by Professor Wilson.

In conclusion, he thanked the meeting for the patient hearing they had accorded him.

On the motion of Mr. THORNTON, a hearty vote of thanks was unanimously accorded to the lecturer and to the Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of Mr. Mitra and himself, the proceedings terminated.

Since the meeting was held, Mr. D. N. Reid writes: "Although I was present at the meeting of the East India Association on Monday last, I did not get an opportunity of speaking on the above-mentioned subject. I therefore trust that you will kindly publish this letter in your Journal. A former Governor-General of India, my relative, Sir John Macpherson, writing on January 12, 1786, from Calcutta to his old friend, Professor Adam Fergusson of Edinburgh, said: 'Curious are the treasures in literature and the oblivious history of nations that are dawning upon us from the researches of Sir William Jones and others in Sanscrit, Arabic, and Persian. Even Anacreon and Euclid's best and happiest labours may have been long asleep in the translations of this country. And what seems to complete our prospect of elegant and useful information is that the present Governor of Chinsura, who was for seven years in Japan, has brought in the wonders of that country. Their encyclopædia is in his hands, and in some of the arts of life and government those islanders of Asia, those Anglo-Asiatics, have left all other nations far behind.' The above quotation, from a letter written 120 years ago, is extremely interesting, owing to the fact that on the very day we were listening to Mr. Mitra's lecture on the Bengali language 600 Japanese bluejackets were being entertained in London. The visit of these Japanese sailors is an object-lesson which ought not to be neglected, and this letter is written by me to impress upon the Bengali the necessity of striving to make himself as enterprising as the Japanese sailor and fisherman of to-day.

"I have always had the greatest admiration for Gallio, who refrained from interposing when Sosthenes was seized and beaten, since he doubtless considered that the Jews would not be the worse for being taught to keep their disputes about 'a question of words and names' to themselves. 'Gallio cared for none of those things.' This, however, is a digression.

"In his lecture Mr. Mitra referred to another of my relatives, the

Marchioness of Hastings, who, 'finding that the Bengali nations could not supply a single native child's book in Bengali, established in 1817 the Calcutta School-book Society.' Now, I am painfully aware of the fact that a discussion on the Bengali language is just as unprofitable as was the fierce controversy that raged for years on the authenticity of Ossian's poems. Boswell, in his 'Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,' tells us that it was while crossing in a boat from Skye to Raasay to visit the maternal grandfather of the Marchioness of Hastings, that Dr. Johnson first opened fire on the question of the authenticity of Ossian's poems by attacking my great-great-grandfather, the Rev. Dr. MacQueen, who was an acknowledged authority on the subject. 'Dr. Johnson asked him as to Fingal. He (Dr. MacQueen) said he could repeat some passages in the original; that he heard his grandfather had a copy of it; but that he could not affirm that Ossian composed all that poem as it is now published. This came pretty much to what Dr. Johnson had maintained, though he goes farther and contends that it is no better than such an epic poem as he could make from the song of Robin Hood—that is to say, that except a few passages there is nothing truly ancient but the names and some vague traditions. Dr. MacQueen alleged that Homer was made up of detached fragments. Dr. Johnson denied this, observing that it had been one work originally, and that you could not put a book of the "Iliad" out of its place, and he believed the same might be said of the "Odyssey." Now, the favourite book of the great Napoleon was Ossian's poems, and yet the above quotation will show that, however interesting it may be to the ethnologist and to the student of the science of languages, it is, to say the least, thoroughly useless to the man of action. And I repeat that if the Bengali wants to make himself respected as a man of action he must abandon the gift of verbosity, and take a leaf out of the tongue-tied Japanese fisherman's book.

"I must apologise for having sandwiched into this letter remarks about Ossian, by stating that India has for more than a century been known as 'Scotland's Churchyard'; and as the Indians love the music of the bagpipes, which they find cheering and inspiring, I would like to see the bagpipes adopted as the national musical instrument of our great Dependency. By this simple means a lasting bond of union would be created between India and Scotland."

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

PAPERS ON SOCIAL REFORM, BEING THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF K. SRINIVASA RAU, DEDICATED (BY PERMISSION) TO LORD AMPHILL, GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.

SIR,

It is quite refreshing to come across such a thorough-going, outspoken, and broad-minded social reformer as Mr. K. Srinivasa Rau. Already distinguished by a co-operation with a Mussulman soldier (most honourable to them both) in the production of a little book ("My Jubilee Visit to London" *), which, to my mind, is quite unique in its human interest, and, as I said before, "better calculated to improve the relations between Indians and English than any book I have seen," he has now taken another step towards improving the relations between Englishmen and Indians by "co-operating" with the late deservedly popular Governor of Madras in producing this little volume. We may fairly call it "co-operation," because without Lord Ampthill's friendly encouragement it would probably never have seen the light, and the world would have missed some very shrewd and pithy reflections on the almost insuperable difficulties that beset the path of the social reformer in India, some of which I shall take the liberty of quoting for the information, and perhaps even amusement, of your readers.

Advocates of women's suffrage might fortify their arguments by the author's candid confession, "I have not been able to convince myself that I am superior to every woman"; and his contemptuous retort on mere talkers, "No use of *saying* that you hold advanced and liberal views on these

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1900, pp. 209-211.

questions if you *do* nothing towards giving practical effect to them."

From his description of Hinduism, it would appear that as a religion it is much like the Church of England—extremely broad and comprehensive; you may believe in very nearly anything and almost in nothing. "A believer in a personal God, like a Mádva, is a Hindu, as well as one who does not believe in a personal God, like the Adwaiti," and "a man who believes in eternal hell for eternally wicked souls is quite as good a Hindu as a man who believes in no such thing." It will astonish some people to learn that the Mádva sect look upon Adwaitis as Prachinna-Boudhas *and* atheists, association with whom involves the purification of a bath!

The cause of the hundreds of millions of Hindu widows who are doomed by an evil custom, and *not*, I believe, by the Hindu religion, to a life of misery or prostitution, never had a more earnest advocate than Mr. Srinivasa Rau. "Do something," he says to his fellow-countrymen, "to stay the tears of the child-widow," at least. "When you die, better be in a position to say to yourself that your life has not been spent in money-making alone, but that you have done something, however small, towards lessening the misery around you." Rather than countenance such an abominable custom, he boldly attacks the authority of the Shastras themselves, and declines to be bound by them if it is true that they forbid the remarriage of even virgin-widows, a view which is stoutly controverted by the venerable Madrassi Dewan Bahadur Ragoonatha Rau. Shastras or no Shastras, it is impossible that such "methods of barbarism" can stand before English education.

The author's attack on theosophy, and even Mrs. Besant as its ruling high priestess, is curiously interesting, his great objection being to what he calls its mysticism and spiritualism, by which he seems to mean the "spiritual" as opposed to the "material" view of the universe. Evidently the "Coulomb exposure" and the "Collapse of Koot

Hoomi" were more disastrous to theosophy in Madras, at any rate, than was generally known, and it is possible it might never have recovered but for the almost miraculous conversion of Mrs. Besant. Sent out like Balaam to "curse," or, in modern language, expose, the theosophists, she not only blessed them altogether, but actually succeeded in swallowing that weird-looking creature Madame Blavatsky and all her works—fraudulent miracles included. As our author says, there has been no satisfactory explanation of this surprising event. However that may be, there can be no doubt that Mrs. Besant has by her surpassing eloquence electrified theosophy into life again, but, perhaps, chiefly in India, where, as Mr. Srinivasa Rau very candidly says, the Hindu "will take the first place for credulity among the nations of the world." He has, no doubt, good reason for dreading the effect on his fellow-countrymen of a religion which is perhaps too much inclined to withdraw itself from the practical side of life; but he certainly seems to me to go too far when he says that if "you wish to destroy a nation and make it a people of unthinking and credulous fools you need impose upon it nothing but this spiritualism." I cannot think that the Hindus "prove this to demonstration," and certainly Mrs. Besant, with all her mysticism, is soundly practical in the conduct of life. But it is true enough that the Hindu has suffered perhaps more than other people from a surfeit of ghosts and bloodthirsty gods, and it may well be that Western materialism, whatever its faults, has cleared the atmosphere of some phantoms of the imagination, and may be useful in leading the Hindu to think more of the material well-being of the people, and less of the virtue of mere contemplation.

It is wonderfully encouraging to me to find a Brahmin—a member of the most exclusive religious sect in the world so thoroughly imbued with all the ideas, I will not say of Christ, but, at any rate, of Buddha. It seems almost impossible to realize that it is a Brahmin who says that "the only safe principle is equal opportunities for all—

recognition of merit wherever found," entirely regardless of caste ; and the extraordinary difference between his cordial appreciation of Lord Amphill's rule in Madras and Sir F. Lely's pessimistic account* of the government of Bombay even under such a popular ruler as Lord Lamington is a most remarkable corroboration of the truth of the latter's view that the chief thing wanted in India is personal sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. Forty years ago I remember writing in a Madras journal—which has no doubt long since passed into oblivion—that what the ordinary Hindu demands is a *personal* and present deity on the spot that he can see with his own eyes and speak to whenever he likes ; not an impersonal red-tape-ridden mechanical Government at headquarters, and still less one that dwells remote on the tops of inaccessible mountains. Lord Amphill won all hearts, *not* by immense ability, but by his honest attempt to get at the people themselves, and by never-failing sympathy with all classes. And young as he still is, it is a question if we have ever had in Madras a more successful Governor since Sir Thomas Munro laid down his life in the district he had served so well. It might be well if his rule for the conduct of business were impressed upon the Bombay Secretariat. When a ryot comes with some impossible request "you can at least give him kind words."

An old Madras civilian of great experience writes : " I think Srinivasa Rau's pamphlet is a wonderful production. That a Brahmin should attack the priesthood, advocate raising the lower classes, and point out the foolishness and wickedness of many caste restrictions is indeed remarkable. It is more so that he should apparently carry his audience with him. He refrains, too, altogether from attacking the Government after the fashion of the Bengali Babu, and justly points out that he and his country are under great obligations to the English."

J. P.

* " Suggestions for the Better Governing of India."

THE KATHIAWAR CASES—JUDGMENT OF THE PRIVY
COUNCIL.

THIS important judgment of the Privy Council on the above appeal cases is as follows. The one is the appeal of Soni Hemchand Derchand of Jethur, in Kathiawar, against Azam Sakarlal Chhotamlal, and the other is the appeal of Taluka of Kotda Sangani against the State of Gondal.

These two appeals were heard together. The first (under the special leave of H.M. in Council) is from three orders of the Court of the Agent to the Governor, Kathiawar, in the Bombay Presidency (February 22, September 8, and September 22, 1902). The second appeal is from an order of the Governor in Council of Bombay (January 14, 1904). The question of the first appeal is whether an appeal lies from the court of the agent to the Governor to the King in Council. The question of the second appeal is, whether an appeal lies from the Governor in Council to the King in Council or to the Secretary of State.

The subject of the first of the appeals arises out of a suit instituted in the court of the assistant political agent of Sorath Prant, in Kathiawar (the term Prant meaning an administrative district). The grounds of the plaintiff's claim were that in February, 1893, he had advanced money to the late Darbar Shri Vala Naja Mamaiya, a shareholder in the chiefship of talukdari of Jetpur Chital, in Kathiawar, for the purpose of paying off debts due by the latter, who was a talukdar of the sixth class, and that the plaintiff had acquired possession; that Vala Naja died in May, 1901; and that the plaintiff's rights as mortgagee had been interfered with or threatened by the nominal defendant as manager for the substantial defendants, the successors of the deceased chief. The plaintiff prayed for a declaration of his rights and an injunction. In effect, therefore, the suit was one to enforce a mortgage made by a deceased chief against his successors. The assistant political agent dismissed the suit, basing his decision upon a notification

of the Government of India in the Foreign Department of June 22, 1900, which laid down, for the guidance of the agency courts in Kathiawar, the rule that: "No suit shall lie against a tributary chief or talukdar . . . in respect of any debt contracted by the predecessor of such chief or talukdar or subsharer, unless (a) the claim has been admitted by the tributary chief or talukdar or subsharer; or (b) the debt has received the written approval of the political agent."

The second appeal arises out of a suit instituted by the Thakor of Kotda-Sangani (a Kathiawar State) in the Court of the assistant political agent, Halar Prant, against the State of Gondal, a State of the first class, to redeem and recover possession of a village said to have been transferred by way of mortgage to the latter State by the former. The suit was dismissed by the first Court, and that dismissal was upheld by the political agent, Kathiawar. Upon appeal, the Governor of Bombay in Council reversed that decision, and gave a decree for redemption. A further appeal was brought to the Secretary of State in Council, who reversed the decision of the Governor in Council.

These two appeals were heard together. The question common to both cases, and the only question which has been argued, is whether an appeal lies to His Majesty in Council, and the answer to that question depends mainly upon the true relation of the Kathiawar States and their people to the British Crown, and upon the nature and character of the control exercised by the British Indian authorities over the administration of justice in those States.

The real question now before their Lordships was, whether in these and similar cases the action of tribunals in Kathiawar and of the Government in Council on appeal from those tribunals is properly to be regarded as judicial or as political. And at this point a distinction arises between the two cases of appeal, because the first of them

has been disposed of as a civil, the second as a political case. "As to the cases classed as political, their Lordships think there is no room for doubt. The rules issued from time to time for the guidance of the political agent treat the disposal of such cases as falling within his "diplomatic or controlling function," and direct him to dispose of them "as he thinks proper." And all the other provisions relating to such cases indicate purely political, and not judicial, action. The question relating to cases classed as civil gives rise to more difficulty, but, upon the whole, their Lordships are of opinion that no substantial distinction can be drawn for the present purpose between the two kinds of cases.

There is not necessarily any inherent distinction between the nature of political cases and those treated as civil. It depends in some cases solely upon who are parties to the suit. The two cases now before their Lordships illustrate this. The first of them was a suit brought to enforce a mortgage, the second was a suit to redeem a mortgage; yet one of the cases is civil, and the other political, because in the latter a talukdar above the fourth class is a party.

The political agent is empowered to transfer political cases to the civil class, and dispose of them as such, and this power he is encouraged and, indeed, directed to exercise freely.

The instructions from time to time issued by Government as to the disposal of cases suggests strongly that the exercise of jurisdiction both by the political agent and by the courts below him is to be guided by policy rather than by strict law. This is illustrated by the notification of Government of June 22, 1900, already referred to, on the strength of which the first of the present cases (a civil case) was decided. That notification appears to follow upon a series of earlier instructions substantially to the same effect. It lays down that "no suit shall lie against a tributary chief or talukdar, or against any subsharer of a tributary chief or talukdar, in respect of any debt contracted by the prede-

cases of such chief or talukdar or subsharer unless "one or other of two conditions is complied with, one of which conditions is the approval of the political agent. In the grounds of appeal before their Lordships questions are raised as to the construction and effect of the notification just cited; but quite irrespective of those questions, there is no doubt as to its validity as a direction by the Executive Government to its own political officers in a foreign State, and it may be used as an example of the kind of rules by which the exercise of jurisdiction is to be governed.

The appeal from the Kathiawar courts to the Governor of Bombay in Council might, perhaps, be regarded as a neutral circumstance; but the mode in which such appeals have been disposed of has been political rather than judicial. That disposal is described in a minute (dated October 11, 1877) of the then Governor of Bombay as being "done in the political department of the Government itself; that is, by the Secretary to the Government in that department under the supervision of the member of Council to whom . . . the political business is assigned."

The further appeal to the Secretary of State in Council is a fact of clearer import. In Lord Salisbury's despatch on March 23, 1876, the practice of such appeals is dealt with as a thing at that date already fully established, and it continues to the present day in civil as well as in political cases. This system of appeal to the Secretary of State affords strong evidence that the intention of Government is and always has been that the jurisdiction exercised in connection with Kathiawar should be political and not judicial in its character.

What occurred in and after 1876 points to the same conclusion. In the despatch of March 23 in that year, already referred to, the Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, suggested that an Act should be passed, general in character, but intended specially for the case of Kathiawar, enabling the Governor in Council, when dealing with appeals, to refer any state of facts or law to the High Court for its opinion. The Bombay Government opposed the suggestion,

and in an official letter of August 22, 1878, stated their grounds of objection. After distinguishing between "a system of government according to the will of the ruler," and "a system of government according to law," it was said: "The cases which come before this Government for adjudication are cases which have arisen in States still administered on the former principle." "Such cases can only be justly disposed of on principles of equity in the fullest sense of the term, and not in the circumscribed sense which is familiar to the practice of the High Courts; and sometimes consideration must be given to the political expediency which underlies the relation in which the Government stands to the protected States. The objections so stated prevailed. In 1879 Lord Cranbrook renewed the suggestion of his predecessor, but effect has never been given to it.

The conclusion is that the appeals were dismissed, but no order as to the costs.

INDIA: INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, 1904-1905.*

NET REVENUE AFTER DEDUCTIONS.

	£
Land	18,226,402
Forest	1,599,162
Tributes from Native States	421,303
Opium	4,050,999
Taxation from salt	5,093,466
Stamps	3,697,102
Excise	5,306,198
Provincial rate	2,820,358
Customs	4,267,032
Assess taxes	1,263,098
Registration	337,921
Post-Office	56,167
Telegraphs—	
Receipts	£897,923
Charges	902,628

* See return by the order of the House of Commons, April 9, 1906.

					£
Railways	...	...	...	...	2,105,438
Irrigation	...	...	...	...	284,683
Mint	...	...	...	...	88,533
Exchange	...	...	...	£94,065	
Compensation allowance to officers	...	...	...	350,468	
Charge	...	...	...	256,403	

NET EXPENDITURE AFTER DEDUCTIONS.

					£
Debt services	...	...	...	...	797,366
Army charges	...	...	...	...	19,214,763
Military works	...	...	...	...	936,137
Special defence works	...	...	...	...	128,295
Collection of revenue	...	...	...	...	5,199,542
Civil departments—					

General administration	...	...	...	£1,475,436
Law Courts, deducting receipts	...	...	...	2,083,958
Jails, deducting receipts	...	...	...	461,144
Police, deducting receipts	...	...	...	2,830,422
Marine, including river navigation	...	...	...	451,654
Education, deducting receipts	...	...	...	1,285,261
Ecclesiastical	...	...	...	121,039
Medical, deducting receipts	...	...	...	913,956
Political charges	...	...	...	790,339
Scientific and minor departments, deducting receipts	...	...	...	439,221

10,852,430

Miscellaneous civil charges—

Territorial and political pensions	...	£248,381
Absentee allowances	...	218,744
Superannuation allowances, deducting receipts	...	2,719,360
Stationery and printing, deducting receipts	...	503,165
Miscellaneous—		
Charges	...	£312,389
Receipts	...	333,310

3,668,729

Civil works, deducting receipts	...	4,285,204
Construction of railways	...	6,250
Fire and insurance	...	1,000,000

THE PRESENT CONDITION OF EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

Lord Cromer has issued his reports* on Egypt and the Soudan for 1905. They are full of interest and very complete, with a copious index. His reports on Egypt are divided into the following heads: (1) General; (2) Economics; (3) Finance; (4) Irrigation; (5) Communications; (6) Public Works; (7) Administration; (8) Public Health; (9) Justice; (10) Education; (11) Science and Art; (12) Conclusion. He says, in consequence of the "Anglo-French Agreement, the year 1905 opened under auspices of a peculiarly favourable nature for the causes of Egyptian progress and reform. I think it may be said that this has been realized. During the past year the whole machine of Government worked very smoothly." "Improvements in various directions have been effected. There is every reason to believe that this steady and uniform rate of progress will be maintained in future years, but nowhere must there be undue haste."

Under the heading "General" there is the following interesting paragraph on the Sinai Peninsula, which has caused considerable trouble. He says: "The whole of this Peninsula is a vast waste land. Only a few shrubs and trees grow in the 'wadis' (valleys). Water from several springs flows for some distance from the hills, and then disappears in the sand, without any considerable benefit being derived from it. The population is very sparse. No regular census has ever been made, but it is believed that there are about 30,000 inhabitants in the Peninsula. These are all of Arab origin, save the small Gebalia tribe, who are believed to be descendants of the troops sent by the Emperor Justinian early in the sixth century to defend the Sinai convent against the attacks of the indigenous population. The Bedouins have their own system of justice, founded on old tribal customs," some of

* Egypt, No. 1, 1906, presented to Parliament, April, 1906.

which are as follows : The system of taking blood-money and hereditary "vendetta" exists in full force. If a man kills another in time of peace, the relations of the murdered man, beginning from the father to the fifth generation, have their right to revenge, or pardon against the receipt of blood-money from the murderer or from his near relatives to the fifth generation. Should any one of the near relations of the murdered man accept the blood-money, all the other relations are obliged to accept, and revenge by shedding of blood becomes illegal. The blood-money ("El Madda"), according to the Sinai laws, is fixed at forty-one camels. It is generally paid in instalments during periods varying from a month to a year or more. If the murdered man was of the same tribe as the murderer, the latter, or his near relations, have to give a girl in marriage to one of the murdered man's relations, without receiving the usual dowry. She remains with him until she brings forth a child, when she becomes free to go back to her tribe, or to remain with her temporary husband; in the latter case the husband has to pay the usual dowry and to renew the marriage. Five camels may be substituted for the girl. If a man kills another in a desolate place, and denies the crime, but is subsequently found guilty, he is fined four blood-moneys. In this case, should the relations of the murdered man take a revenge by killing one man of the tribe of the murderer, they still have the right to receive three blood-moneys. They generally take one blood-money, forgive for another, and give up the third as alms for the souls of their dead." Another custom relates to the raiding for camels. The judicial system is very elaborate and intricate. Another curious custom is in regard to witnesses. There are four different kinds of oaths accepted in the courts of justice. "The first of these consists in the Judge drawing a circle, making the witness stand in the centre, and repeating the name of God six times, after which he is called upon to state his evidence. Under the second system the plaintiff places his hand on

the defender's head and makes him repeat the name of God six times before giving his evidence. Under the third system the plaintiff places his hand in the defendant's girdle, and makes him repeat the name of God three times before giving his evidence. Under the fourth system the witness takes a branch of a tree in his hands, and says, 'By this branch, and the Lord who makes it green and dry, I give this evidence.'

"As regards marriage customs, it appears that the usual dowry of a bride is five camels, paid to her father by the bridegroom. On the receipt of the dowry the father takes a small branch of a tree in his hand and addresses the bridegroom in the following terms: 'This is the branch of my daughter, whom I give you in marriage according to the law of God and His Prophet; you are responsible to supply her with food and clothing, and bring her all she requires, provided you can afford it.' The girl is never asked her wish as regards her first husband. The newly-married couple spend their honeymoon in the hills, away from their encampment. If the girl does not like her husband, she deserts him, and takes refuge in the house of one of her relations, who endeavours to obtain a divorce for her. A divorced woman is never forced to marry any man against her will."

A commandant and inspector, with full control over the affairs of the Peninsula, has been appointed in order to carry out various improvements. A sum of about £5,000 has been provided for the current year. Lord Cromer says: "There is every reason to hope and believe that by the adoption of certain proposed measures a distinct improvement will soon be visible in the condition of the Sinai Peninsula. It is probable that somewhat later the construction of a telegraph line, and possibly of a road for motor cars, to Nekhl will be considered."

There is much interesting information under the other various heads, but from want of space we are unable to give it.

THE SOUDAN.

The report under this head is subdivided into the following sections: (1) General; (2) Economics; (3) Finance; (4) Communications, including Railways, Nile Navigation, Roads, Posts, and Telegraphs; (5) Public Works; (6) Administration; (7) Public Health; (8) Courts of Justice; (9) Education; (10) Provincial Administrations; (10) Science and Art, including the Museum, Archæology, the Amharic Language; (12) Conclusion. In the course of Lord Cromer's report on this head he points out two of the principal difficulties which the Government of the Soudan now has to encounter. These are, the scarcity of labour and the method of providing capital for the construction of large public works. The climate, the vast extent of the country, the absence of any easy means of communication save by the river, the want of water, and the sparseness of the population, are all so many natural obstacles which stand in the way of the rapid development of the Soudan. Time and good government will either remove or, at all events, modify the intensity of some of these obstacles. On the other hand, as compared to Egypt, the Soudan starts with one supreme advantage in the race for regeneration—it is relieved from the incubus of internationalism. It was an auspicious day, not only for the Soudan, but also for Egypt, when the eminent statesman who presided over the British Foreign Office seven years ago decided to brush aside all the numerous theoretical objections which could be urged against the Anglo-Egyptian Convention of January 19, 1899. That Convention forms the constitutional charter of the Soudan, and is the cornerstone of the foundations on which the fabric now springing into existence has been based. It was at the time foreseen that the creation of a status, hitherto unknown in the political or diplomatic world, would in practice give rise to numerous anomalies; but Lord Salisbury held that any inconvenience arising from these anomalies was of trifling importance when compared with the advantages which the

three countries principally concerned—Great Britain, Egypt, and the Soudan—would derive from the acquisition of freedom from the complicated network of international institutions in which the Egyptian Administration was, and to a great extent still is, entangled. Time has justified his foresight."

Lord Cromer concludes his Report on the Soudan with a warning similar to that which he has given in dealing with the affairs of Egypt : " There must be no undue haste. The progress of the Soudan depends upon steady, continuous, unostentatious, and combined efforts along the lines of a well-defined policy, from which there should be no divergence."

ENGLAND AND THE CONGO.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF THE CONGO, MODIFYING THE AGREEMENT SIGNED AT BRUSSELS MAY 12, 1894.

Signed at London May 9, 1906.

ARTICLE I.—The lease of the territories granted by Great Britain to His Majesty King Leopold II., Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo, by Article II. of the Agreement signed at Brussels on May 12, 1894, is hereby annulled. No claims shall be put forward by either party in connection with this lease, or with any right derived therefrom. His Majesty King Leopold shall, however, continue during his reign to occupy, on the same conditions as at present, the territory now held by him, and known as the Lado Enclave. Within six months of the termination of His Majesty's occupation the Enclave shall be handed over to the Soudanese Government. Officials shall be appointed by the Soudanese and Congo State Governments to assess the value of such houses, stores, and other material improvements as may, by common agreement, be handed over with the Enclave, the amount agreed upon being paid to the Congo State by the Soudanese Government. The Enclave comprises the territory bounded by a

line drawn from a point situated on the west shore of Lake Albert, immediately to the south of Mahagi, to the nearest point of the watershed between the Nile and Congo basins ; thence the boundary follows that watershed up to its intersection from the north with the thirtieth meridian east of Greenwich, and that meridian up to its intersection with the parallel $5^{\circ} 30'$ of north latitude, whence it runs along that parallel to the Nile ; thence it follows the Nile southward to Lake Albert and the western shore of Lake Albert down to the point above indicated south of Mahagi.

ARTICLE II.—The boundary between the Independent State of the Congo on the one hand and the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan on the other, starting from the point of intersection from the south of the meridian of 30° longitude east of Greenwich, with the watershed between the Nile and the Congo, shall follow the line of that watershed in a general north-westerly direction until it reaches the frontier between the Independent State of the Congo and French Congo.

Nevertheless, the strip of territory twenty-five kilometres in breadth stretching from the watershed between the Nile and the Congo up to the western shore of Lake Albert, and including the port of Mahagi, of which a lease was granted to the Independent State of the Congo by Article II. of the Agreement of May 12, 1894, shall continue in the possession of that State on the conditions laid down in that Article.

ARTICLE III.—The Government of the Independent State of the Congo undertake not to construct, or allow to be constructed, any work on or near the Semliki or Isango River which would diminish the volume of water entering Lake Albert, except in agreement with the Soudanese Government.

ARTICLE IV.—A concession shall be given, in terms to be agreed upon between the Soudanese and Congo State Governments, to an Anglo-Belgian Company for the construction and working of a railway from the frontier of the

Independent State of the Congo to the navigable channel of the Nile, near Lado, it being understood that, when His Majesty's occupation of the Enclave determines, this railway shall be wholly subject to the jurisdiction of the Soudanese Government. The actual direction of the line will be determined jointly by the Soudanese and Congo State Governments.

In order to provide the capital expenditure required for the construction of this railway, the Egyptian Government undertake to guarantee a rate of interest of 3 per cent. on a sum which is not to exceed £800,000.

ARTICLE V.—A port open to general commerce, with suitable provision for the storing and transhipment of merchandise, shall be established at the terminus of the railway. When His Majesty's occupation of the Enclave determines, a Congolese or Belgian Company shall be permitted to possess a commercial depot and quays on the Nile at this port. Such depot and quays shall, however, in no case lead to the acquisition of extra-territorial rights, and all individuals in or connected with them in the Soudan, shall be wholly subject to Soudanese laws and regulations.

ARTICLE VI.—Trading vessels flying the Congolese or Belgian flag shall have the right of navigating and trading on the waters of the Upper Nile, no distinction as regards trading facilities being made between them and British or Egyptian trading vessels, but such vessels shall in no case acquire extra-territorial rights, and shall be wholly subject to Soudanese laws and regulations.

ARTICLE VII.—Persons and merchandise passing through Soudanese or Egyptian territory from the Congo State, or going to it, will, for purposes of transit or transport on the Nile, or on the Soudanese or Egyptian railway systems, be treated similarly to Egyptian or British persons and merchandise coming from or going to British possessions.

ARTICLE VIII.—All disputes which may occur hereafter in connection with the limits of the frontiers of the Inde-

pendent State of the Congo, including the boundary laid down in the first paragraph of Article II. of the present Agreement, shall, in the event of the parties not being able to come to an amicable understanding, be submitted to the arbitration of the Hague Tribunal, whose decision shall be binding on both parties, it being, however, understood that this clause can in no way whatever, be applied to any questions regarding the lease mentioned in Article II. of the Agreement signed at Brussels on May 12, 1894, and in Article I. of the present Agreement.

NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN NIGERIA.*

I. NORTHERN NIGERIA.—A mineral survey of this Protectorate has been carried out under the general supervision of the Director of the Imperial Institute, which was proposed by the High Commissioner, Sir F. Lugard, under the sanction of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1904. A staff was therefore appointed, the members of which were to spend eight months of each year in exploring mineral deposits. Specimens of all important minerals having been collected, were forwarded to the Imperial Institute for chemical analysis, technical trial, and valuation. The first set of specimens has been reported upon. The minerals are of considerable interest, and may be of use locally and of value as exports. Salt deposits occur in various forms in several parts of the Protectorate, also "potash" and limestone capable of furnishing good lime for mortar and even for hydraulic cement; also tin deposits. It is probable that as soon as suitable transport is provided, Northern Nigeria may become an important tin-producing country. There has been discovered monazitic sand in certain river-beds, but it is yet to be ascertained whether these sands are likely to be available as a commercial source of thorium in competition with the similar sands of Brazil and North Carolina.

* See Colonial Reports—Miscellaneous, Nos. 32, 33.

2. SOUTHERN NIGERIA.—In the two reports published during the years 1903-1904 and 1904-1905 explorations have been made in selected areas of districts hitherto unknown geologically. Deposits of brown coal have been discovered capable of use as fuel and of illuminating properties, also galleria, containing silver, tinstone of good quality, monazite, valuable as a source of the thoria used in the manufacture of incandescent gas-mantles, and limestone of excellent quality, which will be of special value, as it occurs near the river-banks, and can therefore be readily transported. This is the third and last year for the survey, but the results so far obtained abundantly indicate the existence of mineral wealth, which would justify a continuance of the survey in order that the whole territory may be explored. There are indications that silver, gold, and tin may be found.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EDWARD ARNOLD, MADDOX STREET, LONDON, W., 1905.

1. *In the Desert*, by L. MARCH PHILLIPPS. This is an admirable book. It not only gives an account of a journey made by the author and Mr. Hugh Hoare in 1899, into the desert, but also describes the slow but sure conquest and occupation of North Africa by the French, in a way that has not as yet been better done in English. The French conquest of the Algerian pirates, the author points out, once begun, had to go on to its logical conclusion by the conquest of the interior; but it was not until 1872 that the enormous French expansion in Africa began. While the English do everything in their colonies by individual effort and personal resource, in the French colonial sphere it is the Government that takes the initiative, and the result—as shown by the French conquest and the occupation by the Latin races (French, Spanish, and Italian) of the northern portion of Africa, with the attempt to win it back from barbarism—gives food for thought. The French system trusts much to education and the gradual acclimatization of European rule; but they have—in spite of Lord Salisbury's jibe that “the Gallic cock enjoyed scratching in the sand”—won much recognition already from the Arabs on account of the great success of their well-sinking, which has given a permanency to a precarious desert encampment that could never have been known before their advent, and something may be sought for from the emancipation of the downtrodden Jews as a middle race. Mr. March Phillipps well describes the desert which gives the title to his book. Its mystery, its solemnity and unchangeableness, and the similarity which concentrates the attention of the traveller upon the smallest variation; and he has much valuable information upon the Arab race, the character of which has been formed by the desert which nurtured it and from

which it is inseparable. He agrees with Rénan when he said that "L'irremédiable faiblesse de la race Arabe est dans son manque absolu d'esprit politique," and he ascribes to the same *faiblesse* the uncertainty of design in Arab architecture and the immobility in political development. He has some interesting chapters upon Arab poetry and upon the unprogressive nature of Mohammedanism; and narrates, for example, the unveiling in 1882 of the holy city of Kairwán by the French occupation, which act, he says, *ipso facto*, without any other aggression, destroyed the Arabic idea of its sanctity—sanctity and seclusion, inseparably connected in the Arab ideal, vanishing together at one blow. The excellent style of this book, as well as its nature, make it of great interest to all who love the East, and as a book of scholarly travel it cannot fail to be very welcome.—A. F. S.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS, EDINBURGH AND
LONDON.

2. *The Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife.* Transcribed in full from the Originals in the British Museum. Introduced and Annotated by SYDNEY C. GRIER. This interesting addition to our knowledge of the life of "the Great Proconsul" is a very welcome work. The letters are in the British Museum, and have never been printed before *in extenso*. Here, illustrated with several fine and little known portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, they make an imposing volume, chiefly owing to the skill and patience of the editor, who annotates the letters very fully, and gives, as well, important essays on the periods and personages alluded to in them. In this way we get a complete view of the devoted *entourage* which circled round the Governor-General and "the Lady Governess"; for example, "Bibby Motte," Major Scott, Colonel Pearse, David Anderson, Sir John D'Oyley, Sweeny Toone, the Briscos, and their successors or descendants, the survivors of whom Hastings continued to befriend in his retirement

at Daylesford until his death. The letters of Hastings, which show his fondness for men of merit—for instance, Cleveland, the friend of the hill-tribes—and are full of the most devoted affection for his wife, begin in July, 1780. He writes, after his duel on August 17 with Sir Philip Francis, now “in no manner of danger,” that he was “obliged to stay in Calcutta, at least until Mr. F. is known to be free from all Danger, lest my Absence should be called a Flight,” and is anxious throughout to spare his wife any anxiety. He was at all times, also, eager to add in any way to her comfort, as when he examined for her “the most elegant chariot” just imported, which, however, he deemed unworthy, as “I judge it to be old and vamped; and besides I do not like it.” In January, 1784, Mrs. Hastings, whose health had suffered from the heat of India at a time when there were no sanatoria, was ordered home, and her husband, always affectionate, wrote after her departure: “In the heavy interval which I have passed I have had but too much leisure to contemplate the wretchedness of my situation, and to regret (forgive me, my dearest Marian; I cannot help it) that I ever consented to your leaving me”; and in the regular correspondence this loneliness is continually echoed in the sincere but very formal language of the bereaved Governor-General. His letters tell her as much as he can of what is going on in India—of his political difficulties and doings, of Munny Begum’s letters, of Tiretta’s lottery, of Miss Williams’ “own uninfluenced choice” of a husband, and many other things of interest to his absent wife, who had hopes (never realized) of presenting him with a child. Mrs. Hastings arrived in England in July 1784, and was installed in a house in South Street “with a fine view of the Park and the Surrey hills,” and well received at Court, to her husband’s great delight. “The attentions shown to you on your arrival, though what I expected, make no small part of my rejoicing”; and he arranged to join her as soon as he could. This he did by leaving Calcutta early in February, 1785, to return to

England, where he later met with the extraordinary accusations of which his former enemy, Sir Philip Francis, had been the prime instigator. This collection of letters present Mr. and Mrs. Hastings before us in the pleasantest light, and will be invaluable to any future biographer who wishes to make the English people forget the inaccuracies and mistakes of Macaulay's brilliant essay. Much has been done already for this purpose by the editor of this book, and in the present volume new notes on Hastings' family, the identity of his first wife, which has till now been little known, with data regarding the Imhoff and Chapuset families are appended. His unrivalled knowledge of the period gives the editor a special facility while adding explanatory notes to the letters for increasing their interest, and he has succeeded in making his book necessary to all future writers on early Anglo-Indian history.—A. F. S.

BROWN, LANGHAM AND COMPANY, 78, NEW BOND STREET,
LONDON, 1906.

3. *Here and There : Memories Indian and Other*, by H. G. KEENE, C.I.E., author of "A Servant of John Company," etc. Mr. Keene is known as a writer of graceful verse, an essayist, and a historian. Some of his verses appeared in *Blackwood* in its most palmy days. His literary activity, like his experience, has been varied, but, like his experience, mostly concerned with India. His verses were those of exile. He has written sketches of Anglo-Indian life. He wrote "Madhava Rao Sindhia" in the "Rulers of India" Series ; contributed to the "Dictionary of National Biography"; edited an Oriental Biographical Dictionary. His prominent works are : "Fall of the Moghul Empire," "History of India," and "The Great Anarchy." Five years ago he brought out a volume of reminiscences entitled "A Servant of John Company." The present is another book of memories directly so entitled. Mr. Keene, in a general survey of the book,

says: "The first part of this work may be regarded as supplementary" to the other (the one mentioned above); then, that this "first part is followed by an inter-chapter giving some account of the almost revolutionary change that succeeded the Mutiny of 1857"; and that "the second part relates to the experiences of a returned exile in London, Oxford, and Jersey, with gossip about some distinguished persons whom the writer had the fortune to meet."

The book is thus of a varied character, and might have been called "East and West," had that title been available. Further on the author says of "Here and There" that in it he "has endeavoured to compensate for the somewhat subjective character of his former work by dwelling on the things and persons seen, and suppressing, as far as possible, the mention of him who saw them."

Of the famous college, old Haileybury—which sent out the rulers and administrators of India during the culminating period of the East India Company's reign, among them such men as James Thomason, Charles Trevelyan, and John Lawrence—Mr. Keene has a great deal to say, for his connection with it, through his father, goes back to a period only fifteen years subsequent to its establishment. His father, the Rev. Mr. Keene, joined the college in 1824 as Professor of Arabic and Persian. He had had a remarkable career. "Originally a soldier, Mr. Keene had borne part under Arthur Wellesley, the future conqueror of Napoleon, in the short campaign which ended in the fall of Tippoo Sultan and the usurping dynasty of Mysore. Afterwards entering the College of Fort William, where the civilians were trained before the establishment of Haileybury, he passed a few years in the Madras Civil Service. He retired on an invalid pension, and entered Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, as a Fellow-Commoner in 1810; became a man of some note as an orientalist, and graduated in honours, ultimately becoming a clergyman of the Anglican Church." Here was a commingling of the East and the West. Cobbett's "Parson Multhus" and

Empson, editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, were also among the professors at that period. Here is a glimpse into the time: "Miss Martineau used to come to Haileybury as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Multhus; we exchanged visits with Lord John Townshend, of Balls, an old *viveur* of the days of Fitzpatrick, Fox, and the Dandies; on the occasion of terminal inspections we saw Sir Charles Wilkins, who had known Warren Hastings. Francis Jeffrey used to appear at Empson's, who had married Jeffrey's daughter."

When "beginning to organize an oversea dependency in the Philippines" the American Government appointed Commissioners to consider how the East India Company had dealt with a similar problem. They pronounced "that patronage, when checked by training at a special college entered only after a qualifying examination, produces results not inferior to open competitive examination."

From Haileybury to India. Mr. Keene says his official career was passed "not indeed in the higher places of Government, but in those relations with local administration which afford a closer acquaintance with the people." This is indeed true, to which may be added what Mr. Keene himself nowhere states—viz., that he belonged to the class of officers who enunciate the principles on which the rules of action come to be founded, of course with the usual preliminary opposition and the subsequent non-recognition. Mr. Keene's observations and remarks in connection with his service in India have a double interest and value, inasmuch as the service included the closing years of the old India—the India of the rule of the East India Company—as well as the opening years of the new India—the India of the rule of the Crown. Furthermore, his acquaintance with the rule preceding our own—that of the Moghul kings—enables him to draw comparisons between it and ours. This Indian portion of his book presents many questions of interest and moment for consideration and discussion. But we cannot enter on them here. That would be apart from our intention.

Then, finally, back again from India to England, and jottings of the days and doings there; Mr. Keene sees memorable sights and meets interesting people. Now we are carried back to India. "A visit from General Abbatt. He had lived a life of the most romantic adventure and devoted public service. He had borne a part in making history on more than one occasion, and it was strange to see this veritable hero living alone at Ryde, a gentle, sweet-voiced little old man, not without a touch of something like poetry." This was the James (afterwards Sir James) Abbatt who made the adventurous ride to Khiva in 1839, when the time was big with the coming tragedy in Cabul. "A debate in the House of Commons sustained by Harcourt, Labouchere, Gladstone, and A. Balfour." Or there is a visit to Sir M. E. Grant-Duff or Cotter Morison. We open a page and our eyes fall on the names of Calderon, Du Maurier, Clodd, Holman Hunt, Grant Allen, as Herbert Spencer says of Huxley "with independent means he would have been the greatest of biologists."

Mr. Keene is master of a very good style, polished, easy, clear, expressive. He carries you agreeably along. This work possesses what Dr. Johnson held to be the supreme merit in a book—that of being readable; it is very readable. Mr. Keene has a lively mind, he takes a lively interest in things, and so presents them in a lively manner. He has seen cities and men.—F.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

4. *A Fantasy of Far Japan; or, Summer Dream Dialogues*, by BARON SUYEMATSU. In his former work Baron Suyematsu offered to English readers a defence of his country, and particularly of her recent policy *au grand sérieux*. The present work is a continuation of the task which brought him to Europe, the dissemination of a better knowledge of Japan and things Japanese, and the removal of the prejudices which until recently, at any rate, existed even in Great Britain, though here perhaps less than in

most other countries, against the progressive island community of the Far East. But now he touches the whole subject with a lighter pen. "A Fantasy of Far Japan" is intended above all things to be popular, to convey information to just the class of people who most stand in need of it, those who will not be at the trouble of reading blue-books or statistics, and who find "The Risen Sun" a little too serious reading for them. The work is a mine of information about the affairs of every-day life in Japan. In fact, one rises from its perusal with perhaps a clearer notion of Japanese institutions, as they seem at any rate to Japanese eyes, than is the case with almost any other work published on the subject with which we are acquainted. It is, however, in the manner in which this information is administered that the charm of the work and a great part of its usefulness resides. Throughout it consists of imaginary dialogues between the author and certain friends in France, mostly ladies, and this difficult form of writing is managed with a lightness, a humour, and delicacy of touch that in many places remind one of Anthony Hope at his best. This is an extraordinary achievement in the English language for any foreigner to accomplish, most of all for one whose native language is so absolutely different from ours. To meet the requirements of more serious students, the work is provided with a number of appendices which take the form of short essays on Japanese political questions.—R. N. L.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1906.

5. *An English-Tamil Dictionary*, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College, Oxford. Part IV. of the handbook is chiefly intended by the author, he tells us, as a collection of hints to aid the student in working with his teacher, to whom Dr. Pope therefore leaves the task of pointing out, by word of mouth, the different shades of meaning; also to be distinguished by collation with Part III., the "Tamil-English Dictionary," and with Part V., the

“Prose Reader.” Plentiful references are made to the latter, as well as to the grammatical rules in the handbook proper, thus economising space ; and the same object has been attained by confining the larger type to the more useful words of the language, most of which have been given, and relegating those less needed, with derivatives and technical terms, to smaller print. Conciseness has further been secured by leaving out repetitions, since the translation of the synonym can always be looked for when that of the word originally sought is not found. There are terms which should not be used unless their exact sense is known ; they have been put into brackets like those of foreign origin. Dr. Pope suggests that a few words should daily be committed to memory ; and if this is done, their meaning being previously ascertained in the ways he proposes, the seventh edition of this part of the series will prove a very useful book of reference to its possessor. Let us hope that it will soon be followed by the revised lexicon, of which the improvements foreshadowed by Dr. Pope bid fair to make a most valuable key to Tamil and its literature. The innovations include the tracing, as far as possible, of the manner in which the connotation of each word has grown in the native vocabularies, the quotation of authorities to explain the use of terms, the distinction by small type of what is obsolete, references to the handbook where grammar is concerned and to other works when the information properly belonging to an encyclopædia is wanted, the indication of words employed in Telugu and other cognate languages, etc.—C.

KEGAN, PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO ; DRYDEN HOUSE, GERRARD STREET, SOHO, LONDON, W., 1905.

6. *The Shahnāma of Firdausi*, by A. G. WARNER, M.A., and E. WARNER, B.A. Vol. I. This book is one of Trübner's well-known Oriental Series, and only the first volume of what is eventually to be a complete translation of the great epic poem of Persia, the Shah-Nāmā, the book or record

of the kings of that country from the first down to the reign of Yazdagird, about A.D. 1010, or of the Hejira, 401, done into English.

The chronicle, in fact, commences from the creation of the world, the sun and the planets, and is supposed to embrace a period of some 3,874 years according to Persian cosmogony. With regard to the completion of the work, it is stated in the preface that it is hoped that future volumes will be brought out one at a time as circumstances permit. The translation in the volume under review is that of the contents of about 217 out of 484 pages of the first volume of Turner Macan's Calcutta edition of 1829, entitled C in the bibliography given in Chapter III. of the preface to the book. That edition fills four volumes of 2,093 pages of closely printed Persian type, about twenty-six couplets to a page; it also contains a long historical introduction and numerous valuable notes of comparison with Hindú mythology, etc. If continued in the same style it will not be completed under 2,200 pages, and will take, possibly, nine years to produce. Firdausi's original epic was said to number, with subsequent additions and interpolations made while the poem existed only in manuscript about the beginning of the last century, some 50,000 to 60,000 rhymed couplets. It is said to have occupied about thirty-four years of the life of the author. It is thus a work that could have been accomplished only by the unstinted devotion of many years of true Oriental leisure, and the idea of reviewing the translation of such a work in the brief, crisp style that in these modern days of steam and electricity is expected of a critic in a literary magazine, is enough to stagger the imagination of the latter and to arrest his pen in sheer despair. Fortunately, for the present we have to consider but one volume. Of the translators, the Rev. A. G. Warner died in 1903, and this volume is brought out by his surviving brother, E. Warner, to whom we wish long life and health to accomplish the whole work, although as to its due appreciation the British public in their generally gre-

ignorance of and slight liking for Oriental literature, we must confess to entertaining considerable doubt. We would not, however, say a single word to damp the present editor's hope that by the publication he may be raising to his brother a *perhaps inconspicuous but lasting monument*. As far as the public are concerned, we should think that a general sketch of the epic, to be condensed, partly in verse and partly in prose, into a single volume, to illustrate the beauties of the poem and to give a résumé of the history of the country, would be as much as could be expected to find an appreciative audience among a comparatively limited number of people devoted to historical research and legendary lore.

A large portion of the introduction to the work is taken up with quotations from a satire on Mahmúd of Ghazni, under whose patronage most of the poem of the Shah-Namah was composed, written by Firdausi in consequence of the full reward of a thousand gold pieces for every hundred couplets, promised him in the first instance by the Sultan, not having been paid. This matter really has no connection with the poem itself, and need therefore be not further noticed than by saying the original reward was eventually paid by being brought in at one gate of the town of Tús, where he died, when his body was taken out for burial at another.

We now proceed to examine the translation, which is partly in rhyme and partly in not very smooth blank verse, the latter being little more than prose cut into lengths consisting of an uneven number of syllables, of which some examples will be given. Of the former, let us take the opening of the poem itself:

"In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Pitiful !

"In the name of the Lord of both wisdom and mind.
To nothing sublime can thought be applied,
The Lord of whatever is named or assigned
A place, the Sustainer of all and the Guide,
The Lord of Saturn and the turning sky,

Who causeth Venus, Sun and Moon to shine,
 Who is above conception, name or sign,
 The artist of the heaven's jewellery !
 Him thou canst see not though thy sight thou strain,
 For thought itself will struggle to attain
 To One above all name and place in vain,
 Since mind and wisdom fail to penetrate
 Beyond our elements, but operate
 On matters that the senses render plain.
 None then can praise God as He is. Observe
 Thy duty: 'tis to gird thyself to serve.
 He weigheth mind and wisdom ; should He be
 Encompassed by a thought that He hath weighed ?
 Can He be praised by such machinery
 As this, with mind or soul or reason's aid ?
 Confess His being but affirm no more,
 Adore Him and all other ways ignore,
 Observing His commands. The source of might
 Is knowledge ; thus old hearts grow young again,
 But things above the Veil surpass in height
 All words : God's essence is beyond our ken."

Compare this first with a literal translation :

" In the name of the Lord of life (or the soul) and of wisdom !
 Higher than this thought does not pass,
 The Lord of honour and the Lord of place (of dignity),
 The Lord the giver of daily bread, the pointer out of the road (of
 righteousness),
 The Lord of the universe and the revolving sphere,
 The lighter up of the Moon, and Venus, and the Sun,
 Than name and sign and suspicion He is higher,
 He is the exalted colourer of the jewel.
 To those who see (or would see) the Creator,
 Thou seest (Him) not ; trouble not thy two eyes.
 To Him also thought findeth not a way,
 For He is higher than honour and than place.
 Whatever word may pass beyond this quality,
 Life and wisdom find not the road to Him.
 Wisdom and the soul He weighs :
 When does He pierce the thought of what is weighed ?
 No one knows to praise Him as He is
 Thou must gird up the loins of service (to Him).
 If He selects wisdom above the word,
 He selects that which he sees.
 With this method aid, and understanding and life and soul,
 How can one praise the Creator ?

If thou wouldest confess His being,
 Thou shouldest pass on one side from useless speech.
 If thou wouldest worship, and look toward the road (of
 righteousness),
 Thou shouldest search deeply towards His commands.
 He is powerful whoever is learnèd,
 Through knowledge the heart of the old becomes youthful.
 Higher than this veil there is no place for speech,
 There is no road for thought to His existence."

We now venture to give our own version of the same
 for comparison :

"Of life's Lord and of wisdom in the name,
 To transcend which not even thought may claim :
 The Lord of dignity and place of pride,
 The giver of our daily bread and guide.
 The Lord of universe and whirling sphere,
 In whom Moon, Venus, and the Sun all bright appear.
 Painter supreme of ev'ry gem as well,
 Name, mark, and fancy all doth He excel.
 He the Creator's self who now would see,
 Vex not your two eyes, for it cannot be.
 To Him no anxious care its way may find ;
 Name, place, and dignity Him lag behind.
 Whatever words such excellence may pass beyond,
 These nor in soul nor wisdom can be found.
 Wisdom and spirit in the scale He'll weigh,
 To thought of weight how should he find the way ?
 None knows to laud him as He ever is,
 Service with girded loins is duly His.
 Beyond words wisdom would one, therefore, learn,
 He must choose only what he can discern.
 By means that mind and life and soul afford,
 How can one duly praise Creation's Lord ?
 If to confess His being thou wouldst reach,
 Thou shouldest now leave aside all useless speech.
 If thou wouldst worship and look to the way,
 Observe His precepts : naught is deep as they.
 He who is learnèd always will be strong,
 The old man's heart in knowledge e'er grows young.
 Beyond this veil no words can e'er be brought.
 There in His being is no room for thought."

We will give but one specimen of the so-called blank
 verse, in order to illustrate what is said above as to its
 style ; it is from p. 121 :

"The blessed Suyámak had left a son,
 His grandsire's minister, a prince by name
 Húshang—a name implying sense and wisdom.
 It was the lost restored and fondly cherished.
 And therefore being set on war, the Sháh
 Sent for the prince and frankly told him all.
 'I mean to gather troops and raise the war-cry,
 But thou, being young, shalt lead, for I am spent.'
 He raised a host of fairies, lions, pards,
 And ravenous as wolves and fearless tigers,
 But took the rear, his grandson led the host."

As to the merits of the original poem there can be no question; and it abounds in mythical and legendary lore, which it took Firdáusi thirty-four years to elaborate in rhymed couplets, to the number of fifty or sixty thousand, smoothly written with hardly a harsh-sounding phrase or flaw in the metre. The work must go down to all posterity as one of the most wonderful literary achievements in the world's history, unsurpassed even in ancient Greek and Roman literature. But that the British public will appreciate the detailed translation of a good many volumes of such a work is beyond all reasonable expectation.—A. R.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON,
1906.

7. *At the Gates of the East: A Book of Travel among Historic Wonderlands*, by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL J. P. BARRY, A.B., M.B., Indian Medical Service. With thirty-three illustrations. This volume is not meant as a guide-book, although as such it may prove useful to travellers in the countries and places described. It is a collection of impressions, not from books, but gathered at first hand, with a desire to guide those who may be in search of rest and health. The author, referring specially to Anglo-Indians seeking to restore health, says: "As a doctor who has been the round, I can truly say, it were a thousand times better for their health or spirits if the crowds of ailing people who now follow fashion blindly would break away

from the nausea, the tyranny, and the not infrequent disaster of the 'health resorts,' with their 'obligato' of after-cures, and betake themselves instead to the best of all restoratives—*travel*, especially in that unspoilt, little-known region where the world's oldest civilizations are contiguous—'At the Gates of the East.' "

The author's tours include the capitals of *Eastern Europe*—Athens, Constantinople, Buda-Pest, Vienna, Innsbrück; the Tirol; *the capital of Egypt*; *Southern Greece*, Corinth, Epidaurus, Argos, Olympia; *the Eastern Adriatic*—Abrazia, Trieste; in Istria and Dalmâtia; Spalâto, Sotona, Ragûsa, Corfû, etc.; and *the Western Balkans*—Montenegro, Cetinje, across Herzejovîna and Bosnia. There is also a very useful notice as to the cost of travel and comfortable hotels. The illustrations are beautiful. There is one desideratum—that is, a good map showing the routes by which he travelled. We have space for quoting only one interesting passage—that referring to Innsbrück—which may be useful to Anglo-Indians seeking rest and health: "In this land of legend and many a noble memory, where every peak is the centre of some animate story, as if it had once been a living thing, where every turn presents a new picture to the eye, there is the fullest scope for the day-dreams of the fanciful. And it all does not cost very much. A friend of mine, a distinguished officer of the Indian Medical Service, after much search and a knowledge of Europe in its health aspects, not common in the medical world, has been settled here with his family for some years, and I, who know the value of his experience, can add experience of my own that Innsbrück is one of the most desirable cities in Europe for Anglo-Indians, no matter how broken down they may appear to be before leaving India. I would not speak so positively and strongly did I not feel that I was doing my countrymen a public service—the liver-stricken, the malarial, the sleepless, and the unfortunate multitude who feel below par. For ladies and children every word I say of wintering in Innsbrück holds good, and might very well be extended

to the spring and autumn which, with their profusion of Alpine flowers, have a charm and salubrity of their own."

MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD., LONDON, 1906.

8. *Lord Curzon in India*: Being a Selection from his Speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General of India 1899-1905, with a Portrait, Explanatory Notes, and Index, with Introduction by SIR THOMAS RALEIGH, K.C.S.I. The number of speeches which Lord Curzon delivered during his period of service in India on public and semi-public occasions was upwards of two hundred and fifty, and the selection of about sixty, which composes the volume, is no easy task. The contents of the volume, however, are so arranged that, by reference to a full index, the opinion of Lord Curzon on important subjects can easily be found. The object of the volume is "to provide a key to the problems of modern Indian Government, as well as a synopsis of Lord Curzon's administration." In carrying out his policy he lost "no opportunity of taking the community into his confidence, both as to the objects and the details," "holding that there is nothing from which the Government of India suffers so much, both in India and in England, as public ignorance, and that even the Government of a dependency is best conducted by a free and frank interchange of opinions with the governed. While this method, to a certain extent, challenged popular criticism, it left the Indian public better informed than they had ever previously been as to the aims and acts of their rulers," and in this way information is furnished in "what may be described as a handbook to the recent history and government of India, more complete and authoritative than can be found in any contemporary publication." From this point of view the volume possesses "a value independent of any personal interest attaching to it, since, if a reader desires to know what, for instance, is the policy of the British Government

in India with regard to frontiers, or foreign or military affairs, in respect of education, famine, taxation, currency, irrigation, or the native states, he can ascertain it" by consulting the pages of this work. "Simultaneously, Lord Curzon, both in India and in England, was perpetually reiterating the fundamental principles of British rule in India, and some of his speeches on this point have already been introduced into the curriculum of English schools; while many of the projects with which he was particularly identified will be found explained in his own words." Moreover, with the view of supplying a general view of the system of government that is seen at work in this volume, as well as a connected account of the administrative task undertaken by Lord Curzon and his colleagues during the past seven years, there is an introductory chapter by Sir Thomas Raleigh, who was legal member of the Governor-General's Council from 1899 to 1904.

The chapters of which the volume is composed relate to general matters: Administrative and Financial Progress, including seven Budget speeches; Agrarian Legislation; Archæology and Ancient Monuments; Art; Burma; Chiefs and Princes of India, embracing Banquets, Colleges and Installations; Commerce and Industry; The Delhi Coronation Durbars; Education; Eurasians; Famine; Foreign Affairs; Game Preservation; Historical Memorials; Irrigation; Military Administration; Plague; Planters; Queen Victoria Memorial; Temperance, etc.; and Valedictory Speeches and Addresses.

With respect to irrigation, in which Lord Curzon took a keen interest from the beginning, he summarizes the situation in his last Budget speech on March 29, 1905, when he says, "There are two classes of irrigation in the country: State irrigation—*i.e.*, works constructed or maintained by the State, and private irrigation, conducted by communities or individuals, largely by means of wells." The Government of India spent in all 46½ crores, or £31,000,000 sterling, upon State irrigation works. Nearly

50,000 miles of canals and distributaries have been dug. There has been irrigated an area of $21\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, out of a total irrigated area in British India of about 47 million acres, and there is derived from it a net revenue of £2,700,000 per annum, or a percentage of net revenue on capital outlay of approximately 7 per cent. By these means large tracts of waste ground have been turned into productive fields, with a great increase in population. In reference to this, Lord Curzon says, "we have done much, we have done what no other nation or country has done before." We are thus "converting the gifts of Providence to the service of man," and, "we are labouring to reduce human suffering, and, in times of calamity, to rescue and sustain millions of human lives."

In laying the foundation-stone of the new Daly Chiefs' College, Lord Curzon, in addressing the large and influential assemblage of chiefs and others, said, "What, it may be asked, your Highnesses, is this college to do for your sons? I think I know what you want, and I am sure I know what the Government of India want, and I believe that we both want the same thing. We both desire to raise up a vigorous and intelligent race of young men, who will be in touch with modern progress, but not out of touch with old traditions; who will be liberally educated, but not educated out of sympathy with their own families and people; who will be manly and not effeminate, strong-minded but not strong-willed; acknowledging a duty to others, instead of being a law unto themselves; and who will be fit to do something in the world, instead of settling down into fops or spendthrifts or drones. How are we to accomplish this? The answer is simple. First you must have the college properly built, properly equipped, and properly endowed. Then you must have a good staff of teachers, carefully selected for their aptitudes and adequately paid, and a Principal who has a heart as well as a head for his task. Then you must have a sound curriculum, a spirit of local patriotism, and

a healthy tone. And, finally, you must have two other factors: the constant support and patronage of the political officers, who live in this place, and in the various Central India States; and, above all, the personal enthusiasm, the close supervision and the vital interest of the chiefs themselves. I say 'above all' because the lesson the chiefs of India have to learn, if they have not learned it already, is that these colleges will depend, in the last resort, not upon Government support, but upon their support, and that the future is in their hands much more than in ours."

In view of national development he gave sound advice to the students of the Calcutta University in Convocation (February 15, 1902); he observed to those who are aspiring to Government appointments: "What are the chief perils against which you have to be on your guard? I think they are two in number. The first of these is the mechanical performance of duty, the doing a thing faithfully and diligently perhaps, but unintelligently, and therefore stupidly, just as a mechanical drill in a workshop will go on throughout the day, so long as the steam is in the boiler, punching an endless rotation of holes. This is a danger to which the Indian, with his excellent memory, his mastery of rules and precedents, and his natural application, is peculiarly liable. He becomes an admirable automaton, a flawless machine. But when something happens that is not provided for by the regulations, or that defies all precedent, he is apt to find himself astray. He has not been taught to practise self-reliance, and, therefore, he is at a loss, and he turns to others for the guidance which ought to spring from himself." "The second danger that I would ask you to shun is the corollary of the first. You must not only learn to be self-reliant, but you must be thorough. You must do your work for the work's own sake, not for the grade, or the promotion, or the pension, or the pay. No man was ever a success in the world, whose heart was not in his undertaking. Earnestness, sincerity, devotion to

duty carry a man quickly to the front, while his comrade, of perhaps superior mental accomplishments, but with deficient character, is left stumbling behind. Do not imagine for one moment that there is any desire on the part of the English governors of this country to keep native character and native ability in the background. I assert emphatically, after more than three years experience of Indian administration, that wherever it is forthcoming it receives unhesitating encouragement and prompt reward."

He gave similar advice to those who are embarking upon a professional career. To the law students, he advises them not to let words be their masters instead of being masters of words. "In a law court the facts are the first thing, the law is the second, and the eloquence of the barrister or pleader upon the facts and the law is the third. Do not let your attention to the third subject obscure the importance of the first and second, and, most of all, the first." "The second danger of the law courts is the familiar forensic foible of over-subtlety, or, as it is commonly called, hair-splitting." "Try, therefore, to avoid that refining, and refining, and refining, which concentrates its entire attention upon a point—often only a pin point—and which forgets that what convinces a judge on the bench or a jury in the box is not the adroitness that juggles with minutiae, but the broad handling of a case in its larger aspects." To those who are to be teachers, he tells them that teaching "is the foremost of sciences, the noblest of professions, the most intellectual of arts." "The teacher should profit by his own previous experience as a student. He should not inflict upon his pupils the mistakes or the shortcomings by which his own education has suffered. For instance, if he has been artificially crammed himself, he should not proceed to revenge himself by artificially cramming others. Rather should he spare them a similar calamity. The great fault of education, as pursued in this country, is, as we all know, that knowledge is cultivated by the memory instead of by the mind, and that aids to the

memory are mistaken for implements of the mind. This is all wrong. Books can no more be studied through keys than out-of-door games can be acquired through books. Knowledge is a very different thing from learning by rote, and in the same way education is a very different thing from instruction. Make your pupils, therefore, understand the meaning of books instead of committing to memory the sentences and lines. Teach them what the Roman Empire did for the world in preference to the names and dates of the Cæsars. Explain to them the meaning of government and administration and law, instead of making them repeat the names of battles, or the population of towns. Educate them to reason and to understand reasoning." "Remember, too, that knowledge is not a collection of neatly assorted facts like the specimens in glass cases in a museum. The pupil, whose mind you merely stock in this fashion, will no more learn what knowledge is than a man can hope to speak a foreign language by poring over a dictionary. What you have to do is, not to stuff the mind of your pupil with the mere thoughts of others, excellent as they may be, but to teach him to use his own. One correct generalization drawn with his own brain is worth a library full of second-hand knowledge." To those who are entering the profession of journalism, his advice is to avoid exaggeration and the imputation of the worse motives. "Do not employ words or phrases that you do not understand. Avoid ambitious metaphors. Do not attack in covert allegories or culminate in disguise." "Never descend to personalities; avoid that which is scurrilous and vulgar and low."

In the Convocation of the same University (February 11, 1905), Lord Curzon dwells specially, and with great force, on truthfulness. "Deviation from truth slides by imperceptible degrees into falsehood, and the man who begins by crediting himself with a fertile imagination merges by imperceptible degrees into a finished liar." "The commonest forms which are taken by untruth in this

country seems to me to be the following: The first is exaggeration, particularly in language; the tendency to speak or write things which the speaker or writer does not believe, or which are more than he believes, for the sake of colouring the picture or producing an effect. It is quite a common thing to see the most extravagant account of ordinary occurrences, or the most fanciful motives attributed to persons. Invention and imputation flourish in an unusual degree." "I know no country where mares'-nests are more prolific than here. Some ridiculous concoction is publicly believed until it is officially denied. Very often a whole fabric of hypothesis is built out of nothing at all. Worthy people are extolled as heroes; political opponents are branded as malefactors; immoderate adjectives are flung about as though they had no significance."

This most excellent work closes with a remarkable speech at the Byculla Club, Bombay; he concludes as follows: "A hundred times in India have I said to myself, Oh, that to every Englishman in this country, as he ends his work, might be truthfully applied the phrase, 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity'! No man has, I believe, ever served India faithfully of whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal. But let it be our ideal all the same. To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery or applause or odium or abuse—it is so easy to have any of them in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of His ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness, or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual

enlightenment, or a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist, that is enough—that is the Englishman's justification in India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, for his epitaph when he has gone. I have worked for no other aim. Let India be my judge." With such noble aspirations, enthusiasm, patriotism, ability, and eloquence, Lord Curzon concluded and closed his administration in India.

JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS, GLASGOW, 1906.

9. *The History of Japan, together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam 1690-1692.* By ENGELBERT KÆMPFER, M.D., translated by J. G. SCHEUCHZER, F.R.S. Vols. 1 to 3.

The author of this history was the physician to the Dutch Embassy to the Court of the Japanese Emperor. The present publishers state that when the translator's work appeared in 1727, it was "Published in two folio volumes. On the back of the title-page are printed the words: 'April 27, 1727. Imprimatur, Hans Sloane, Præs. Soc. Reg.' The account of the acquisition of the author's manuscripts and collection of curiosities by Sir Hans Sloane is given by the translator. While the zoological specimens have perished through faulty methods of preservation, many of the author's botanical specimens may still be seen in the Natural History Museum, South Kensington. A few copies of the work contained a second appendix, dated 1828, 'Being Part of an Authentick Journal of a Voyage to Japan, made by the English in the year 1673.' Its chief interest lies in its account of an abortive attempt to revive the English trade with Japan, which had ceased since 1623-1624. This appendix has been included in the present reprint. Since its original publication in 1727 'The History of Japan' has not hitherto been reprinted in full. The maps and illustrations in the original edition were engraved as folio sheets, and bound in at the end of each volume. In this edition they have, for greater

convenience, been placed in their proper positions through the text; obvious printer's errors of spelling and punctuation have been corrected, but Kämpfer's spelling of Japanese names has been retained. It should be borne in mind by the reader that the 'Emperor,' to whose Court at Jedo (Tokyo) Dr. Kämpfer journeyed, was the Shogun; the Mikado is referred to throughout the book as the 'Ecclesiastical Hereditary Emperor,' and held his Court at that time at Miaco (Kyoto)."

The first volume also contains a biographical note on the Scheuchzer family—that is, the translator's family—by Sir Archibald Geikie. His translation of Kämpfer's work was the chief literary achievement of his brief life. He published two or three papers in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society on the measurements of the Height of Mountains and on Bills of Mortality. He also wrote an account of the success of inoculating small-pox, which was published in the year of his death (1729).

The author's preface contains an interesting account of the success of the Dutch East India Company. It was through their protection that he was able to visit the Empire of Japan and adjacent countries. The translator gives a minute biography of the author, who was born on September 16th, 1651, at Lemgow, a small town in the Circle of Westphalia, belonging to the Count de Lippe. He went "out from Batavia on his voyage to Japan in May, 1690, in quality of physician to the Embassy, which the Dutch East India Company sent, once a year, to the Japanese Emperor's Court." The observations he made in the course of his voyage in the kingdom of Siam, and afterwards during two years' abode in the Empire of Japan, are the subjects of the present work. After his travels he returned to his country seat at Steinhof, officiating as the family physician of Count de Lippe. He died there on November 2, 1716.

The first volume contains the history of Japan divided into Book I., which contains a general description of the

Empire of Japan; a journal of the author's voyage from Batavia to Siam, and what happened there; a description of Juthia, the capital city, and the king's place of residence; his voyage from Juthia down the river Meinam to the harbour; thence to Japan; Japan itself and its several islands; his opinion as to the true origin and descent of the Japanese; the climate of Japan, and its produce as to minerals and metals; the fertility of the country; its beasts, birds, reptiles, insects, fish, and shells. Book II., the then political state of the country—in this volume there are also various illustrations as to boats, temples, and other interesting objects and curiosities.

Volume two consists of three books: I., on the state of religion, its beliefs and forms of worship; and temples; II., the city of Nagasaki, the place of residence for foreigners; their trade and accommodation; III., an account of the author's journeys to the Emperor's Court at Jedo, and of the various objects of interest on the way.

The third volume contains one book with several appendices and a copious index. It also contains an account of his return from Jedo to Nagasaki, and his second journey to Court. Some of the appendices are peculiarly interesting, as they give the history of the Japanese tea, its culture, growth, preparation, and uses; also of the manufactures of paper. Like the previous volumes, there are numerous illustrations, maps, sketches of cities, temples, palaces, musical instruments, and other objects of curiosity.

The work will be of special value and interest to historians, antiquarians, and naturalists, as well as to the general reader. Its publication is most opportune, as Japan, Siam, and adjacent countries are at present occupying so much public attention.

JOHN MURRAY; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON, 1905.

10. *Life of Lieutenant-General the Honourable Sir Andrew Clarke, G.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E.*, edited by Colonel

R. H. Vetch, C.B. ; with a preface by Colonel Sir G. S. Clarke, K C.M.G., F.R.S., R.E. ; with illustrations and maps. This is the memoir of one who made himself eminent by exceptionally natural gifts and qualities, to which were added a great force of character and unparalleled tact in dealing, not only with men of his own country, but with all the native races of Australia, India, Malay, and Siam with whom, in the course of his duties, he became conversant. Sir G. S. Clarke, in concluding his excellent preface, says : " Readers of this volume will recognise a life of exceptional public usefulness worthy of record, and they will not fail to realize the intensity of interest and the wide scope of the careers which our Empire can bestow upon its favourable sons. Those who knew Sir Andrew Clarke will never forget his great kindness and broad sympathies. Those who served under him will cherish the memory of a chief who was always considerate, always inspiring, and always open-minded. In the intensely complex affairs of our national life he played a notable part, and it is by reason of labours such as his—often unknown and unrewarded—that we move, however slowly, towards the light." Mr. Childers, when head of the War Office, in submitting to Queen Victoria a paper on the appointment of Inspector-General of Fortifications, says : " Except Colonel Sir John Stokes, who is a year junior in the army to Sir Andrew Clarke, no senior officer of Engineers has qualifications for the office of Inspector-General approaching to those of Sir Andrew Clarke, whose appointment, therefore, Mr. Childers has no hesitation in humbly submitting for your Majesty's approval." This influence over others was in great part due to his singular courage, moderation, and sound judgment, which were delineated in his manly and open countenance. He had a fine presence, and his manner towards all was both chivalrous and disinterested. Those who knew him could plainly see that all his acts were not for self-glorification, but rather to promote the prosperity and influence of the Empire. During 1847-

1853 he served in Van Diemen's Land, Tasmania, and New Zealand, and as Surveyor-General of Victoria he had a seat in the Legislative Council of the colony, and rendered important service by the introduction of a Bill to grant a new Constitution, which received the Royal assent in July, 1855. After being twelve years abroad he returned to England, and in consequence of his friendship, acquired in Australia, with Mr. Childers, who had become Civil Lord of the Admiralty, was appointed Director of Works at the Admiralty, and during the continuance of his nine years' services in that capacity he extended the docks at Chatham and Portsmouth, and constructed the Malta docks and the floating dock at Bermuda. In 1873, in consequence of his past eminent services, Lord Kimberley, then Colonial Secretary, appointed him Governor of the Straits Settlements. His principal members in the Legislative Council there were Mr. J. W. Birch, Colonial Secretary; Mr. T. Braddell, Attorney-General; and Major J. F. A. McNair, R.A., Colonial Engineer. One of his first duties was to send a special mission to represent him at the coronation of the King of Siam, a mission which received a cordial and gracious reception. It consisted of the well-known officials, Mr. Birch, Major McNair, and the then Lieutenant Brackenbury, whose diary is recorded in the volume. His efforts as Governor of the Straits Settlements were mainly directed to the independent Native Malay States lying to the north of Johore, which were always in a state of anarchy. The result of his efforts in that direction will always be honoured and remembered. The question of Chinese labour came upon the scene, the special work of which was registration, entrusted to Mr. W. A. Pickering. His duty was to "enforce the registration of the Chinese secret societies, and to keep in touch with the keepers of the kong-see house in Singapore." Sir Andrew increased his powers, and altered his title to "Protector of the Chinese." But while Sir Andrew Clarke was

prepared to protect the well-behaved Chinese, and even to adopt a tolerant attitude towards their secret societies in Singapore, where they were absolutely under control, he did not scruple to suppress them elsewhere, because he was fully alive to their dangerous character. Writing to the Assistant Resident at Larut in July, 1874, he wrote: "Put your foot down on the Chinese secret societies. Do not allow them to exist for a second. I would simply prohibit them, making it death to have anything to do with them. A just and intelligent severity at this moment will, in the end, be mercy and true kindness."

In December, 1873, unpleasant news having arrived that on two or three of the estates in Province Wellesley many of the coolies had been shamefully neglected, Sir Andrew ordered an inquiry, with the result that the manager of one estate and the agent for some others were brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment. The question was discussed in the English press and in Parliament, with the result that Government supervision of coolie labour was made stricter and regulations issued, to insure that the coolie should be better fed and protected. About this time Mr. Gladstone's Government was replaced by a Conservative Administration, and Mr. Montague Corry (Lord Rowton) amusingly wrote, in reference to an incident at the General Election, that Mr. Disraeli referred to the Straits of Malacca in a speech at Aylesbury, suggesting the lines:

"The farmers of Aylesbury sat down to dine,
They'd plenty of cheer and very good wine;
And after the dinner they took to their bacca,
And the gist of their talk was the Straits of Malacca."

Sir Andrew's services in regard to the Kings of Siam and the troubles with some of the Malay chiefs proved eminently successful.

All these efforts, however, broke down his health, when he accepted in May, 1875, an appointment in Calcutta as a Member of the Council, in which capacity he rendered

eminent services in regard to roads, bridges, railways, and the frontier policy. On the expiration of his term of office he left India, arriving in England in July, 1880. Among the illustrations are portraits of Sir Andrew, his father and mother, and other reminiscences, and two maps, showing the Malay Peninsula in 1875 and in 1904.

In the appendices there is, among other interesting contributions, a family genealogy, a diary of the voyage of the Bermuda floating dock across the Atlantic, a scheme for naval reserves, Mr. Childers' communication to Queen Victoria on his appointment as Inspector-General of Fortifications, and a copious index. In Appendix VI. there is a footnote referring to the proclamation to the "Malay Rajas, Elders, and People" of the title of Queen Victoria as "Empress of India." It states: "This is the first occasion on which the style 'Empress of India' was officially used, and there does not appear to have been any authority for its use. In his desire to impress the Malay chiefs with the greatness of his Sovereign, Sir Andrew anticipated the adoption of the style by Parliament by some eighteen months, and of the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India at the Delhi Durbar of January 1, 1877, by more than two years." We have the best authority for adding that an officer on Sir Andrew's staff, well acquainted with the Malay and Hindustani languages, first suggested to Sir Andrew that the title should be "Maha Maharani," which would be understood by the people as "Queen Empress." The title, however, adopted in India and elsewhere is "Kaiser-i-Hind," which was originally suggested by the late Dr. Leitner.

11. *Western Culture in Eastern Lands.* A comparison of the methods adopted by England and Russia in the Middle East, 1906. By ARMINIUS VAMBÉRY, C.V.O., 410 pp., 12s. net. It is interesting to have this veteran writer's opinions upon the progress and results of the introduction of the culture of the West into Asia by means of

the two European Powers, Russia and Britain. He describes their respective methods, and the history of their rule, and gives a book to us which students will be glad of not only for his own deductions, but on account of the information he gleans from obscure Russian and German sources.

Comparing the two nations, he believes that the popular idea that Russia, being a European Power more nearly allied to Asia, will be the better civilizing agent of the two is erroneous. Its militant spirit, Christian propaganda, and imperfect development are against it. The spread of culture in Asiatic Russia has sprung from early conquest and consequent forced conversions and later reforms, pursued solely from the point of view of the aggrandisement of the State, and not from any real desire for the progress of the people. It has had some influence, but not much. The peace which its stability of rule has given to the conquered has not been without its good effect, and fear has inspired respect. When the sacred city of Samarkand fell, the power of Russia over the Moslems was known to be secure, and the Turkish proverb, "The hand thou canst not cut off, kiss reverently, and lay it on thine head," became the guiding light of the conquered race. In Siberia we notice the Russification of the heathen tribes, and though culture has increased little among the Moham-medans, a curious instance of progress has occurred among the Buddhist Buryäts, who have done some good work with the ruling race; but where Islam was supreme progress has been very limited. In Central Asia, for example, the native, slighted by the Russian, is merely passive in educational receptiveness; progress in Turkestan is very limited, and that country "a precious stone set in sand" of vast resources is still unexploited. The British in their Asiatic conquests have acted differently. Their conquest began as a trading venture, and has not been piecemeal, like that of Russia, but accidental and gradual. Hand in hand with time, therefore, has gone the British desire to

conciliate native ideas, while impressing Western culture on the native races. They have introduced radical reforms, such as the abolition of sati and infanticide, the suppression of thagi, and have given real facilities for education, as well as positions in the Government of the country. But with these measures has been no desire to destroy the nationality of the conquered races, nor to enforce Christianity as there has been in the case of the Russian conquests. Dr. Vambéry holds that the Englishman from the justice and equity of his rule has made his country more liked in Asia than the Russian, and that the prestige of the latter has also suffered since the successes of Japan. He does not fear for British rule from a Mohammedan reaction, and brings his book to a close with a review of the prospects of a Mohammedan revival. That something of the kind has been of late simmering is obvious from the instances he gives of the weariness that Moslems show of the unprogressive rule of Islam. Turkey and Egypt have imbibed some Western thoughts, chiefly through the medium of papers published mainly at Cairo. And the Pan-Islamic idea has gained some ground. Strangely enough, however, it is in backward Persia that the religious movement of the Bab has been followed by the most real liberal awakening. He sees no chance, however, of even slow acquisition by Islam of the culture of the West unless through the tuition or under the protection and direct administration of Western Powers.—A. F. S.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE,
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, LONDON, S.W.

12. *Tibet and the Tibetans.* By the REV. GRAHAM SANDBERG. This work is a compendium of all the information collected in the course of many years about Tibet by travellers of European and Asiatic birth alike, and especially by the loyal and zealous "native agents" of the Indian Transfrontier Survey. The information which they have

supplied has been arranged and supplemented with the special knowledge that can only be derived from linguistic proficiency by a gentleman who had devoted many years of his life to the study of the Tibetan language and literature. The work in question, therefore, furnishes us not only with an accurate description of the geographical and physical features of the country, which are without any counterpart elsewhere in the world, as well as of its climate and scenery, its botany and zoology, its agriculture and industries, and the character, dress, customs, dwelling-houses and occupations of its inhabitants, but also of their religious and educational institutions, as they now exist, with some account of the ancient texts and traditions from which these derive their sanction. One chapter is devoted to "The Practice of Magic and Sorcery," which still prevails in the country ; and one very interesting chapter gives an account of the Tibetan national poet, Milaraspa, and of his writings, which have retained their original popularity and *vogue* for upwards of 800 years. The work throughout bears evidence of the author's industry in the accumulation and arrangement of whatever material he could find bearing on the chosen subject of his study. The greater part of it was already in print before the conclusion of the proceedings taken by the Indian Government against Tibet, and the return of the mission which penetrated to Lhása, but the author was able to state in a short preface, written *after* that event, that "few new facts had been revealed by the mission," while the latest descriptions of Lhása itself bear remarkable testimony to the accuracy and fullness of the information previously supplied by the native agents of the Transfrontier Survey, of which the author availed himself. One cannot help regretting, however, that the author's illness and his untimely and lamented death prevented his putting those finishing touches to his work which might have made it more attractive, if not more valuable.

In reading the earlier chapters, in which the physical aspects of the country are described, one wishes for the

accompaniment of a good map ; and throughout the book we come across native terms and expressions, which make some sort of a vocabulary a desideratum. It will generally be found that the terms in question are explained somewhere or other in the text, but it would be a great assistance to the reader if he could turn at once to a specified page in order to ascertain their meaning.

The quotations from Tibetan literature, both ancient and modern, which (translated into good English) the author has introduced into his book, help us to understand the character of the people better than any mere descriptive writing could do. It would appear that for these samples of the country's literature also the author was indebted to an Asiatic explorer, but one whose name at least is known in Europe—viz., Sarat Chandra Dás. The rule is for the "native agents" of the Transfrontier Survey to be designated by initials only, such as A.K. and U.G. English readers of *Kim* will recall to mind the novelist's appreciative portrayal of the type of men, wholly unknown to fame, whose services the Indian Government has at its command for the most intricate and perilous adventures in the search of knowledge. The volume under consideration is a striking example of what can be achieved in the quest of knowledge by the combined efforts of patient and self-devoted enthusiasts in the study and "on the road."—W.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO., LTD., HIGH STREET,
BLOOMSBURY, LONDON, W.C., 1906.

13. *Dictionary of Indian Biography.* By C. E. BUCKLAND, C.I.E. The object of this dictionary is to supply information to the ordinary reader in a convenient form regarding the careers and doings of the large number of persons connected with India in history by their exploits, services, and writings. It gives the main facts succinctly of the lives of about 2,600 persons—English, Indian, foreign, men or women, living or dead—who have been

conspicuous in the history of India, or distinguished in the administration of the country in one or other of its various branches, or have otherwise contributed to its welfare, service, and advancement. Besides the biography there is a copious bibliography, containing the titles of a number of works which may with advantage be consulted by those who desire to acquire a fuller information of individuals or the histories of India. There is also a separate list of the chief works of reference which the editor has consulted in compiling and editing this handy and useful volume.

T. FISHER UNWIN ; PATERNOSTER SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.

14. *Greece from the Coming of the Hellenes to 14 A.D.*
By E. S. SHUCKBURGH, LITT.D. Lecturer in ancient history University College, London. This is one of the excellent volumes composing the *Story of the Nations*. Like the other volumes, it is beautifully printed and well illustrated. The editor lays stress upon the political, intellectual, and artistic achievements of the Greeks rather than on the history of military operations. His plan is to refer to the literary movement in each period as it arose, but he has a separate chapter upon "Greek Literature," to which we shall specially refer. The volume consists of a minute index and ten concise chapters. The first, The Greeks, and their Work in the World ; the second, Early Development of Greek States ; the third and fourth, The Origin and Invasion of the Persians ; the fifth, Athenian Supremacy ; the sixth, The Peloponnesian War to the Establishment of Macedonian Supremacy ; the seventh, The Greater Hellenism ; the eighth, The Roman Conquest ; the ninth, Greece under the Rule of Rome to 14 A.D. ; and the tenth, The Intellectual Life of Greece. This chapter is probably the most interesting to the general reader. It refers to Greek education in its various forms. A succinct history and tenets of the sophists ; the philosophical schools ; literature ; epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry ; Alexandrine

poets, epic and bucolic ; history and oratory. He concludes by referring to the splendour of style of the orations of Demosthenes. He says, "Though a considerable number of them are purely forensic, spoken by himself or his clients in private lawsuits, the most notable of those which relate to public questions, and they are for the most part connected with his policy of opposition to the designs of Philip, King of Macedonia—the Olynthiacs, the Philippics, on the Chersonese, on the 'fraudulent embassy,' 'on the crown,' and others.

"As literature, they mark the highest point in the development of a Greek prose style. Clear, incisive, and harmonious, the language at once pleases the ear, and flashes the meaning upon the mind. The art is so great that it is entirely concealed ; and for the moment each word or phrase seems inevitable. He carried conviction as though by an irresistible torrent. It was only when the commanding voice and the long roll of the sentences were silent that an audience could begin to see that it had been carried off its feet, and swept far in a direction to which, in its soberer reflections, it had no intention of going."

This chapter is beautifully illustrated by sculptural representations of Plato, Aristotle, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Menander. The sculptures are in some of the most celebrated museums and galleries of Europe.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Reports on the Administration of Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for 1904-1905. (Government Central Press, Bombay, 1906.) It is noted that the figures relating to elections do not indicate that the working of the boards excites any increasing interest. There has been a decrease in the aggregate income of the boards, but this has not affected the expenditure of the year. The increase in the school receipts indicates the diminishing prevalence of plague, and the expenditure on

education has gratifyingly increased. Civil works have been executed on communications. Considerable expenditure has been devoted to water-supply and water-works. The general financial condition of the boards appears to be quite sound, two only being in a position of indebtedness.

The India List and India Office List for 1906. Compiled from Official Records by direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council. (Harrison and Sons, 45, Pall Mall, London, 1906.) This is an invaluable compilation, giving a detailed account of the Indian Service in its various departments, both at home and in India; a record of services corrected to July 1, 1905, arranged alphabetically; retirements, and a minute index of names.

The History of India as told by its own Historians. Vol. ii.: "The Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarát." By ALEXANDER ROGERS, Bombay Civil Service (retired). Taunton, Barnicott and Pearce, Athenæum Press. This volume is in course of preparation, and if sufficient encouragement and support are received will shortly be published. It will form a sequel to Sir H. M. Elliot's "History of the Muhammadan Empire of India," and bring the interesting history of Gujarát down to a comparatively recent date.

The Prospects of Rubber Cultivation in Ceylon. By HENRY M. ALLEYN, planter, Colombo. (Printed at the *Times of Ceylon* Press, 1906.) This pamphlet contains reprints of articles in the *Times of Ceylon* of November 1, 7, and 18, 1905, and deserves the attention of all interested in this valuable industry, and in the welfare of Ceylon.

The Wisdom of Israel: Being extracts from the Babylonian Talmud and Midrash Rabbah. Translated from the Aramaic and Hebrew, with an Introduction, by EDWIN COLLINS HOLLIER, Hebrew Scholar, University College, London. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London.) This little volume forms part of a series, entitled "The Wisdom of the East," whose object is to act as an "Ambassador of good-will and understanding between

East and West, the old world of thought and the new of action." For this purpose no pains has been spared to secure the best specialists for the treatment of the various subjects intended to be embraced in this useful and, in various ways, interesting series.

Another contribution to this series is, *The Classics of Confucius' Book of History* (Shu King), rendered and compiled by W. GORNOLD, M.R.A.S., author of Translations (with commentaries) of the Shu King, Tao-Teh-King, etc. The object of this volume is "to convey to the English reader a familiar view of the men, who made Chinese history during the earlier ages of the Yellow Empire."

English-Arabic Vocabulary for the use of Officials in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Compiled in the Intelligence Department of the Egyptian Army, by CAPTAIN H. F. S. AMERY, the Black Watch (attached Egyptian Army). (Cairo: Al-Mokattam Printing-Office, 1905.) This excellent vocabulary, well printed in clear type, and in a convenient form, has been compiled primarily for the use of British officers and officials serving in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; but it will prove most useful to visitors to the Sudan, or to those interested in the various dialects of the Arabic language. It is divided into two parts: (1) Technical terms in use in the army and various departments of the Sudan Government. (2) Some 3,500 words of the most common daily usage, translated into the Arabic equivalents employed for those in conversation among the Arabs of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The compilation does great credit to Captain Amery, and to the Intelligence Office of the War Office at Cairo and Khartoum, as well as to the printer.

Turkish Self-taught, with English Phonetic Pronunciation. Containing Vocabularies, Elementary Grammar, Idiomatic Phrases and Conversations, English and Turkish Dictionary, Money, Weights and Measures. By CAPTAIN C. A. THIMM, revised by PROFESSOR G. HAGOPIAN, R.A.S.

Fourth edition. (E. Marlborough and Co., 51, Old Bailey, London, E.C., 1905.) The present edition of this handy manual has been corrected and almost rewritten by the well-known Professor G. Hagopian, assisted in revision by Professor A. Georgius. The manual is very useful to students, tourists and travellers, naval and military officers, consuls, and other public servants. The transliteration is phonetic, easy and simple, greatly facilitating the acquirement of the language as spoken and written by Turkish authorities in Constantinople and throughout the Ottoman Empire, and also by educated persons in Syria, Egypt, Tunis, and Tripoli.

Chinese Simplified, by E. G. TERRY. (Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London, W.C.) It does not appear from the title-page of this little book of sixty-five pages where it was printed, but apparently in Natal, and it is presumed that the author is Miss E. G. Terry, once of the Tientsin Methodist Mission, possibly now engaged in mission work in South Africa. The dialect purported to be taught is "Mandarin"—that is, so far as appears from the spelling adopted, a kind of Nankingese, which bears much the same relation to Pekingese (rather a corrupt form of Chinese) that Italian does to Portuguese. There is nothing much to be said against Miss Terry's modest effort. The Rev. J. Summers published an excellent grammar forty years ago, and the China Inland Mission has not been idle since. For persons in South Africa, however, who wish to obtain command of a few current phrases, the work will not come amiss; it is unpretentious, and, being purely romanized and destitute of "hieroglyphic" or "character," it is within the competence of the most humble intellect to master, even though the Shan Tung coolies in South Africa may not talk this precise form of "Mandarin."—E. H. P.

Hossfield's Japanese Reader: Comprising a Graduated Series of Extracts from Leading Authors, with Copious Footnotes and a Vocabulary, by H. J. WEINTZE, author of

"Hossfield's Japanese Grammar," etc. (Hirschfeld Brothers, Ltd., 13, Furnival Street, London, E.C.) This convenient handbook is divided into two parts—one elementary, the other more advanced, adducing specimens of Japanese literature in various stages. The extracts produced are progressive, beginning with easy and simple style and construction, advancing to the higher classics, and with the aid of the excellent vocabulary—Japanese-English—and "Hossfield's Grammar" the student will have little difficulty in becoming acquainted, step by step, with Japanese literature,

Adversaria Sinica, by HERBERT A. GILES, M.A., LL.D. (Aberd.), Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge. With illustrations. (Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, 1906.) This is a pamphlet published in Shanghai, and might well be waggishly translated "Chinese Adversaries," for it consists mainly in thrusts at the humble writer of this short notice. As it is marked "No. 3," it is evident that the particularly objectionable adversary in question has been unconsciously undergoing literary punishment for some time. There is not a single instance in standard Chinese history of the authenticity of either Lao-teg or his book having been in any way questioned, the single apparent exception cited by Mr. Giles (Ts'ui Hao) having been brought before the public by the undersigned in the *China Review* twenty-one years ago (vol. xiii., p. 73), and the exception is *not* an exception, but only an apparent one. Mr. Giles' negative evidence (mostly grossly incorrect and "selected") amounts to absolutely nothing, and is completely answered in the *China Mail* of March 10 last, and will also be in that of June. Three copies of Lao-teg's book were found after the "burning of the books" in 213 B.C., one of a date earlier than 220 B.C. There are over a hundred allusions to and quotations from it in the two earliest Chinese histories.—E. H. P.

The Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1904.

(Washington Government Printing Office, 1906.) There is a very valuable report of the U.S. National Museum, embracing reports on anthropology, biology, and geology, accompanied with portraits of the chief workers and geological and other specimens. There are appendices and other interesting information, also short descriptions of Howland's collection of Buddhist art, and well-executed illustrations of Buddha in various positions and Buddhist saints and priest; also a representation of the Chinese god of war and peace, etc., and flint implements of the Fayum, Egypt, by Heywood W. Seton-Karr, of the British military service in Egypt. There is a minute and copious index to the whole volume.

Le Cycle Turc des Douze Animaux, par ED. CHAVANNES (E. J. Brill, Leyden). This subject is too technical even for most sinologists, not to mention the general public; but M. Chavannes' researches mark a great turning-point in history. It is undoubtedly a fact that the Turks did a great deal to join the civilization of Greece, Persia, and China, and there seems equally little doubt that China, Siam, etc., owe to the Turks of A.D. 1 at the latest the year-cycle of the Twelve Animals in use over a great part of Asia to this day. It is particularly gratifying to find that so distinguished an inquirer as M. Chavannes now recognises the Ephthalites to have been as much Turks as the Hiung-nu.—E. H. P.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Captain*, *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—*C. B. Fry's Magazine*;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan

and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.);—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1^{er} et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. v., Nos. 1, 2 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1906);—*The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and

proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras); — *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road); — *Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), February, March, and April, 1906 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.); — *The Hindu* (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras); — *The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras); — *Journal of the Moslem Institute*, a quarterly chiefly devoted to subjects of Oriental interest (Calcutta, No. 1); — *The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto); — *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Luzac and Co., London; Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay); — *The Virjanand Magazine*, No. 1, vol. i. (Partabgarh, Oudh, India); — *Bombay Gazetteer*, vols. iib. to xxivb., and General Index (Government Press, Bombay).

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *With Mounted Infantry in Tibet*, by Brevet-Major W. J. Ottley (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1906); — *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, by Jane E. Duncan (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1906); — *The Great Plateau*: being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London: Edward Arnold, 41, Maddox Street, Bond Street, 1905); — *A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*, with an introductory sketch of the dramatic literature of India, by Montgomery Schuyler, junior, A.M. (New York: The Columbia University Press; The Macmillan Company, agents, 1906); — *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan*, by G. A. Bell, I.C.S. (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 41, Lower Circular Road, 1905); — *Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle*: a record of thirteen years, by Captain A. I. R. Glasfurd (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and New York, 1905); — *Persia by a Persian*: being

personal experiences of manners, customs, habits, religious and social life in Persia, by Rev. Isaac Adams, M.D. (London : Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C., 1906);—*Livingstone College Year-Book*, 1906 (Livingstone College, Leyton, E.);—*Ancient Records of Egypt*: historical documents, from the earliest times to the Persian Conquest. Collected, edited, and translated, with commentary, by James Henry Breasted, PH.D. Vol. i.: "The First to the Seventeenth Dynasties." Vol. ii.: "The Eighteenth Dynasty." Vol. iii.: "The Nineteenth Dynasty" (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1906; London : Luzac and Co.; Leipzig : Otto Harrasowitz);—*Everyday Life among the Head-Hunters, and other Experiences from East to West*, by Dorothy Cator (Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London, New York, and Bombay, 1905);—*A Tropical Dependency*: an outline of the ancient history of the Western Soudan, with an account of the modern settlement of Northern Nigeria, by Flora L. Shaw (Lady Lugard) (London : James Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 21, Berners Street, 1905);—*The Instruction of Ptah-Hotep* and *The Instruction of Ke' Gemni*: the oldest books in the world. Translated from the Egyptian, with an introduction and appendix, by Battiscombe G. Gunn (London : John Murray, 1906);—*The Africander Land*, by Archibald R. Colquhoun (London : John Murray, 1906);—*Things Indian*: being discursive notes on various subjects connected with India, by William Crooke (London : John Murray, 1906);—*Researches in Sinai*, by W. M. Flinders Petrie, with chapters by C. T. Currelly, M.A. (London : John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1906);—*India under Royal Eyes*, by H. F. Prevost Battersby (London : George Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road, 1906).

It must be gratifying to all lovers of Shakespeare to see one of the most charming of his plays, *The Taming of the Shrew*, performed at the ADELPHI THEATRE. Mr. Oscar Asche's interpretation of Petruchio harmonizes well with Miss Lily Brayton's rendering of Katharine. Their excellent acting brings out many a subtle charm of the piece.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA: GENERAL.—On April 6 the Viceroy unveiled a statue of General Nicholson at Delhi in the presence of a large assembly of native chiefs. Lady Minto and Lord Kitchener were also present.

The annual financial statement for 1904-1905 shows that the realized surplus was £3,456,566. (For details, see "Correspondence, Notes, and News," elsewhere in this Review.) The estimated surplus for 1905-1906 is £1,755,700, and for 1906-1907 £874,100.

A Commission has been appointed by the Bengal Government to investigate the question of malaria and drainage.

The last of the eleven memorials erected in the United Provinces to the memory of Queen Victoria was unveiled by Sir James La Touche at Allahabad on March 24.

The Punjab Government has sanctioned Rs. 10,000 towards the extension of the workshops of the Jubilee Hindu Technical Institute, and Rs. 25,000 to the Islamia College, Lahore.

The wheat crop in the Punjab this year is half a million tons in excess of the largest crop hitherto recorded.

Six thousand acres of land in Sind are being put under Egyptian cotton.

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the establishment of a Scientific Research Institute in connection with the Forestry Department at Dehra Dun. Both this institute and the school will be given the status of a college, controlled by a director and professors.

The Government of Madras is constructing a bridge across the Moola Vanka, 196 miles on the Chittoor-Kurnool road, in the Cuddapah district. It is to cost Rs. 21,700.

Two raids occurred in April on the Peshawar Border—the first near Michni, the second near Abazai—in which

four natives were killed, and one policeman wounded. The raiders, who were believed to belong to the outlaw Hakim Khan, were pursued by a detachment of military police, but without any result.

The number of persons under State relief throughout India exceed 460,000.

Mr. Felix Schuster has been appointed a member of the Council of India in succession to Mr. F. C. Le Marchant.

The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has nominated Mr. William Thacker Spink to be Member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

Sir Charles Lewis Tupper, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., has been appointed an ordinary Member of Council in place of the Hon. Mr. Hewett, on furlough.

Major-General D. Haig, Inspector-General of Cavalry in India, has been appointed Director of Military Training at the Army Headquarters, in succession to Major-General Sir F. W. Stopford.

Sir Harvey Adamson, C.S.I., Indian Civil Service, Chief Judge of the Chief Court of Lower Burma, has been appointed an ordinary Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India, to take effect on October 1 next.

The Hon. George Steuart Forbes has been appointed Member of Council for Madras.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—Mr. V. P. Mahhava Rao, C.I.E., Dewan of Travancore, has been appointed first Minister of Mysore.

The Mysore Government has appointed Mr. L. H. Buckwith to succeed the late Mr. G. Lovelle as Deputy Inspector of Mines.

Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, I.C.S., Oriental Translator to the Government of Bombay, has been appointed Dewan of Junagadh.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—The agreement between China and Great Britain with respect to Tibet was signed on April 27 by Sir Ernest Satow and Tang-Shao-Yi. The indemnity of twenty-five lakhs is payable in three equal annual

instalments, the first of which was paid in Calcutta on May 29.

The Government has decided to complete the Hindustan-Tibet road, in order to establish an unbroken link between Simla and Gantok, the new trade-mart in Western Tibet. A survey of the proposed extension has been ordered.

On May 30 a band of Zakka-khels, Akakhels, and Peshawar outlaws attempted a raid in the Peshawar district. The raiders were repelled, and a leader named Chaman subsequently died of wounds.

PERSIA.—Troubles broke out in April in Northern Persia, arising from racial and religious conflicts in the Caucasus. Twenty Europeans, presumed to be Armenians, were killed and wounded.

Plague has broken out in Eastern Persia. The Indian medical officers at Nasratabad and Birjand are almost helpless, owing to the indifference of the officials and the absence of necessary troops to enforce protective measures. The plague shows no signs of abatement.

A Russian consulate was established at Bunder Abbas on March 15.

Henry Dudley Barnham, C.M.G., has been appointed Consul-General for the governorships of Ispahan, Yezd, Gulpaigan, and Konsar, the province of Irak, and the districts of Ghehkarmahal, Feridan, and Bakhtiari. His residence will be at Ispahan.

Mr. Grant Duff, Secretary of Legation, Teheran, has been appointed a Councillor of Embassy.

CHINA.—An Imperial decree was issued on May 9, appointing Tich-liang Administrator-General, and Tang-Shao-Yi Assistant Administrator of the entire Customs of China, including the Imperial Maritime Customs under Sir Robert Hart, whose entire staff, Chinese and foreign, is placed under their control.

In reference to the above, the Chinese Government declare that they have no intention of departing from the loan agreement of 1896 and 1898, which stipulates that as

long as the conditions are in operation the administration of these Customs will be maintained as hitherto under the control of Sir Robert Hart.

The Customs revenue for 1905 was £5,281,280, an increase of £767,262 over the receipts for 1904.

Mukden was opened on June 1 to international trade.

SIAM.—In the Siamese Budget, recently published, the revenue for 1906-1907 is estimated at £3,040,000, an increase of £95 000 on last year's revenue.

The King has appointed Arthur Rose Vincent to be Assistant Judge of His Majesty's Court for Siam.

JAPAN.—The House of Peers of Japan, by 205 votes to 62, has passed the Railway Nationalization Bill, which the Lower House afterwards agreed to, with the following amendments: (1) The period for the whole operation is changed from five years to ten. (2) The number of railways is reduced from thirty-two to seventeen, thereby reducing the total amount from £47,000,000 to £44,100,000. (3) The time for delivering of the State Bonds, which represent the price of each railway, is extended from two years to five. (4) Means are provided for a protest against official price.

Viscount Hayashi has been appointed Foreign Minister in Japan. Baron Komura on June 6 was formally appointed Ambassador to England by the Mikado in his place.

A great improvement has taken place in the famine-stricken districts. The total amount of subscriptions from foreign sources have amounted to £14,000.

CEYLON.—Mr. Ambalavanar Kanagasabai has been appointed an unofficial member of the Legislative Council.

The total amount of the Ceylon pearl fishery of 1906, which lasted thirty-six days, was Rs. 1,336,745'91.

EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.—An Abyssinian outlaw, named Marian, raided several Soudanese villages in Soudan territory about sixty miles south-east of Kedaref. Over 100 villagers were killed, including 13 women and 41 men, and 133 women seized and carried into Abyssinia. The Govern-

ment has formed posts along the frontier to prevent further trouble.

On May 24 Lord Cromer laid the foundation-stone at Alexandria of the new building of the Victoria College.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—With reference to the recent encroachment of Turkey upon Egyptian territory in the Sinai peninsula, it was proved that certain landmarks had been removed, and that Turkish troops had invaded Egyptian territory. After considerable delays on the part of Turkey, the latter complied with the British demands. A commission has also been appointed to mark out the boundary, which Great Britain insists shall be a straight line from El Rafah to Akabah.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The Compensation Commission finished its sittings in March. The claims amounted to £62,000,000; £9,500,000 is provided for the settlement—£5,000,000 has been allotted for this purpose to the Orange River Colony, and the balance to the Transvaal.

The railway from the Cape to Cairo has now reached 360 miles north of Victoria Falls and about 16 miles from Broken Hill.

SOUTH AFRICA : NATAL.—Bambaata, an influential chief in Natal, having revolted and killed his uncle, who had been appointed in his stead, gathered around him other tribes, and organized a rebellion in Natal. This has from time to time caused expeditions to be sent out for his capture, and to allay the rebellion. A considerable number of engagements took place, natives were killed, and several officers and men sent against him. He was fatally wounded on June 6. Siganda, his chief ally, subsequently surrendered. The Natal authorities are using every means to restore peace and loyalty among the other disaffected tribes.

AFRICA : SOMALILAND. — Captain H. E. Cordeaux, Deputy Commissioner, has been appointed Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief of the Somaliland Protectorate in room of General Swayne, who has been appointed Governor of British Honduras.

The new military defence arrangements for the Protectorate have been completed. They include the establishment of an Indian contingent. The country has been divided into sections, each section having a tribal headman, who is responsible. Political officers have been sent from England to control the tribes and the militia. The military position in the Protectorate is considered satisfactory.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA : NIGERIA. — The Emir of Gando—an important district to the south of Sokoto—who promised assistance to the rebels in the recent Sokoto rising, has been deposed by the High Commissioner, and deported to Lokoja. A new Emir has been appointed in his stead.

On May 3 the British expedition under Colonel Lowry Cole gained, after five hours' fighting, a decisive success over the people of Hodeija, and captured the King.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA : SOUTHERN NIGERIA.—Letters Patent, constituting the colony of Southern Nigeria, were proclaimed at Lagos on April 30, also at Yoruba, in the presence of immense crowds. Lagos was decorated, and the day was observed as a public holiday.

AFRICA : RHODESIA.—The revenue for the financial year 1905-1906 was £523,673, being £5,122 in excess of the estimate. The expenditure amounted to £500,097, as compared with the estimate of £531,349.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE.—Mr. Charles James Griffin, Attorney-General, has been appointed Judge of the High Court of British Central Africa.

EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE.—Colonel J. A. L. Montgomery, C.S.I., late Commissioner in the Punjab, has been appointed Commissioner of Lands in the East Africa Protectorate.

AFRICA : MOROCCO. — The recent conference of the Powers interested in Morocco, held at Algeciras, closed its sittings on April 7. The exact details of the arrangements have not been published on our going to press.

The formal reception of the Italian Mission by the

Sultan took place on June 5 at Fez, when Signor Malmusi presented his credentials.

AUSTRALASIA : THE COMMONWEALTH.—The Premiers' Conference at Sydney on April 10 passed resolutions in favour of the promotion of immigration.

On April 12, at the above Conference, the Premiers of New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia agreed to a scheme of construction of locks on the rivers Murray and Murrumbidgee, and also on the appointment of a commission to control the work. The work is to begin as soon as the agreement has been ratified by the Parliaments of the respective States. The total expense is estimated at £2,250,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The trade for the first four months of the year has been very brisk. The imports showed an increase of £804,679 and exports £3,106,806, and the yield in gold £110,160.

The net revenue for the eleven months of the fiscal year ending June 30 is £11,151,396, as compared with £10,243,182 of the same period of last year.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—Sir E. A. Stone, late Chief Justice, has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the State of Western Australia.

NEW ZEALAND.—The revenue for the year ending March 31 was £7,628,300 and expenditure £7,114,300.

Mr. Seddon, the Prime Minister, died suddenly on June 10 on board the steamship *Oswestry Grange*.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The population according to the budget presented in April is over 230,000. For the fiscal year ended June, 1905, the revenue amounted to £514,800 and expenditure to £488,800.

According to a trade report recently issued at St. John's for the past seven years, covering the period since the Colony recovered from the effects of the bank failures, shows that the value of imports has increased from £1,262,248 to £2,053,858, and exports from £1,387,263 to £2,133,868.

CANADA.—The following changes took place in the Canadian Cabinet on June 2: Mr. Fitzpatrick was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr. Aylesworth became Minister of Justice, and Mr. Lemieux Postmaster-General.

The Alberta legislature has selected Edmonton as the capital of the province.

The revenue for the ten months of the present fiscal year, ending April 30, was \$63,808,359, as compared with \$57,130,511 last year, an increase of \$6,677,848. The expenditure for the same period was \$55,780,268, an increase of \$4,341,433.

Mr. D. C. Fraser has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

Mr. James Dunsmuir has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following:—Frederick James Tidmarsh, late Colonel 33rd Duke of Wellington's Regiment;—Major-General A. Clark Kennedy, Indian army, entered 1862 (Egyptian War 1882, Burmese expedition 1887-88, Chin Lushat expedition 1889-90);—Major Charles E. Gubbins, of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, late Bengal Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879, Burmese expedition 1886-87);—Major F. J. N. Ind, late 37th Regiment (Mutiny 1857-58);—Major John Arthur Rowlandson, late of Bombay army;—Lieutenant-Colonel F. L. Hopkinson Lyon (Crimean campaign and Indian Mutiny);—Charles Brettingham, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., late Surgeon Bengal army;—Major-General H. A. Dwyer, late Bengal Staff Corps (Sutlej campaign 1846, Indian Mutiny campaign, siege of Delhi);—Colonel G. A. Furse, late Indian army, joined 1855 (Indian campaign 1857-58, Ashanti war 1873-74, Nile expedition 1884-85);—Samuel Lawrence Bagshawe, Colonel retired list, Madras army;—Deputy-Surgeon-

General John Tulloch, late Medical Staff 10th Regiment (Indian Mutiny campaign, Lucknow, etc.);—General Sir W. Stirling, K.C.B. (Crimean campaign 1854-55, Indian Mutiny, Kotoh, China, Afghanistan 1878-79);—Sir George Thomas Michael O'Brien, late Bengal Civil Service;—Colonel Charles Kyrle Chatfield, late 51st Light Infantry (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1887);—Lieutenant-Colonel James Barry Slater, late Indian Staff Corps;—Hon. Gilbert Stuart Henderson, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta;—Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald de Courcy Morton (private secretary to Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab 1871-77, Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Surgeon-Major Francis Henry Plumptre, late of Bombay army (Persian campaign 1856-57, Abyssinian campaign 1867-68); Arthur Ramsay Macdonald, late I.C.S.;—James Mackenzie Maclean (from 1863-79 proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette*, published "Guide to Bombay");—Sir James Braithwaite Peile, K.C.S.I., sometime member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India;—Robert Taylor, late Bengal Civil Service;—Colonel Charles K. Chatfield (Afghan war 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1887);—Colonel A. J. Fitzgerald (Mooltan, Goojerat, Ensofzaie);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. K. Macpherson (joined 1865, appointed Cantonment Magistrate in the Punjab 1871, officiated as Deputy Judge-Advocate-General at Calcutta and Allahabad 1886-88 and 1892-93); Major Robert Dwaris Dwaris (Sutlej campaign 1845-46, Indian Mutiny 1857);—Major David Simpson, of the Indian Medical Service (Chin-Lushai expedition 1889-90, Manipore expedition 1891);—Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Doyle Patterson, 10th Foot (Sikh war 1845-46, Sutlej campaign, Sobraon, Punjab 1848-49, Gujerat);—General Sir Henry Edward Landor Thuillier, Kt., C.S.I., Colonel-Commandant Royal (late Bengal) Artillery;—William Herbert Lee, M.A., I.C.S., District and Sessions Judge, Bengal;—Major-General Alexander James Bruce, H.E.I.C.S., late Mysore Commission;—Gerald Edwin Hall, A.M.I.C.E., late Resident

Engineer of Benares ;—William McChlery, late Bengal Civil Service ;—Samuel Henry Nixon, Meerut, N.W.P. ;—Major Percy Edward Henderson, Bengal Staff Corps (retired) ;—Frederick Charles Danvers, East India Company Service and India Office ;—Colonel W. F. de H. Curtis, late Royal Horse Artillery (Abyssinian campaign 1867-68) ;—Surgeon-General Sibthorpe (Afghan war 1878-79, Burmese campaign 1885-86) ; Lieutenant-Colonel Sir William Gordon Bort (Crimea, India 1857-58) ; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Norton James Goodwyn, D.S.O. (Burmese war 1891-92, West Coast of Africa 1898-99) ; Major C. Onslow Reid, Deputy Commissioner, Kyankhya ;—Colonel Walter Richard Lascelles (Lucknow 1857, Chinese war 1860-61, Nile campaign 1884-85) ;—Major H. W. Elphick, Indian Medical Service ;—William H. Lee, I.C.I., District and Sessions Judge, Berhampore ;—Herbert Wace, C.M.G., Agent and acting Colonial Secretary, Central Province, Ceylon ;—Major Eugene Le Mesurier, Indian army, Political Department, Government of India ;—William Marshall, F.R.G.S., F.S.A., F.I.I., late of Indian navy ;—Major-General Hugh Norris Hodgson, late Bengal Staff Corps ;—Colonel Henry Fraser, late Madras Light Infantry ;—Henry John Tedder, M.A. (St. Andrews), I.C.S., Assistant Commissioner, Fyzabad, U.P. ;—Colonel Francis Dashwood Ogilvie, late Bengal Staff Corps ;—Colonel Sir F. H. Jenkins, K.C.B., entered 1851 (Indian Mutiny campaign, Punjab Frontier Force 1877-79), Aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria from 1879 to 1885.

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CHINA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS JAPAN AND
RUSSIA.

BY SIR R. K. DOUGLAS.

THE diplomatic tactics pursued by China during the recent war were precisely those which have always guided the policy of that huge and inert nation in similar circumstances. Li Hung Chang, who directed the destinies of his country for so many years, left on record his idea of what the action, or rather inaction, of China should be towards the two combatants. In a despatch which has been published he gave his countrymen the following cynical advice: They should, in his opinion, do nothing, and may so hope to reap some advantages, whichever side issued victorious from the conflict. If victory should declare in favour of Russia, Japan would suffer extinction, and a possible enemy would thus be removed from the Eastern seas; while in the destruction of a former foe China would enjoy the additional gratification of a satisfied revenge. If, on the other hand, Japan should emerge successful from the contest, Russia's hold of Manchuria would be weakened, a check would be inflicted on a formidable neighbour, and peace would be insured on the frontier for a generation at least.

The line of policy thus sketched by Li was faithfully followed by the Peking authorities. At the same time the Emperor's advisers have not hesitated to profit by the

superior knowledge and military skill of the victors in the fight. They have never shown any hostility to the nations which at different times have vanquished them in the field. Their lofty contempt for the military art softens the blow of defeat, and attributes the success of their foes to a kind of prowess which is contemptible. When, however, arms have been laid aside, they have always shown themselves ready to profit by the skill and weapons of their former opponents, and following this course they have now sought the assistance of the Japanese drill-sergeants and mechanics to improve the material and tactics of their national army.

This, doubtless, is a wise step, and the Japanese have responded willingly to the invitation ; so that at the present moment the best armies in the northern and central provinces of the Empire are practising evolutions in obedience to Japanese words of command. Like opportunities were offered to us and to the French after the war of 1860, and again after the Boxer outbreak. But there were two reasons why these arrangements proved to be only temporary. The Chinese require stimulating influences to induce them to carry out reforms, and Europeans lack the qualities which supply this necessary impetus. The Japanese, on the other hand, have long been in close touch with the Chinese. They have absorbed their literature, and have adopted much of their philosophy and religion. Thus, in many of their ideas and modes of thought they are closely allied to their Continental neighbours, and to this day are to some extent influenced by the dicta of Confucius and the doctrines of Buddha. These affinities place the Japanese in a distinctly advantageous position in regard to the Chinese, and in one to which we cannot aspire. A wide gulf separates the European from the Chinese. Their views of life and of conduct, of their duty to their country, and of their relations with their fellow-men, differ widely, and it is difficult to point to a link connecting them. As a natural consequence we make constant mistakes in our dealings with the Chinese. We offend

their prejudices while trying to flatter their idiosyncrasies, and our impetuous ways outrage their sense of decorum.

With the Japanese it is not so. They have inherited like traditions, and have sat at the feet of those who have taught the Chinese wisdom. But though when the Japanese first became acquainted with their then more civilized neighbours and assimilated their literature they only made it apply to those parts of their system of life which were in harmony with it. In the peace-loving philosophies of Confucius and Mencius there is no place, for example, for the "Bushido," of which we have heard so much lately. This side of the Japanese character was derived, not from books, but from Nature herself, and no amount of teaching will ever make this flower of chivalry take root and blossom in the very uncongenial soil of China. Thus, while the two nations have much to unite them, it would be practically impossible to unify them. During the whole stages of their histories they have followed divergent courses. The Japanese have from their earliest days been a fighting race, while the Chinese have as persistently followed the peaceful pursuits of literature and commerce. The result is that, while one nation has earned for herself an honoured place among the most powerful States in the world, the other has sunk into a state of impotence and decay, relieved every now and then by a futile attempt to rejuvenate herself.

One such period has arrived, and the Chinese have done wisely in enlisting the aid of their former conquerors. For the present there seems to be a genuine desire on the part of the Peking authorities to benefit by the kindly intentions of the Japanese, and in other directions besides those of the despised military art.

For several years batches of Chinese students have been sent to Japan to study the methods by which the people of that favoured land transformed, as in a moment of time, a feudal state into a modern constitutional Empire. It is easy to imagine the Chinese youths, straight from the self-

seeking society of their fellow-countrymen, being struck dumb with amazement when they learned to realize that it was owing mainly to the absolute self-abnegation of the official classes that such a reform became possible. Such patriotism is as foreign to the Chinese nature as it is allied to that of the Japanese.

A Chinaman finds it hard to regard the Throne as a rallying-point on which to centre the nation's reverent affection. A selfish individualism is his leading characteristic, and thus it must always be borne in mind that, before he can expect to approach the high level of Japanese patriotism, he must learn to put his full trust in his newly-found ally, and adopt unhesitatingly her progressive counsels. Throughout the complex negotiations which preceded the late war Japan showed herself well worthy to be so trusted. She announced that the main objects of her diplomacy, and afterwards of her military efforts, were to prevent the absorption of Manchuria by Russia, and to maintain the integrity of China. From these views she has never swerved, and she is as ready now, as she has always been, to maintain the existing frontier of China against all comers. In this, in the opinion of her statesmen, her own safety, as well as that of China, consists; and it would be well that China should recognise the solidarity of the interests of the two nations. Unhappily, there are not wanting signs that the Peking authorities entertain some suspicion as to the motives of the Japanese in their professed anxiety for the safety of China, a suspicion which has been carefully fostered by the Russians. And it is this supposed "fly in the ointment" which delayed the signing of the treaty which had become necessary from the altered conditions of the two States. This treaty (signed December 22, 1905), fully carries out the conditions for which the Japanese have always contended. The following are the main features of the document:

As indicated above, China grants to Japan a lease of the

Liaotung peninsula, and gives that Power the control of the railway on the peninsula as far as Changchun. China also concedes to Japan the right to build a railway from Antung on the Yalu to Mukden. But the most important article, and one which is of the greatest possible interest to the world at large, is that by which China agrees to open to the commerce of all nations sixteen of the principal ports and cities of Manchuria, including Karbin. Thus the fruition of Japan's far-sighted designs has become an accomplished fact, and furnishes another instance of the persistency of her policy. When she buckled on her armour she proclaimed that she was about to fight for the commercial equality of all nations, and for the restoration of Manchuria to China ; and now, when she is laying aside her weapons, she is able to point to this treaty, which vindicates her estimate of her powers, and is a triumphant justification of her aims.

It cannot be too often repeated that it is only by means of a frank and whole-hearted alliance with Japan, such as is foreshadowed in the above treaty, and a genuine adoption of her progressive system, that China can hope to maintain her integrity against the machinations, both secret and open, which threaten her very existence as an independent Empire.

It will be observed that, while restoring Manchuria to China, Japan imposes such conditions as will make it impossible for Russia to renew the war for a generation at least. These conditions she is fully entitled to enforce, and however Russia may, after her usual manner, cabal and scheme against them, it is quite certain that she will not yield one inch. The Japanese Government understands the statesmen of the Neva perfectly, and it is not likely to be imposed upon by promises however specious, or threats however fierce-sounding.

The condition of affairs at the close of the war illustrated the relations existing between the two combatants on the one hand, and Russia's victim, China, on the other. While Japan was looking to such a development of the

resources of China as would enable that unwieldy State to preserve her independence, and so to act as a bulwark against the Russian advance in Eastern Asia, Russia was straining every nerve to keep her weak, dependent, and ignorant. The whole history of Russian relations with China tells the same story. From the Treaty of Nerchinck in 1689 down to the present day it is one long record of advances into Chinese territory, enforced retirements for a time, and ultimate occupations of frontier lands to which she has not the smallest claim.

A more typical example of Russian wiles at Peking could not be imagined than that furnished by a successful act of diplomacy affected by General Ignatieff in 1860. At that time the allied armies of England and France were investing Peking, at which Court General Ignatieff was resident. Taking advantage of the straits in which the Chinese Government found itself at the crisis, he so worked on the fears of the Regent, Prince Kung, that he was able to persuade that hapless Prince that it was through his (General Ignatieff's) interposition alone that the city could be saved from destruction. So successfully did he ply his arguments that the Prince was induced as compensation for this supposed friendly act to sign away in a convention the territory between the river Ussuri in Manchuria and the sea. Russia thus by a stroke of the pen acquired the southern portion of the province of Primorsk, or, in other words, a coast-line extending for 700 miles, including the port of Vladivostock.

This acquisition of territory by no means satisfied the craving for Far Eastern lands possessed by Russia. Vladivostock is not, after all, a warm-water port, and the statesmen on the Neva turned longing eyes on the open harbours of Korea. China's difficulty has always been Russia's opportunity, and taking advantage of a dispute which was raging between China, Japan, and Korea in 1885, that Power stepped in and proposed a convention which would have virtually placed the whole of Korea

under the protection of the Tsar. It is difficult to keep diplomatic secrets in the East, and, happily, this intrigue became known before it was too late, but not before the King of Korea had found sufficient support from the other European Powers to enable him to decline with assurance the proffered protection of Russia.

Oriental politics are conducted on such different lines to those which prevail in Europe that they are often difficult to reconcile with usage. Traditionally, Russia has always posed as a supporter of China, though from time to time she has robbed her of territories and acquired from her rights to which she has no sort of title. But it is a peculiarity of the Chinese mind that it is able to accept two opposite propositions without recognising the natural contradiction between the two ; and thus Russia has been able to pose one day as the friend of China, and the next as her oppressor and plunderer. She was thus taking up one of her accustomed rôles when, in 1894, she intervened in favour of China, then brought to her knees by Japan. It will be remembered that Russia so successfully championed the cause of the integrity of China that she induced the Japanese to retire from the Liaotung peninsula. This mediatorial action was supplemented by a convention executed at Moscow in 1896, confirming the principle of the integrity of China, by which the two Powers bound themselves in case of aggression by Japan against Russia, China, or Korea, to lend each other mutual support. It is characteristic of Russian diplomacy to find commercial or strategic privileges tacked on to apparently self-denying treaties, and it is therefore not a matter for surprise that we find clauses inserted in this convention whereby the authorization to prolong the Trans-Siberian Railway to Vladivostock over Chinese territory is accorded. Then, *per contra*, followed the seizure of Port Arthur, by which act of plunder the spirit of the Moscow Treaty was falsified, and the idea of the integrity of China was thrown to the winds.

In the preliminary negotiations which preceded the present war the Japanese strove to induce Russia to enter into an engagement to respect the independence and integrity of China and Korea, and to maintain the principle of the "open door" for the trade and industry of all nations. In the convention thus proposed it was laid down that Russia should not put any obstacles in the way of the eventual extension of the Korean railway as far as southern Manchuria, and that Japan should have the exclusive right of giving advice and assistance to the Koreans in the interests of the good government of that country, the necessary military aid being included. But Russian policy had advanced by leaps and bounds since the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty, and the well-meant efforts of the Japanese met with no response. The Muscovites were committed to enterprises and advances with which the integrity of the "Middle Kingdom" was quite incompatible, and they scorned the idea that any attempt of a yellow race to stay their career should meet with even a show of success.

Meanwhile the Chinese have, following Li Hung Chang's advice, been doing nothing. They still entertain a sincere dread of their northern neighbour, and in their view it is more important to be on good terms with a Power whose territories are only divided from theirs by an imaginary line than with a State separated from her coast-line by the sea.

Perhaps it is too much to hope, however, that China may speedily learn from past experience the worthlessness of the friendship of Russia, but the time will surely come when she will realize the wisdom of putting her faith in the Japanese, who have never played her false, and with whom she is so closely allied by race and tradition.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.*

BY THE HON. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E.

My object in preparing this paper is to lay before your readers briefly, and I hope clearly, what are to-day the ideas and aspirations of the vast majority of those Indians who have come under the influence of Western thought in regard to the government of their country. I think it will be generally admitted that the dissatisfaction in India with the existing system of administration has been for some time past rapidly growing, and we have now reached a stage when it is necessary for the rulers, if further alienation between the two sides is to be prevented, to make a bold and statesmanlike attempt to win back the confidence of the educated classes of the country. These classes have in the past been led to believe that the sole aim of British rule in India was the welfare of the Indian people, and that under that rule no distinction would be made between Indians and Europeans in the government of the country on grounds of race or creed or colour. The Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the late Queen of 1858 have pledged the word of the Sovereign and the Parliament of this country—the only two authorities that can claim to speak in the name of the English nation—to such a policy. And till a few years ago, whatever might have been thought of the pace at which we were going, there was no general disposition to doubt the intention of the rulers to redeem their plighted word. To-day, however, the position is no longer the same. Things *have* moved even in dreamy and contemplative India, and many, without doubt, of your readers, who in their time have held high, and in some cases distinguished, official positions in that country; must have been startled recently to read in the columns of such eminently Conservative journals as the *Times* and

* For discussion on this paper see report of the proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

the *Morning Post* the accounts of the ferment in India witnessed by their special correspondents, and the significance they found it necessary to attach to that ferment. There is no doubt that the old faith of the people in the character and ideals of British rule has been more than shaken, and its place is being steadily taken by a conviction that, however great England may be, she is not great enough to forego voluntarily the gains of power from considerations of mere justice or national honour. I do not say that such a view is quite just to the average man or woman of this country. Probably the democracy here will not tolerate such complete exclusion of the Indians from their own government, if the real character of the present system of administration is clearly brought home to its mind. But whatever its sympathies in the abstract may be, they are rendered inoperative, first, by its absorption in questions of domestic interest; and, secondly, by the dense and impenetrable ignorance about India that prevails in this land on all sides. Moreover, the people of India can judge of the intentions of Englishmen only from their experience of those who go out to India to exercise authority over them, and I think it is no injustice to this class to say that most of its members show no particular anxiety to part with any portion of the power they at present enjoy, or to associate more than they can help the people of the country with themselves in the work of administration.

I know there are those who think that no serious importance need be attached to the temper or opinions of the educated classes of India: first, because numerically they are a small—as one Viceroy said, “a microscopic”—minority; and, secondly, because there are so many caste and creed divisions in India that united action on the part of the people in support of the views of the educated classes is impossible. It is true that as far as mere numbers go, those who have received Western education in India form but a small proportion of the entire population, only a little

over a million persons being returned at the last census as "literate in English" out of nearly three hundred millions. But there can be no greater mistake than to imagine that the influence of this class in the country is proportionate only to its numbers. In the first place, these men constitute what may be called the brain of the community. They do the thinking, not only for themselves, but also for their ignorant brethren. Moreover, theirs is the Indian press—both English and vernacular—and the vernacular press shapes the thoughts and sways the feelings, not only of the fifteen million "literates in vernaculars" whom it reaches directly, but also of many more millions who come indirectly under its influence. And whatever public opinion exists in the country reflects almost entirely the views of the educated classes. The officials sometimes look to old historic families, which in more turbulent times supplied leaders to the country, to exert a rival influence; but they have now lost their former hold on the public mind, because in these days of peace and of transition, rusty, broken swords cannot compete with ideas as a source of importance and power. The influence of the educated classes with their countrymen is thus already very great, and is bound every day to grow greater and greater. As regards caste and creed divisions even these are not now so acute as they once were. Half a century of Western education, and a century of common laws, common administration, common grievances, and common disabilities have not failed to produce their natural effect even in India. The awakening of the Mohammedans of Alighar to the necessity of political agitation is a significant sign of the times. It is most improbable that the Alighar programme, when drawn up, will be found to be substantially different from the Congress programme, and though the new organization may maintain its separate existence for a while, it must inevitably merge itself sooner or later into the larger and older organization of the National Congress.

I think those who are responsible for the government of

India have now got to realize two facts : first, that any further alienation of the educated classes would be a course of supreme political unwisdom ; and, secondly, that such alienation cannot be prevented unless the faith of these classes in the desire of the rulers to carry out the policy of the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 is restored. Whatever a certain school of officials in India may say, the bulk of educated Indians have never in the past desired a severance of the British connection. Not only was their reason enlisted on its side, but in the earlier years, at any rate, even their imagination had been captured by it. The fact that a small island at one end of the world had by an astonishing succession of events been set to rule over a vast country, inhabited by an ancient and civilized race, at the other end ; the character of the new rulers as men who had achieved constitutional liberty for themselves, and who were regarded as friends of freedom all over the world ; their noble declarations of policy in regard to India—these were well calculated to cast a spell on the Indian mind. While the blessings of continued peace and of order well established ; the introduction into the country of the higher and more vigorous administrative standards of the West ; the establishment of Universities and schools, throwing open to the people the rich treasures of Western knowledge, and bringing them under the influence of Western ideas ; the dispensing of equal justice between Indian and Indian ; liberty of speech and liberty of writing ; railways, post-offices, telegraphs, and other modern appliances of material civilization—these were solid and undeniable advantages brought to the people, which for a long time continued to be a theme of genuine and unstinted appreciation. The spell, however, is already broken, and even the hold on the reason is steadily slackening. A tendency has set in to depreciate even those advantages which at one time were most cordially acknowledged. And the disadvantages of the situation—wounded self-respect, inability to grow to the full height

of one's stature, a steady deterioration in the manhood of the nation, and economic evils of vast magnitude inseparable from such foreign domination—these evils which, while the spell lasted, had not been realized with sufficient clearness, have now already begun to appear as intolerable. I think there is no room for doubt that the whole attitude of the Indian mind towards British rule is undergoing a change. As yet the vast majority does not clearly understand this change. It would like to remain, if it could, in the old familiar groove, and it feels surprised, pained, disappointed, indignant that it cannot remain in that groove, and is being driven in a direction which it does not understand. It is a critical juncture in the relations between England and India. The highest statesmanship is needed to deal with the situation, and every day the problem grows more and more difficult of solution.

After all, India's willing acceptance of the British connection can only be based on reason or enlightened self-interest. English officials in India often fail to realize the extent to which the policy laid down by the Sovereign and by Parliament has reconciled the thinking portion of the Indian community to British rule. They seem to think that as that policy has been allowed hitherto to remain for the most part a dead letter, it could not really have any serious practical bearing. There cannot be a more complete misconception of the whole situation than this. Throughout these long years the educated classes have not lost sight of the policy even for a single moment, and though their patience under its continued non-fulfilment—which at last has begun to give way—has worn to superficial observers the appearance of indifference, the belief that the pledges so solemnly given would not go unredeemed has, more than anything else, determined so long their attitude towards British rule. Once this attitude is allowed to undergo a change, such as it is now doing, the rulers will not be left long in doubt as to the great part which the Charter Act and the Queen's Proclamation have

had in insuring the loyalty of the people. It was a failure to perceive this which was responsible for the grave mistake which Lord Curzon committed more than two years ago, when he sought in open Council to explain away the Queen's Proclamation, and practically told the people of India that as long as British rule lasted there could be no real equality between Englishmen and Indians in India! It is sometimes said that the existing arrangements make for efficiency of administration, and in the interests of that efficiency it is necessary that they should not be disturbed. There is an air of plausibility about this plea, but those who urge it ignore the wisdom of an observation which the present Prime Minister once made, that "good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves!" On a closer examination, moreover, the contention will be found to be perfectly untenable. The efficiency attained by a foreign bureaucracy, uncontrolled by public opinion, whose members, again, reside only temporarily in the land in which they exercise official power, is bound to be of a strictly limited character, and it can never compare with that higher and truer efficiency which is possible only under a well-regulated system of self-government. The present form of administration in India is a strongly centralized bureaucracy, in which the men at the centre hold office for five years only. They then leave the country, carrying away with them all the knowledge and experience of administrative matters acquired at the expense of the country, and their places are taken by new men, who, in their turn, retire similarly after five years. As things are, there is no one ever in the Government who is permanently interested in the country as only its own people can be interested. One result is that the true well-being of the people is systematically subordinated to militarism, service interests, and the interests of English mercantile classes; and though under such a system peace and order may be maintained, and even a certain amount of efficient administration secured, the type of

efficiency is bound to remain a low one always. Moreover, it is clear that even such efficiency of administration, as has been attained in the past by the existing system is bound to suffer more and more, owing to the growing antagonism of the governed to that system. No man, for instance, ever laboured more strenuously for mere efficiency than Lord Curzon, and yet never was discontent deeper and more widespread than when he left India, and no Viceroy of recent times has had to succeed to a greater legacy of difficulties than Lord Minto.

It may be that bureaucracies, like the Bourbons, never learn; but it should really not be difficult for Englishmen to realize that you cannot have institutions like the Universities working for more than half a century in India, and then expect to be able to govern the people as though they were still strangers to ideas of constitutional freedom or to the dignity of national aspirations. Those who blindly uphold the existing system, and resist all attempts, however cautious and moderate, to broaden its basis, prefer practically to sacrifice the future to the present. No one denies the undoubted difficulties of the position, but they are by no means so formidable as those who do not want to move at all like to believe. The goal which the educated classes of India have in view is a position for their country in the Empire worthy of the self-respect of civilized people. They want their country to be a prosperous, self-governing, integral part of the Empire, like the Colonies, and not a mere poverty-stricken, bureaucratically-held possession of that Empire. The system under which India is governed at present is an unnatural system, and however one may put up with it as a temporary evil, as a permanent arrangement it is impossible, for under such a system "the noble, free, virile, fearless life," to use the words of a well-known American preacher, "which is the red blood of any nation, gradually becomes torpid," and nothing can compensate a people for so terrible a wrong. Of course we recognise that the new self-government has to be on Western lines,

and therefore the steps by which the goal is reached must necessarily be slow, as, for the advance to be real, it must be from experiment to experiment only. But there is all the difference in the world between such cautious progress and no progress at all; and the bureaucracy which, by standing in the way of all reasonable instalments of reform, hopes to prevent reform altogether, is only undermining its own position by such a short-sighted and suicidal policy. The officials in theory admit the necessity of associating the people with the government of the country, but they object to admitting only a small proportion of the population to a share in the administration, and they ask us to wait till the mass of the people have been qualified by education to take an intelligent part in public affairs! At the same time, how much or how little is being done to push on mass education may be seen from the fact that, after more or less a century of British rule, and forty years after England herself woke up to the responsibilities of Governments in regard to mass education, seven children out of eight in India are growing up to-day in ignorance and darkness, and four villages out of five are as yet without a school-house! Moreover, it is ignored that what is asked at the present stage is a voice in the administration, not for the whole population, but only for those who have been qualified by education to exercise their responsibilities in a satisfactory manner. As regards the bulk of the people, it is recognised that education has got to come first, and what is urged is that this educational work should be pushed on in the most vigorous manner possible.

It is true, as I have already admitted, that an Oriental country cannot hope to advance on Western lines, except by cautious and tentative steps. But what Japan has been able to achieve in forty years, India should certainly have accomplished in a century. The attitude of the two Governments in the matter has, however, been one of the main elements of difference in the two cases. My concern, however, is more with the present and the future than with

the past. And here I repeat that, unless the old faith of the educated classes in the character and ideals of British rule is brought back, England will find on her hands before long another Ireland, only many times bigger, in India. The younger generations are growing up full of what may be called Irish bitterness, and the situation must fill all who believe in the peaceful progress of the country under British rule with anxious apprehensions. If India is to attain self-government within the Empire—an idea which to an increasing proportion of my countrymen appears to be a vain dream—the advance will have to be along several lines more or less simultaneously. Of these, in some respects the most important is the admission of Indians to the higher branches of the public service. As long as India continues to be bureaucratically governed, admission to high office will be a test of the position assigned to the Indians in the system of administration. It is not a mere question of careers for young men—though even that view is entitled to weight, and the bureaucracy certainly behaves at times as though the most important question before it was how to retain and, if possible, increase the existing number of openings for the employment of Englishmen in India—but it is a measure of our advance towards that equality which has been promised us by the Sovereign and by Parliament. Moreover, as the ranks of the bureaucracy come to be recruited more and more from among the Indians, its resistance to the control of taxpayers' representatives will grow less and less. At present only the field of law—and there, too, only a portion of it—is freely open to us, and we find Indians there climbing right to the top of the tree. And if my countrymen are thought to be qualified to discharge the duties of Chief Justice and Advocate-General, it is preposterous that they should be kept out of the superior ranks of Excise and Opium and Salt and Customs and Post and Telegraph and Survey, and similar other services. Under present arrangements India's true centre of gravity is in London. We protest against

this most unnatural arrangement, and we urge most strongly that all competitive examinations for recruitment to Indian services should be held, not in London only, but simultaneously in India and in England. And we claim to be admitted now to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, as also to the Secretary of State's Council in this country. Next, we want district administration—which is the unit of administration in India—to be decentralized. On the one hand, it must be freed from the present excessive control of the secretariat of the central Government and its numerous special departments; and on the other, the people of the district must be provided with opportunities to influence its course more and more largely, till at last the officials become in fact, as they are in theory, the servants of the people. The first step towards this is to associate with the heads of districts, for purposes of general administration, boards of leading men elected by the people, at first, perhaps, merely advisory, but gradually entrusted with increasing powers of control. In this way an administration conducted with the real consent of the governed may in course of time be substituted for the present system of administration carried on in the dark and behind the backs of the people concerned, with its attendant evils of confidential reports and police surveillance. Then, local self-government must be carried further. It still remains all over the country where it was placed by Lord Ripon a quarter of a century ago, and in some places it has even been pushed back. Local bodies should now be made in the more advanced localities wholly popular assemblies, and while the control of the Government over them must not be weakened, they should be freed from all petty and harassing interference on the part of officials. As regards Legislative Councils, the position is more difficult. Of course, the next instalment, whenever it comes, can, I think, be clearly foreseen. The enlargement of the Councils, the widening of their functions so that Budgets should be really discussed and passed, an increase

in the proportion of elected members up to the point at which the officials will still have a small standing majority—these changes may sooner or later appear safe enough even to the official mind. But the advance beyond that is really the thing that will matter, and it is not easy to see how it will come about. As long as the higher branches of the public service continue to be a practical monopoly of Englishmen, there is small chance of the Legislative Councils being entrusted with any substantial share of control over the actions of the Executive, and this consideration emphasizes still further the necessity of steadily Indianizing the services of the country. In the army, too, our position must be generally improved, and the commissioned ranks now thrown open to carefully selected Indians. Side by side with these reforms, mass education must be taken vigorously in hand, so that in twenty years from now, if not earlier, there should be free and compulsory education in the country for both boys and girls.

I think that an earnest and sustained advance along these lines will go far to prevent any further alienation of the educated classes, and even their old goodwill may thus be regained. I cannot say that I have much hope that any such policy will be at once adopted.

"SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA."

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE HON. G. K. GOKHALE FROM
MR. J. B. PENNINGTON.

DEAR SIR,

I will begin, like my friend Mr. Thorburn, by assuring you (if you need assurance on the point) that I sympathize most sincerely with the aspirations and ideas of the more reasonable men like yourself and many others of the "intellectual," highly-educated Indians of all creeds and classes, and then proceed (as Mr. Thorburn did) to state my objections to much of what you said, and, perhaps, to your way of saying it. I will also follow Mr. Thorburn in criticising your paper *seriatim*, because it is the most convenient plan for anyone who happens to read both papers, but I have no wish whatever to assume the rôle of pedagogue correcting a pupil's exercise. I shall merely express my opinions plainly, as you express yours, and I am sure you are not the man to complain of that so long as I observe the usual courtesies of debate and only say what I really think, and what I think ought to be said. The worst of personal discussion is that one is apt to say things that had better have been left unsaid, and say them in an unnecessarily aggressive tone, as I dare say Mr. Thorburn would willingly admit by this time.

I am obliged to begin with an old dispute, because you repeat the old charge of a breach of faith on the very first page of your paper without fairly stating the case on the other side. I say without hesitation that, speaking generally, no distinction is made between Indians and Europeans on grounds of race or creed or colour. All are equally eligible for the Civil Service, and some, like Mr. Dutt, have risen to the highest posts under the Government of India. Much more might be done for the advancement of competent Indians, but it is *not the fact* that they are excluded on account of their race, their creed,

or their colour, but simply because a certain backing of English is essential if England is to be responsible for the safety of India. Nor is it true that any such *absolute* pledge as you describe was ever made either in 1833 or 1858; it was always conditional on the British supremacy being unchallenged. This is perfectly clear from the speeches made at the time, and most candidly quoted by Mr. Dadabhai in his encyclopædic work, and any other interpretation of the language is obviously incompatible with the continuance of our rule in India as long as the army is mainly dependent on Englishmen, and (still more) on English officers. If you think the country could be safeguarded, or even governed, without an English army, or that a purely Indian Administration could control such an army, I have nothing more to say. There is no question of national honour involved. The present system is a *necessity*, and, though I believe it might be modified and even improved by a far larger admission of Indians to Administrative appointments, and a corresponding reduction in the number of Europeans, that would not materially alter the character of the Administration, or very largely reduce the Home charges. In point of fact there is no such thing as "complete exclusion of the Indians from their own Government." The Civil Service is open to all, though you seem to ignore the fact, and there is never a year without some successful Indian candidates, who have often, like Mr. Dutt, risen to the highest rank. I am sorry, but I cannot refrain from saying that it is, in my opinion, almost criminal to mislead the English democracy, colossally ignorant as you admit it is, by such unqualified statements as you make on this point. Speaking generally, your proposals as to self-government, especially your idea of assisting (?) the Collector by a Board of amateurs who would learn their business at his expense, seem to me to be far less practical than those of Mr. Smeaton. Why not press for a trial of his scheme to begin with? It seems to me perfectly feasible almost at once, and would be a long

step in the right direction, which would go far to convince the better class of Indian officials that we are really anxious to enlarge their opportunities of usefulness. If it is true, as you say, that "most of the members of the Service nowadays do not care to associate the people of the country with themselves in the work of administration," I can only deplore the fact as most disastrous to the Government of the country. After all, in Madras, at any rate, we know quite well that every district which, as you say, is the true unit of Administration, is (and always has been) governed *either* by a Collector, with the aid of a Sheristadar* (as we call him), *or* by the Sheristadar with a backing of Collector; and to say that the Indians have *no* share in the Administration is to ignore that very important functionary most absurdly.

You say that "the true well-being of the people is *systematically* subordinated to militarism, service interests, and the "interests of the English mercantile classes"; but what is there, (as I have often asked in vain,) in the theory or practice of the Indian Government which prevents any Indian from prospering as Mr. Tata did, and as even Mr. Digby admitted that 60 millions of the people of India prosper under the present system? Twenty per cent. of fairly prosperous people is not a small proportion in any country; and if the rest of the people want their country to be more prosperous than it is, there is nothing, I venture to say, in the system of government to prevent them from making it so. As the English *Spectator* (I think) observed many years ago, the misfortune is that the Hindu is too easily content with a bare subsistence, and is more inclined to suffer than to struggle. The fact that so large a proportion prosper in spite of a relaxing climate proves beyond all possibility of dispute that most of the rest could do so also if they chose to put their backs into their work. I still think Sir T. Mahdava Rau was nearer the truth than

* I believe that in the north the Collector has a native personal assistant, who is an even more influential personage than our Sheristadar.

you when he said : " The longer one lives and reflects, the more clearly does one see that there is no nation in the world which suffers less from political evils, or more from *self-created* and therefore *avoidable* evils, than the Hindu," or words to that effect. Mahdava Rau was certainly not a thick-and-thin supporter of British rule, but he knew how to distinguish between real and imaginary blessings. To say that " the true welfare of the people is *systematically* subordinated to militarism is certainly, in my opinion, to say what is untrue ; and to sneer at the desire for military efficiency as " militarism " does not alter the fact that an efficient army is one of the conditions of peace and prosperity. I would even make bold to say that the true well-being of the people is even yet, as it certainly was in my time, the main object in life of all the best officials, whether military or civil, though one must, of course, admit that there are black sheep in every flock. To read some of your remarks and allusions to the Bourbons, etc., one might almost suppose that no progress had ever been made in the administration of the country ; and you have no right to assume that because the officials do not jump at all the proposals of the National Congress, they hope to prevent reform altogether. I quite agree that progress might be a great deal more rapid, but we have no right to assume that more conservative minds than our own are actuated by evil motives.

Like so many people in every country, you are eager to lay all the blame for the want of general education on the Government, but in most countries education depended on private effort for hundreds of years, and there has never been anything to prevent the wealthy classes amongst your countrymen from doing what every missionary body with far inferior resources has done. The blessings of compulsory education are not so universally admitted even in this country that we should be in too great a hurry to impose it on the masses of India.

You say that what Japan has been able to achieve in

forty years India should certainly have accomplished in a century, but the circumstances of Japan and India are entirely different. Japan has always been a self-governed country from time immemorial. There are very few illuminating examples of one country being occupied and governed by another at an enormous distance since the Roman occupation of Britain, and the example of the Roman occupation and ultimate evacuation of Britain is a serious warning to the British in India as well as to the Indians themselves. The circumstances are not, of course, quite the same, but who can doubt that the consequences of evacuation by the English would be quite as ruinous to India as the departure of the Romans was to Britain? Certainly it would not be 600 years before India was thoroughly conquered again by some other foreign power—probably Russia—but the condition of Britain until it was conquered by a more intellectual race of pirates than those who had all but exterminated the original inhabitants is an object-lesson for the discontented and unwarlike Hindu, whose fate would not remain long in doubt. Surely Sir T. Mahdava Rau was a more trustworthy adviser than Mr. Gokhale, considerate and reasonable as he generally is.

Your own chairman, Lord Reay, pointed out very clearly what an advantage a European has in dealing with the conflicting races of India, and even with contending castes amongst the Hindus themselves; it is a natural advantage, not dependent on capacity or even "backbone." You say, of course, that you "have not much hope that your policy will be *at once* adopted"; but you certainly left it to be inferred by your audience of callow Indian youths that it *might* be adopted if the authorities in India were reasonably honest, and I must say I agree with Mr. Thorburn in regretting that a man of such intelligence should use language throughout this paper so unfortunately calculated to mislead an ill-informed audience into the belief that the Indians are being treated with gross injustice, and that some

remedy, *never very clearly indicated*, would be possible if it were not for the positive ill-will of those now engaged in the extremely difficult task of doing justice in India. You might learn greater moderation from your patriotic fellow-countryman, the editor of the *Hindu Patriot*; for, as he wisely observes, if the Government is to attach any importance to agitations "they should be carried on in a spirit of moderation and scrupulous regard to truth. But where a heated imagination is allowed to run riot in excesses, exaggeration of facts and vituperation and abuse of Government, criticism defeats its own object and does more harm than good" (*Hindu Patriot*, June 16, 1906).

For the reasons I have given in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902, p. 280, and elsewhere, I do *not* believe in simultaneous examinations in India and London, and as long as the Civil Service is absolutely open to every Indian you have no right to say that the higher branches of the public service are a practical monopoly of Englishmen; but it is perfectly true that a certain proportion of English in the service is an absolute *sine quâ non* as long as England is responsible for the government of India, and I think you must know this, though you do not let it appear. As far as I can see, you must be content for many years to come to be associated with the British on fairly equal terms in the present "bureaucratic" Government; no other is possible at present, and he is no true friend of India who raises hopes of the fulfilment of which there is no reasonably early prospect.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

P.S.—The above was written before I had seen the full report of the discussion on your paper in "India," or I might have almost discharged my conscience by simply saying ditto to Lord Reay, to whose trenchant remarks I notice you made no allusion in your reply.

J. P.

INDIA AND ANGLO-INDIA : SOME UNOFFICIAL IMPRESSIONS.*

BY ARTHUR SAWTELL.

THE principal point to which I propose to invite the attention of your readers is the subject of the relations between the ruling race and the people in India. This is a matter regarding which a non-official European in an up-country station can hardly avoid forming certain definite impressions. He is not, as is the non-official in a Presidency town, one of a large and influential community, absorbed in its own interests. He occupies a somewhat isolated position—semi-detached, as it were, from the official world, and wholly separated from native life and society. While still a new-comer, he realizes how much the character of the relations between the rulers and the ruled depends upon the representatives of Government; and when he has spent many years in India, he may still have had no dealings with the people of the country, apart from those which his business may have necessitated. In this respect the non-official European is at a great disadvantage as compared with the official. He must make his own opportunities of gaining insight into native life and character. If Mahomet does not go to the mountain, the mountain will not move an inch towards him. A resident in a large station in Upper India once assured me that he had been inside the walls of the native city only once in seventeen years. Apart from his own babus and servants, the number of natives with whom he was on speaking terms might have been counted on the fingers of one hand. This may be an exceptional case. I cannot say whether it is or not. But it shows that the conditions of Anglo-Indian life favour that aloofness from the people of the country which is generally recognised as a handicap on the success of British rule in India.

* For discussion on this paper see report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

This separation is a fact which it would be difficult to exaggerate. No one can spend any length of time in India without feeling that the Anglo-Indian, in a far deeper sense than Gershom, the child of exile, is a stranger in a strange land. The gulf does not grow narrower as time goes on. The modern developments which are making the world smaller are in one sense increasing the distance between rulers and ruled in India. The motto of the P. and O. Steamship Company—*Quis separabit?*—has acquired an irony which those who selected it could not have foreseen. In bringing India and Europe closer together, the mail-steamers divide India and Anglo-India further apart. When it is so easy to “get home,” the Anglo-Indian becomes more than ever a mere sojourner within the gates. The lessening of the distance between London and Bombay has had the effect of making the Anglo-Indian community larger, more diversified, and therefore more self-sufficing. Candour compels the admission that chivalry is loth to make, and one is obliged to say that the memsahib is a contributory cause of the increased aloofness between the Englishman and the Indian in India. She has brought with her from England that upper-middle-class atmosphere in which the good qualities of the Englishman grow and flourish with all their corresponding defects. Thanks to her, the average civil station is a reproduction of Cheltenham or Ealing in an Eastern setting, and when the sahib drives away from *daftar* or *kacheri* in the evening, his pony carries him the whole distance that divides the East from the West. In establishing the domestic virtues and the exigent, if exiguous, interests of the social circle on Indian soil the memsahib has put an impassable *chevaux de frise* upon the wall between the sahib and the people.

That this is so cannot, I think, be gainsaid. Whether it be a good or a bad thing that under the influence of the memsahib the type of the old “Qui Hai” has disappeared, it is not my part to say. The fact is there, and it must be accepted as inevitable. Possibly it may be in the power of

this most unnatural arrangement, and we urge most strongly that all competitive examinations for recruitment to Indian services should be held, not in London only, but simultaneously in India and in England. And we claim to be admitted now to the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay, as also to the Secretary of State's Council in this country. Next, we want district administration—which is the unit of administration in India—to be decentralized. On the one hand, it must be freed from the present excessive control of the secretariat of the central Government and its numerous special departments; and on the other, the people of the district must be provided with opportunities to influence its course more and more largely, till at last the officials become in fact, as they are in theory, the servants of the people. The first step towards this is to associate with the heads of districts, for purposes of general administration, boards of leading men elected by the people, at first, perhaps, merely advisory, but gradually entrusted with increasing powers of control. In this way an administration conducted with the real consent of the governed may in course of time be substituted for the present system of administration carried on in the dark and behind the backs of the people concerned, with its attendant evils of confidential reports and police surveillance. Then, local self-government must be carried further. It still remains all over the country where it was placed by Lord Ripon a quarter of a century ago, and in some places it has even been pushed back. Local bodies should now be made in the more advanced localities wholly popular assemblies, and while the control of the Government over them must not be weakened, they should be freed from all petty and harassing interference on the part of officials. As regards Legislative Councils, the position is more difficult. Of course, the next instalment, whenever it comes, can, I think, be clearly foreseen. The enlargement of the Councils, the widening of their functions so that Budgets should be really discussed and passed, an increase

in the proportion of elected members up to the point at which the officials will still have a small standing majority—these changes may sooner or later appear safe enough even to the official mind. But the advance beyond that is really the thing that will matter, and it is not easy to see how it will come about. As long as the higher branches of the public service continue to be a practical monopoly of Englishmen, there is small chance of the Legislative Councils being entrusted with any substantial share of control over the actions of the Executive, and this consideration emphasizes still further the necessity of steadily Indianizing the services of the country. In the army, too, our position must be generally improved, and the commissioned ranks now thrown open to carefully selected Indians. Side by side with these reforms, mass education must be taken vigorously in hand, so that in twenty years from now, if not earlier, there should be free and compulsory education in the country for both boys and girls.

I think that an earnest and sustained advance along these lines will go far to prevent any further alienation of the educated classes, and even their old goodwill may thus be regained. I cannot say that I have much hope that any such policy will be at once adopted.

attained beatitude in expecting nothing. Like Stevenson's Weir of Hermiston, he goes on "climbing the great bare staircase of his duty, uncheered and undepressed." In larger centres, and especially in the hill stations, this isolation of the European community seems to produce a kind of frivolity, which, though generally harmless, is not intellectually enlarging. The conceptions of the home-keeping Briton, by the way, of the "tone" of European society in India are, as a rule, very foolish and very unjust. This is doubtless due to the rather stupid British habit of accepting the impressions of the novelist as though they were complete and accurate photographs. Anglo-Indians sometimes speak resentfully of the injustice which they consider has been done them by some modern authors. But the blame really rests upon the readers, who insist on investing romance with the qualities of a Blue book. In point of fact, the moral sanctions and restraints which obtain in English middle-class life are an active element in that atmosphere which the memsahib carries with her to the East. Mrs. Grundy finds the air of Anglo-India entirely congenial, and those who are rash enough to dispute her authority usually find that, in the expressive American phrase, they have "struck a snag"—that is to say, an obstacle which is none the less dangerous for not being entirely obvious. There is no lack of "Thou shalt nots" in the social code of Anglo-India. It is a complete mistake to imagine that the Decalogue cannot survive the passage of the Suez Canal, Mr. Kipling's soldier notwithstanding. Home-staying English people would do well to remember in this, as in other connections, that "what the soldier said is not evidence." But the self-contained and rather narrow life of the Anglo-Indian community undoubtedly reacts upon it in such a way as to intensify the very condition from which it arises. The difficulty of a British official's knowing and understanding the people becomes greater when his private and his public life are shut off into water-tight compartments. It would, of course, be foolish to

wish for the affection of the Indian people. John Wesley, as quoted recently by the United States Ambassador, declared that he who loves you for your political service loves you less than his dinner ; while he who hates you for your political service hates you worse than the devil. This is as true of races as of persons, and to expect the love of the Indian people would be to expect the unattainable. We should, however, not only expect, but aim at securing the trust of the people. This is, we must suppose, the aim of the Government of India, but the necessary difficulty of its attainment is increased by the admitted aloofness of the ruling race. Only a slight acquaintance with India is sufficient to be aware that the talk of the bazaars and the comments of the native press are too often informed by a spirit of distrust. A single instance may serve to indicate the feeling that prevails. A few years ago an unaccountable rumour gained currency in the Punjab to the effect that the Government of India contemplated the deposition of the Maharaja of Kashmir, and the inclusion of his State in British India. I was in Lahore at the time, and a few inquiries in certain quarters confirmed the impression, created by the repeated hints of the native press, that there was a widespread belief, amounting almost to a conviction, that the days of Kashmir's independence were numbered. It was astonishing to find even educated Indian gentlemen confessing an inclination to treat with respect this more than usually ridiculous specimen of bazaar *gossip*. It was of little use to argue that such a project would be entirely contrary to the general trend of British policy towards the native States, that it would involve issues of international politics which the Government of India had every motive for avoiding, and that any change in Kashmir was far more likely to occur in the direction of extending the powers of its Raj, and strengthening the position of its ruler. As we all know now, this is what has actually come to pass in Kashmir. But the prevalence of such a rumour, so recently as four or five years ago, shows how easily popular mis-

understanding may arise where there is a lack of intimacy between the governors and the governed. A study of the native press, more especially of that section of it which is in greater or less sympathy with the National Congress ideals, cannot but impress the reader with the feeling that, if the people knew us better, there would be far less of the tendency to ascribe ulterior and often sinister motives for the most reasonable acts of the Government. How often, in the recent controversy over the creation of a new province in Bengal, has the purpose of that measure been represented as something other than that which the Government professed! The accusation of designs upon the growing nationality of the Bengali people has been reiterated again and again, until even a public in closer touch with its Government might well have been led to believe that there was "something in it." Dinned into the ears of a people who do not know the minds or the characters of those who bear rule over them, such an accusation is virtually certain to be accepted as true.

One need not enlarge upon the political disadvantages of this aloofness between Indian and Anglo-Indian, and little would be gained by attempting to apportion blame for a state of things admitted on both sides to be highly undesirable. On the one side you have that lack of imaginative sympathy which is the common failing of the British, but in respect to which, it must be said, you will probably find more individual exceptions amongst Anglo-Indian officers than amongst any other governing class throughout the Empire. On the other, you have caste and purdah, the two great outward and visible signs of a mentality as far removed from that of the European as the Equator from the Poles. Blame may belong more to one side than the other, or it may be equally divided. But it is certain that the duty of seeking—I do not say providing—some means of mitigating this condition of estrangement lies primarily with the ruling race. The plea of *non possumus*, whether it arise from genuine despondency or from mere impatience,

cannot be admitted. The final issue is not ours to determine. We may win or we may fail; it is our duty only to try.

But, it may be objected, you cannot call for sympathy by word of command; you can no more dictate a frame of mind than you can argue with it. That is true, but the assumption underlying that objection is that the British official has no desire to be anything more than a functionary in his relations with the people. Such an assumption would do him less than justice. The estrangement between rulers and ruled in India is a matter of temperament and circumstance, rather than will. The diagnosis of this condition is perfectly easy; to find a remedy seems hopelessly difficult. I have no intention of rushing in where others much wiser and more experienced have feared to tread. There are, however, one or two isolated suggestions that may perhaps be deemed worthy of a little consideration. They are not my own. One at least, or something like it, has been made in public before, and others have occurred in the course of private conversation with Indians and Anglo-Indians on the subject of this paper.

The first relates to the misunderstanding of the administrative or legislative acts of the Government, which has already been spoken of. There is in this direction a course open to the Government, which is already employed in at least one European country. I refer to the use of the manifesto. A proposal was made some time ago by Mr. S. S. Thorburn in favour of the establishment of a Government newspaper specially designed to justify the ways of the Sirkar to the ryot. The practical objections to such a scheme are many, while its advantages might equally well be secured by the issue of manifestoes for general distribution as occasion arises. In France the placarding of speeches of ministers on great public questions is a recognised system, for which provision is made out of the public purse. Despite the wide difference of conditions between France and India, a similar custom

would, I believe, serve a good purpose in a country—if that word be permitted—where the policy of the Government is peculiarly liable to be misinterpreted and misjudged. At such times, for example, as that of unrest caused by plague measures, the Sirkar might well cause to be distributed broadcast a simple statement of its motives and aims, showing in brief and homely language the folly of imagining that Government had any other desire than that of saving life, if only for the sake of preserving as many payers of revenue and taxes as possible. The recent “partition” agitation in Bengal would have afforded a good opportunity by the use of such a system of at once instructing and appealing to popular opinion against the charges and misrepresentations emanating from Calcutta. The area of influence of the vernacular press is admittedly very much wider than the literate classes of the country. Newspapers find their way by ones and twos into the villages, and their contents are retailed to the inhabitants by the few who are able to read them. I do not suggest that Government should supply the people with a critical commentary upon the journals that they read. Indeed, nothing could be more undesirable than to assume that the vernacular press is necessarily in opposition to the powers that be. But on occasions of important administrative changes and legislative enactments immediately affecting the interests of the masses, Government would do well to take steps to secure to popular opinion a fair chance of forming a correct judgment upon its intentions.

Much might be done through the medium of the written word, even in the case of a population so largely illiterate as that of India. More, perhaps, might be achieved through the spoken word. There is, so far as I am aware, no school of rhetoric for the young Indian civilian, and probably that is why the art of oratory is so little accounted of in Anglo-India. Yet one cannot help thinking that the gift of ready speech is at least of equal value in a ruler of men with the accomplishment of a good seat on horseback. One cannot

have attended any public ceremony in India without being struck with the poverty of eloquence on the part of the representatives of the Government. The hurried reading of a manuscript prepared in the Secretariat is neither convincing to the mind nor pleasing to the ear. It gives an impression of perfunctoriness which must be disappointing to a people naturally responsive to eloquence. One shrinks from suggesting any addition to the burden of the District Officer. At the same time it could be wished that an occasional public speech, in exposition of the desires and intention of the Sirkar, were a recognised part of the District Officer's duty. This might prove one means of establishing a closer touch between the people and those who represent to them the authority of the Government and the Crown.

There are other points of detail upon which much might be said. Do we always secure the co-operation in local affairs of men who are really respected in their own communities? To what extent is mere wealth regarded as a qualification for municipal honours, and how far are toadying and lip-service more successful in securing official confidence than fair criticism and reasonable independence? What, if any, are the principles governing the bearing of the District Officer to those who seek audience of him; and how are the grounds determined upon which the privilege of being seated in his presence is granted? These may seem to be small points, but they are not unimportant. Taken together they have a cumulative effect which tells strongly for or against the popularity of our rule, according as they are dealt with wisely or unwisely.

I wish now to pass to another point, not strictly arising out of the subject of this paper, and yet not irrelevant to it. I mean the general ignorance in England of India, of the conditions of life in India, both for natives and Europeans, and, in fact, of nearly everything connected with that part of the Empire. What connection it may have with the aloofness between rulers and ruled in India itself it is not my purpose to inquire; but I think it very unlikely that it

has no bearing at all upon the matter. All that I wish to say is that this ignorance on the part of the British public presents a condition which may ultimately prove to be an Imperial danger, and that it should be felt as a duty by all who have had or still have connections with India to do what they can to dissipate it. But it may be asked whether the existing efforts to promote in England an intelligent interest in India are either adequate or well directed. There are several organizations in London existing for the purpose of hearing papers and holding discussions on Indian subjects. None of them, however, appeals to the general public, and their influence hardly extends beyond circles which are already well informed on Indian matters. What is wanted is a body which shall make it its purpose to educate the British voter in Indian history and Indian affairs, just as the Navy League has educated him in regard to the Navy and the bearing of sea power upon our prosperity and security. To every reflecting mind it must seem deplorable that the ordinary newspaper reader in England gathers nearly all his information concerning India from partizan speeches, or questions in the House of Commons. Of course there are books in abundance, and frequent articles in the better-class journals, treating of India in many of its innumerable aspects. But these only reach those who want to learn. What is required is a missionary agency which will carry information to the indifferent. The need is felt by many Anglo-Indians in this country who love India and are proud of our work there. Surely there are amongst them powers of organization and zeal enough to compass the task of enlightening the ordinary British citizen upon the noblest part of that Empire to which he belongs.

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THE CONGO FREE STATE ADMINISTRATION.

ON the invitation of Germany, the different Powers interested in the affairs of West Africa, the Plenipotentiaries of the following Governments assembled in conference on November 15, 1884. There were present representatives on the part of Germany, Austria - Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, United States of America, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Sweden and Norway, and Turkey.

Prince Bismarck, in opening this high assembly, said that his Government, in inviting this conference or assembly, "was guided by the conviction that all the Governments invited share the wish to bring the natives of Africa within the pale of civilization by opening up the interior of that continent to commerce, by giving its inhabitants the means of instructing themselves, by encouraging missions and enterprises calculated to spread useful knowledge, and by preparing the way for the suppression of slavery, and especially of the over-sea traffic in blacks, the gradual abolition of which was proclaimed by the Congress of Vienna of 1815 as the sacred duty of all the Powers. The interest taken by all civilized nations in the material development of Africa insures their co-operation in the task of regulating commercial relations with that part of the world. The plan followed for a number of years in the dealings of the Western Powers with the countries of Eastern Asia has up to now given the best results by restraining commercial rivalries within the bounds of legitimate competition. The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Germany has therefore felt able to advise the Powers to apply to Africa, with modifications appropriate to that continent, the same plan, which is based on the equality of rights and uniformity of interest of all commercial nations. The Imperial Government sounded the Powers on the best mode of

realizing this idea. Having met with a perfect agreement of views on the part of the French Government, they were authorized by His Majesty the Emperor to invite the Powers who might be disposed to join in this agreement to meet in conference for the purpose of deliberating on the resolutions to be taken on the basis of the programme purposed in the letters of invitation. The fundamental idea of this programme is to facilitate the access of all commercial nations to the interior of Africa. With this object it would be desirable that merchandise intended for the interior should be admitted free of transit duties through all the African littoral." . . . "All the Powers exercising rights or influence in the territories which form the basis of the Congo and of its mouth should undertake the obligation to co-operate for the suppression of slavery within them, to encourage and assist the labours of missions and institutions intended to instruct the natives and to teach them to understand and appreciate the advantages of civilization." Prince Bismarck, after referring to various international political questions, said: "The interest taken by all the nations represented in this conference in the development of civilization in Africa—an interest unceasingly shown by bold feats of exploration, by commercial movements, and by the sacrifices and efforts made by each nation with one of these objects—affords a guarantee of the success of the labours which we are bound to undertake to regulate and develop the commercial relations of our countrymen with that continent, and to render a service alike to the cause of peace and humanity."

Sir E. Malet, as representing Great Britain, next read a declaration in which the following expressions occur :

"I must not, however, lose sight of the fact that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, commercial interest should not be looked upon as the exclusive subject of the deliberations of the congress." In referring to the freedom of commerce, he expressed the hope that such regulations should be adopted "as may tend to insure, as far as,

possible, that its introduction will confer the advantages of civilization on the natives and extinguish such evils as the internal slave trade, by which their progress is at present retarded."

During the discussions at the Conference various questions arose with regard to free commerce to all nations, regulations with reference to the navigation of the Congo and Niger Rivers, and other political subjects; and on December 1, 1884, by protocol No. 4, it was agreed by the various Powers as follows :

"All the Powers exercising rights of sovereignty or influence in the said territories engaged themselves to watch over the preservation of the native populations and the improvement of the conditions of existence, both moral and material, and to assist in suppressing slavery, and more especially the slave trade in blacks; they will protect and assist, without distinction of nationality or of faith, all institutions and undertakings, religious, scientific or charitable, created and organized with those objects, or tending to instruct the natives, and to make them understand and appreciate the advantages of civilization. Missionaries, scientific men, explorers, their escorts, property, and collections will be equally the object of a special protection. Liberty of conscience and religious tolerance are expressly guaranteed to natives, as well as subjects and foreigners. The free and public exercise of all religious professions, the right of erecting churches, Protestant churches (temples and chapels), and of organizing religious missions belonging to all religious professions, shall not be subjected to any restriction or hindrance."

And in the annex to the above protocol (No. 4) it is again specified as follows: That the above article (VI.) "regulates various matters, all of which, however, appertain to the order of moral interests. In conformity with its text, as well as in conformity with the observations to which it has given rise in the Commission, three elements must be distinguished in it. The first relates to the pro-

tection as well as to the material and moral development of the native populations. With regard to these populations, which for the most part ought undoubtedly not to be considered as placed without the pale of international law, but which in the present state of affairs are scarcely of themselves able to defend their own interests, the Conference has been obliged to assume the rôle of an unofficial guardian. The necessity of insuring the preservation of the natives, the duty of assisting them to attain a more elevated political and social state, the obligation of instructing them and of initiating them in the advantages of civilization, are unanimously recognised. It is the very future of Africa which is here at stake ; no difference of opinion was or could be manifested in the Commission on this point.

"Two scourges weigh down the present condition of the African races and paralyze their development—slavery and the slave trade. Everyone knows, and the evidence of Mr. Stanley has only confirmed, as regards this question, an obtained opinion, what deep root slavery has taken in the constitution of African bodies. Assuredly, this pernicious institution must disappear ; it is an essential condition of any economic and political progress ; but tact and gradual transitions will be indispensable. It is sufficient to note the end in view ; the local Governments must search for the means and adapt them to the circumstances of the times and surroundings.

"The slave trade has another character : it is the very denial of every law, of all social order. Man-hunting constitutes a crime of high treason against humanity. It ought to be repressed whenever it can be reached, on land as well as by sea. On this point the Commission decided to prescribe a rigorous obligation. The events of which the Egyptian Sudan is at this moment the theatre, the scenes which Mr. Stanley has recently witnessed on the banks of the Upper Congo, the abominable expeditions which, according to Dr. Nachtigal, are frequently organized in

Central Sudan, and which already are penetrating into the basin of the Congo, demand an intervention which the local Powers will be held responsible to face as an urgent duty and as a sacred mission.

“ But the sphere of action of these Powers will be limited for some time to come. It is for this reason that the Commission begs them to encourage and second generous and civilizing initiatives. Religion, philanthropy, science, will be able to send apostles, who will receive every protection and every guarantee. The declaration as it has been drawn up makes no exception, either in religions or in nationalities ; it opens the field to all kinds of devotion, and covers them without distinction with its patronage.”

At the meeting of February 23, 1885, a communication was presented on behalf of the International Association of the Congo that negotiations had been made with the various powers, that the flag of the Association had been recognised as that of a friendly State or Government, and it is assured that the accession of this Power pledges to introduce, in conformity with the principles of the Conference, civilization and trade within the area of the Congo International Association. And Sir Edward Malet, as representing the United Kingdom, expressed his satisfaction with the accession of “ this new State, which is due to the initiative of His Majesty the King of the Belgians. Throughout a long course of years the King, ruled by a purely philanthropic idea, has spared neither personal efforts nor pecuniary sacrifices in anything which could contribute to the attainment of his object.” Count van der Straten-Ponthoz, the Belgian Plenipotentiary, said : “ The acts of the Conference gave practical effect to the bold and generous ideas conceived by His Majesty (King of the Belgians). The Belgian Government and nation will therefore gratefully adhere to the work elaborated by the High Assembly, thanks to which the existence of the new State is henceforth assured, whilst rules have been laid down by which the general interest of humanity will profit.”

As this matter is of primary importance with regard to subsequent events arising from the administration of the Congo Free State, we shall give to our readers the exact terms of the declarations exchanged between the Government of Great Britain and the International Association of the Congo.

DECLARATION OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The International Association of the Congo, founded by His Majesty the King of the Belgians for the purpose of promoting the civilization and commerce of Africa, and for other humane and benevolent purposes, hereby declares as follows :

1. That by Treaties with the legitimate Sovereigns in the basins of the Congo and the Niadi-Kwilu, and in adjacent territories upon the Atlantic, there has been ceded to it territory for the use and benefit of Free States established, and being established, in the said basins and adjacent territories.

2. That by virtue of the said Treaties, the administration of the interests of the said Free States is vested in the Association.

3. That the Association has adopted as its standard, and that of the said Free States, a blue flag with a golden star in the centre.

4. That with a view of enabling commerce to penetrate into Equatorial Africa, the Association and the said Free States have resolved to levy no Customs duties upon goods or articles of merchandise imported directly into their territories or brought by the route which has been constructed around the cataracts of the Congo.

5. That the Association and the said Free States guarantee to foreigners established in their territories the free exercise of their religion, the rights of navigation, commerce, and industry, and the rights of buying, selling, letting, and hiring lands, buildings, mines, and forests, on the sole condition that they shall obey the laws.

6. That the Association and the said Free States will do all in their power to prevent the slave trade and to suppress slavery.

Done at Berlin December 16, 1884.

(On behalf of the Association),

(Signed) STRAUCH.

DECLARATION OF HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty declare their sympathy with and approval of the humane and benevolent purposes of the Association, and hereby recognise the flag of the Association, and of the Free States under its administration, as the flag of a friendly Government.

(On behalf of Her Majesty's Government),

EDWARD B. MALET.

At the last sitting of the Congress or High Assembly, on February 26, 1885, Prince Bismarck observed: "You have shown much careful solicitude for the moral and physical welfare of the native races, and we may cherish the hope that the principle adopted in a spirit of wise moderation will bear fruit, and will help to introduce these populations to the advantages of civilization. The special conditions under which the wide tracts which they have opened up to commercial undertakings have also required special guarantees for the preservation of peace and public order. The evils of war would, in fact, assume a specially fatal character if the natives were led to take sides in disputes between the civilized Powers. Justly mindful of the dangers which such contingencies might bring with them for the interest of commerce and civilization, you have sought for the means to withdraw a great part of the African Continent from the vicissitudes of general politics, and confine the rivalry of nations to the peaceful competition of trade and industry.

"The spirit of good understanding which has marked your consultations has in like manner guided the negotia-

tions which have been conducted outside the Conference in order to solve the difficult questions relative to the boundaries between the parties which should have sovereign rights in the Congo basin, and which, through their position, are called upon to become the principal guardians of the work we are about to bring to a close. I cannot refer to this point without paying a tribute to the noble efforts of the King of the Belgians, the founder of a work now recognised by almost all the Powers, a work which will confer most important benefits on mankind."

The substance of these observations was endorsed by Count d'Launay, the Italian Plenipotentiary.

Prince Bismarck, in closing this memorable Conference, also said: "I believe I express the views of the Conference when I acknowledge with satisfaction the step taken by the International Association of the Congo, and acknowledge their adherence to our decisions. The new Congo State is called upon to become one of the chief protectors of the work which we have in view, and trust it may have a prosperous development, and that the noble aspirations of its illustrious founder may be fulfilled."

From the above extracts it is clear that King Leopold and the Belgian nation came under the several obligations with the other Powers to advance civilization among the natives by instruction and otherwise, and to abolish slavery and the slave trade in every form. It remains to be seen how far the King of the Belgians and his Government have fulfilled their obligations, maintained the rights of the native tribes, and promoted their civilization.

The Congo Reform Association,* in one of their excellent publications, sums up the present state of the affairs of the Congo Free State as follows:

To-day the native populations of the Congo are sub-

* Formed in March, 1904, under the Presidency of Earl Beauchamp. Lord Monkswell has recently accepted the Presidency in succession to Lord Beauchamp.

jected to a system of oppression, cruelty, and torture unportrayable in words.

Under cover of certain formulas of European jurisprudence, millions of natives have been robbed of their land and the produce of their soil—their sole actual and potential wealth.

Their forests and their plains, their mountains and their rivers, have been claimed as his personal property by the Sovereign of the Congo State.

The Congo native has become a serf and outcast in his own country.

The wealth of the land, which is only procurable through native labour, has been divided between the Sovereign and his financial associates.

Native labour has become as much the property of the alien exploiters of the Congo as the land and its fruits.

Wholesale appropriation of the bodies of the people has followed the wholesale expropriation of the people's rights in the land and its fruits.

The worst excesses of the Middle Ages contain no records of robbery and pillage on a scale so gigantic as this !

The history of the world offers no parallel to this—the claim of one man to personal ownership over fifteen million human beings and 800,000 square miles of territory !

In the enforcement of this claim atrocities have been, and continue to be, perpetrated, which, in the words of Lord Fitzmaurice, "Curdle the blood and make Civilization ashamed of its name."

An enormous army has been raised and quartered upon the unarmed population.

The natives are driven into the forests to collect india-rubber, of which they are required to bring in a stated quantity every fortnight in the year.

Failure to satisfy their taskmasters is visited by punishment, from death to mutilation, flogging, or imprisonment.

The practice of seizing women and children and retaining them as "hostages," to bring pressure to bear upon their hus-

bands, fathers, and brothers, is habitual, a form of coercion authorized, encouraged, even ordered, by the Executive.

"I shall never forget," writes an Englishman with fourteen years' experience on the Congo, "the impression left on my mind by the sight of one of these horrible houses of detention. It was a small, low-roofed, circular building, with the only entrance to it through another building of the same type. This latter was occupied by a number of sentries with Albinis rifles. Inside the other were herded a large number of women, girls, and boys—a mass of bones held together by black skin. I addressed myself to one poor skeleton of a woman lying in front of me where I stood. I asked her if she were sick. 'Two days ago,' she answered, 'I gave birth to a child, and oh, white man, I am dying of hunger! I've had nothing to eat.' She was so weak she could hardly articulate her words. And oh, the faces of those others! The horror of it! Outside the building there was a row of those skeleton women in chains, followed by a soldier with a rifle, going back and forward from the garden to the river."

This is but one sample of countless testimonies of the same kind, which, from 1896, have come down to us in an unbroken stream.

To maintain the army of soldiers and labourers engaged indirectly in the production of india-rubber, the natives of regions where the rubber vine does not grow are called upon to furnish quantities of food-stuffs, which in many cases they have to convey from long distances. These "taxes" are also imposed fortnightly, and shortage is visited by punishments similar to those imposed upon defaulting rubber producers. The burden is of so crushing a nature that the population is rapidly disappearing under the process, and evidence was placed before the recent Commission of inquiry which visited the Congo that, after paying their taxes, the natives were reduced to eating leaves for food.

Depopulation, impoverishment, misery, and wretchedness, appalling and indescribable, are decimating the Congo peoples.

As a French writer has recently said: "It is more than a great crime; it is an immense and frightful tragedy."

In consequence of these exposures, a Commission of Inquiry was appointed on behalf of the Sovereign of the Congo State. The British Minister, Sir C. Phipps, on November 7, 1905, forwarded to the Marquess of Lansdowne, the following Despatch:*

I have the honour to inclose copies of the Congo *Bulletin Officiel* for September - October, which reached me this morning, containing the Report of the Congo Commission of Inquiry.

In spite of the reserved and dignified tone which pervades the whole Report, it contains the most scathing criticisms of the policy pursued in the Congo State. Proof is afforded that the Commissioners were fully alive to the responsibilities of the task which they assumed; whilst the fears which were expressed in some quarters that the Report would be optimistic, or that they would palliate or defend any of the unquestionable infractions of the law which occurred, are now proved, as I anticipated, to be entirely unjustified.

Adopting the divisions of their task enumerated by the Commissioners on p. 149 of the Report, the most striking conclusions appear to me to be the following:

I. *The Land System of the State and the Freedom of Commerce.* — Whilst not contesting the legality of the appropriation by the State of vacant lands, it is pointed out that in practice the State has monopolized the entire fruits of the soil, and has interfered with the whole evolution of native existence. It has failed to give a liberal and wide interpretation to the laws of 1885 and 1886, which conferred on the native population the free enjoyment of the

* See "Correspondence respecting the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Administration of the Independent State of the Congo." House of Commons, June, 1906. Africa, No. 1.

zones of territory adjoining their huts under the authority of their chiefs, enabling them to trade in the produce of such zones. This law had become a dead letter.

The course thus pursued is, on p. 153, contrasted with the practice invariably followed in the neighbouring French colony. The system of exchangeable value adopted is strongly criticised, and the introduction of specie payments suggested.

II. *Imposition of Labour—the Abuses arising from Forced Labour.*—In this extended chapter the entire system pursued in these respects is subjected to severe condemnation, although it is argued forcibly that payment by means of labour is the only possible tax to which the native can be subjected. The irregularities pursued in the system of enforcing labour are brought into strong relief, as well as the undue latitude allowed to local officials, who could in practice apparently make use of any form of coercion they chose to adopt.

The defects in the law of November 18, 1903, by which forty hours of labour per month are imposed on the natives, are pointed out, and the different imposts due by the natives are reviewed. The existing system of coercion is examined, and, though the maximum of such coercion is nominally fixed at one month's imprisonment, the agent is in practice left to act much as he chooses.

The sentinel system, as well as that of the "capitas," is strongly condemned, and the accusations brought against the sentinels, though not in all cases proved, are regarded as well founded. The whole system is shown to result in constant warfare between the rubber-collecting natives and the sentinels, the A.B.I.R. Company proving that 142 of the latter had been killed or wounded within seven months, owing to the natives' retaliation against the cruelties which they had perpetrated. In short, the entire chapter proves the administration of the A.B.I.R. Company to be a system of hardly restricted savagery, and illustrates the fact that the apparently carefully devised regulations which the

directors in Europe believe to be carried into execution are entirely set at naught.

The Commission recommends a resort to the system of "impôt collectif" under the control of the native chiefs, but it is impossible to believe, after a perusal of the details given, that such a company can be permitted to exist any longer.

III. *Military Expeditions, and Those set on Foot by the Concession Companies—Mutilations.*—This chapter again severely condemns the entire system pursued by the companies, and proves the action adopted by these to be a distinct infraction of the law. The State police afforded by the Government is declared to be utilized by the companies to enforce their own pecuniary interests, and to involve the commission of the most terrible cruelties.

In regard to actual mutilations, the defenders of the Congo system are able to appeal to one paragraph of the Report in refutation of the accusations so generally brought against them.

The Commissioners declare that, with the exception of two cases in which mutilation was voluntarily inflicted on living natives, such has never been inflicted wilfully.

"Neyer has a white man inflicted, or caused to be inflicted, as punishment for shortage of rubber or of other prestations mutilations on living natives. No such acts have ever been averred by any witness, nor have we ever, in spite of all our investigations, discovered that such acts have been committed."

IV. *The Concession System.*—This is strongly condemned on pp. 226-236, and it is recommended that the system of free commerce should be put on its trial, the State abandoning its "incontestable" rights to the produce of the soil.

V. *Depopulation.* — The causes put forward by the missionaries are declared to be difficult to establish, and to be secondary ones, the primary causes being small-pox and sleeping sickness.

VI. *The System of State Instruction in Colonies.*—The

system of State instruction in colonies is examined, and cogent reasons given for condemning it. The system pursued by the Catholic and Protestant Missions is also declared faulty.

A dangerous and somewhat surprising suggestion is made at the conclusion of this chapter—viz., that native parents may be allowed, if desirous to do so, to dispense their children from religious instruction.

VII. *Military Organization, Recruitment, etc., and Contract Labour.*—The system is in general defended, and military education and service is regarded as an important element of civilization, such service not being distasteful to the negro, but exercising rather a humanizing effect. It is explained on pp. 253-254 that, unable any longer to engage West Coast natives, the State has to recruit from the more hardy, warlike tribes of the Upper Congo, who are mainly cannibals. Amongst such elements the firm discipline recommended by the Commission can alone prevent the reawakening of the but dormant instincts of savagery.

The whole system of labour contracts is carefully reviewed on pp. 254-264, the law of 1888 being declared to be a most praiseworthy one. In the Lower Congo its provisions are (contrary to the experience of our Consuls) declared to be executed. In the Upper Congo it is admitted that neither the letter of the law nor the intentions of the legislator are enforced.

The whole organization and conditions of contract labour are, it is clearly proved, faulty.

VIII. *Justice.*—From p. 265 to 279 the entire judicial organization is so ably and succinctly exposed that it is impossible to convey the explanation by any abridgement. Its inconvenience, both to suitors, criminal witnesses, and to public security, are detailed; and it is observed at the conclusion of the chapter that, whilst the law surrounds individual liberty with important guarantees, the action of administrative authority is left, so to speak, without restriction or control.

The concluding paragraphs of the Report, from p. 279 p. 285, explaining how entirely the conditions attending national life in the Congo State differ from those prevalent in other portions of Africa, should be read in their entirety ; and whilst they to some extent seek to palliate and account for existing abuses, proof is afforded how drastic and sweeping must be the changes which the newly-appointed Executive Commission must introduce.

This Commission of fourteen members is named by Royal Decree on the proposal of the three Secretaries-General "to study the conclusions of the Inquiry Commission Report, to formulate the proposals which they may necessitate, and to discover the practical means of realizing them."

The President, M. de Maldeghem, is second President of the Court of Cassation, and his nomination may be regarded as unexceptionable.

Amongst the Commission are M. Janssens, the President of the Inquiry Commission ; the three Secretaries-General ; two "Commissaires de District" in the Congo ; a Belgian Deputy, Colonel Fivé, of the Guides ; M. de Hemptinne, President of the Kassai Company ; M. Mols ; and M. Nys, the Publicist, member of the Hague Court of Arbitration.

The result is that a scheme of reform was issued on June 3, 1906, with a manifesto by the King, repudiating all international control in the administration of the Congo State.

THE CONGO QUESTION: "A CASE OF HUMANITY."*

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GLYN LEONARD.

Author of the "Lower Niger and its Tribes."

FOR some years past now, but especially during the last three, the world of politics has from time to time been occupied with the Congo Question—that is, as to the mal-administration of the Congo Free State, and the existence of certain grave evils in its administration that are directed principally, if not entirely, against the natives, charges which in Belgium have been brought forward in the House of Representatives by M. Vandervelde and the Belgian Labour Party, and in England by Mr. E. D. Morel and the Congo Reform Association. In spite of the strenuous exertions of these two parties, working, however, on separate lines, and altogether independent of each other, no especial attention has been paid to the matter; for the leading Powers of Europe have been too much engrossed with their own affairs. Indeed, it was not until just the other day, when King Leopold flung down the gauntlet of open defiance to the entire world, that the world—the English-speaking portion of it, as a whole, at all events—began to realize that there was such a place within its narrow confines as the Congo Free State, and that there was in existence such a question as the Congo Question. If the utterances of the press are of any truth or import, then the matter contained in the Belgian and English papers alone during the past few weeks is in itself sufficient justification of this existence—the existence, in a few words, of a State called the Congo, presided over by a Sovereign King, against which certain very grave charges have been

* "A Review of the Congo Debate in the Belgian House of Representatives." Translated from the Official Shorthand Report and annotated by E. D. Morel (John Richardson and Son, Liverpool). Issued by the Congo Reform Association.

brought. But let us see for ourselves whether an indictment such as this is in any sense whatever justified by real facts and figures—*i.e.*, by experiences which are conclusively objective, and therefore beyond the region of question or doubt.

As a consequence of this it is very necessary to lay aside, for the time being at all events, this, the latest *dénouement*, the second act, so to speak, in this great human tragedy, with the primary object of getting a thorough grip of the whole question; not, however, as seen through the monocle of English convictions, open as these undoubtedly are to bias or misconstruction, but as seen through Belgian spectacles, one glass of which, gilt-edged as it is, conveys the aspect of the Monarchical or King's Party, and the other, only silver-rimmed, that of the Socialists.

For only one object has animated the writer of this article, and that is to arrive at the truth. Just as the Muses appeared to Hesiod when he was feeding sheep on Mount Helicon, and inspired him with the desire to move among the realities and to find the true things of this existence, so the present writer, imbued by a fellow feeling for the helpless natives of the Congo, has taken up his pen in the hope that it may help to reveal the particular realities of which we are speaking. But, admitting that even an object may not be disinterested, may, in other words, have its underlying motive, the motive in this instance is simple: To obtain for these natives, in the name and cause of a common humanity, that equity, which is presumably denied to them in the law and justice that is being meted out to them by the officials of the Free State! To help—if ever so infinitesimally—to obtain for them those mere rights and privileges which the Labour Party in Belgium, and the Congo Reform Association in England, have been so nobly striving for—striving as they have been against overwhelming and inflexible circumstances, the most adverse of which has been the absolute apathy of public opinion in both countries. In the face, therefore, of all which has

preceded, and of all that is still in existence—*i.e.*, of causes which, under the cloak of a civilized administration, have been steadily operating for a period of some twenty years—it is only possible to arrive at a result so equitable by making an investigation in the manner that has just been suggested ; for this obvious course must at once exonerate the writer from any preconceived opinions or prejudices. It is obvious, in fact, that the cause for which he has taken up the pen can best be served in this way—that it is, in a word, the only course left open. The best and quickest method, then, of attaining this object is, as already pointed out, by making a just and impartial summary of the debate on the Congo which was held in the Belgian House of Representatives during the period beginning February 26, and ending March 2 ; for by avoiding criticism, and therefore impartiality, every reader will in this way be in a position to arrive at his own estimate of the situation. But in order to further simplify matters the entire debate will be divided into two distinct positions, the first being the case for the prosecution—of those, in fact, who are pleading on behalf of the natives and of the good name of Belgium ; the second the case for the defence—*i.e.*, of the party behind which the King is sheltering himself.

THE CASE FOR THE CONGO NATIVES AND BELGIUM.

The initiative in this great debate was taken by M. Vandervelde, the leader of the Belgian Labour Party, who opened the proceedings by making a great and heroic speech. It is essential, therefore, in the commencement to get hold of the motives and principles which animated him in making, not so much an attack upon the Government, as an organized attempt to establish the exact position of the rulers and the ruled in the Congo Free State. With this desirable object in view, M. Vandervelde is careful at the outset of his speech to explain that the question he is bringing before the House is not a party question, but a question of humanity ; that it is distinct also from the

opinion held by both parties as to the advantages and disadvantages of colonial enterprises in general; that in making it his wish is to forget his Republican convictions, as his hope is that his political opponents will set aside their monarchical principles. The whole subject, in his opinion, resolves into this: whether the system adopted in the Congo does not involve nefarious consequences, as well for the natives, who are the victims, as for Belgium, its alleged gainer.

To grip the question thoroughly, however, some knowledge of its previous history is distinctly essential. For the present purpose this can be briefly summed up as follows: that M. Vandervelde had on at least five separate occasions brought it before the Belgian House. On the first occasion his party had been confronted by a *non possumus*. The Congo State was, so they were told, a foreign State, in so far as Belgium was concerned. Then they were confronted with the charge that their action covered Republican ideas, hostile to the work of the King. Thirdly, they were accused of being unpatriotic—informed, in fact, that they were assisting an English campaign against the Congo State. Finally, in the last resort, they were met by the general statement that the testimony invoked by them was exaggerated or untrue. "The Congo State," said M. de Favereau, Minister of Foreign Affairs, "can reply with assurance to the criticisms directed against it, for no other nation has done more than it has for the protection of the natives." These words had been uttered on July 2, 1903, and the same Minister, eighteen months afterwards, again said: "M. Vandervelde will not listen to the protests which have arisen in America, as in Europe, against these abominable calumnies. They have everywhere provoked denials from those who have lived in the Congo, who know what takes place there, and who in the name of truth and justice repudiate with indignation the attacks directed against the Administration of the Congo Free State."

It is clear, then, that the case as it stood on this, the

occasion of the last debate, was one in which the Monarchical Party considered the Congo State as above suspicion—as worthy, in fact, of the greatest esteem and admiration ; but that, on the other hand, it regarded the efforts of the Labour Party as altogether interested, if not a gratuitous insult or attempt to bring discredit and disgrace on the national escutcheon. Yet it is at least significant that at this very moment when M. de Favereau's words were uttered the steamer, on board of which were the returning Commissioners of Inquiry was due to arrive at Antwerp. It will be observed, however, that they had been spoken long before the results of this inquiry had been published to the world. Having made his own position and that of his party quite clear, M. Vandervelde maintains that the Congo, being a Belgian enterprise, it is perfectly natural that Belgium should take an interest in it. As for the people who flung his Republicanism in his teeth, he replied that those who protested against the Administration of the Congo State belonged to all parties—viz., Liberals, Loyalists, Catholics, and Royalists, the two latter including the missionaries and the name of Félicien Cattier.

In a speech which occupies thirty-five pages of closely-printed matter it is impossible to do more than give a mere digest of the principal heads under which it is divided, and the main features of which attract attention ; but it is, in the first place, particularly noticeable that the entire substance of the speech is based absolutely and entirely on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry. In speaking, however, of the results attained by it, M. Vandervelde lays stress on the fact that it had been sent out only under compulsion of the British Government ; that its mandate had been limited in such a way that the accomplishment of its mission was impossible, because it had to act conformably with the instructions of the Secretary of State, a limitation which necessitated the renewed intervention of the British Government, with the result that the Commissioners' mandate was enlarged. But this was not all, for, in

addition to these drawbacks, the Report issued by them justified in itself all the charges brought against the Congo Free State, with one reserve. It is not complete. It contains the conclusions of the Commissioners, and an impartial résumé of the testimony which was brought before them, but it does not include that testimony itself; it gives, in fact, the abstract truth, but not the concrete truth, upon the frightful abuses committed in the Congo.

Regarding the Report itself, M. Vandervelde divides it into two parts, the first containing praise for the work that has been done in the Congo during the past twenty-five years, while the other is a formidable indictment of the abuses by which the natives have been victimized. Dealing with the first section, he agrees in a large measure with the praise given. He admires, as do the Commissioners, the splendid energies and efforts that have resulted in various administrative measures and developments; but the real grandeur of the results obtained necessitates all the greater severity in considering the conditions under which the native population is placed. In his opinion the Congo system is exactly the antithesis of the system of ideal colonization, and he exaggerates in no way in saying that the Congo system is founded upon the confiscation of the land of the natives, upon forced labour, and a system of compulsion, which brings about the most frightful abuses. These are no new charges, for they have been pointed out on former occasions. Thus, with regard to the first of these three abuses, while the individual ownership of the natives has been respected, commercial ownership has been suppressed; and this, moreover, is admitted by the Commission, also the fact that it is impossible for them to trade in many places, because also the fruits of the land belong to the State.

But this is not all. Not satisfied with taking the land from the natives, the system of forced labour has been imposed upon them, cleverly disguised under the words "taxation in kind," which was described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as involving only a light imposition, the

natives being asked to provide only forty hours' labour per month—an imposition that was approved of by the Commission, which, however, denounced the practice of it as outrageously violated.

Commenting on the four different kinds of forced labour which exist, he then described them as: (1) The tax in ground nuts; (2) the tax in portorage; (3) the tax in food-stuffs; (4) the tax in rubber. Passing over the first, as the complaints with regard to it have ceased, the second of these is an organized portorage service in the directions of Lakes Kivu and Tanganyika, and of the Lado Enclave, for the conveyance practically of an enormous accumulation of war material, and at the expense, unfortunately, of thousands of native lives. On account of the tax in food-stuffs the natives are compelled to furnish various articles for the victualling of the stations. The Commission, although finding this comparatively light, add that in certain districts the system involves the most disastrous consequences to the natives; so that to ration with manioc the 3,000 men of the Force Publique stationed at Leopoldville, villages, some of which are situated forty-five miles away, are requisitioned, with the result that the natives who are compelled to furnish the State with material representing one and a half francs in value are obliged every twelve days to travel a distance of ninety miles in order to fulfil their obligations.

It is, however, in the rubber tax that the greatest and heaviest burden lies, for rubber not only provides the revenue, but forms the entire basis of the commercial stability of the Congo State. This briefly is what the Commission of Inquiry has to say about it:

"In the majority of cases the native must go one or two days' march every fortnight until he arrives at that part of the forest where the rubber vines can be met with in a certain degree of abundance. There the collector passes a number of days in a miserable existence. He has to build himself an improvised shelter, which cannot, obviously,

replace his hut ; he has not the food to which he is accustomed ; he is deprived of his wife, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of wild beasts. When once he has collected the rubber he must bring it to the State station, or to that of the Company, and only then can he return to his village, where he can sojourn for barely more than two or three days, because the next demand is upon him. The result of this, therefore, is, that whatever may be his activity in the rubber forests, the native, on account of the numerous displacements which he is compelled to undergo, sees the majority of his time absorbed in the collection of india-rubber. It is hardly necessary to add that this state of affairs is a flagrant violation of the forty hours law."

Having by this statement justified and corroborated his denunciation of so brutal a measure, M. Vandervelde verified his own description of the black soldiers of the Force Publique by again quoting from the Report :

"According to the witnesses, these auxiliaries, especially those who are stationed in the villages, abuse the authority placed in them, making themselves into despots, claiming the women and food, not only for themselves, but for the band of parasites and scallywags which the love of rapine associates with them, and with whom they surround themselves as by a veritable bodyguard. They kill without pity all those who attempt to resist their exigencies and whims."

Anticipating that the answer of his opponent will be to repudiate the responsibility of the Congo State for these abuses, M. Vandervelde insists that it is responsible : (1) Because it has tolerated these things ; (2) because it has encouraged them : (3) because it profits by them. This is admitted by the Commissioners. Indeed, the Report states that the conclusions arrived at were due less to the testimony of natives, or even of missionary evidence, as by the judgments and circulars and the officials' reports, which they demanded should be shown them. *"So that all which has been done has been to admit officially*

a state of affairs which everyone knew beforehand." But when he is told that the authors of the Congo atrocities had been prosecuted before the courts, he once more out of the mouth of the Commissioners themselves emphatically contradicts the statement as absolutely erroneous: "Abuses committed in the course of the exercise of coercion were *very seldom* referred to the Judiciary. . . . The Commission has found that very often prosecutions begun by the Assistant Public Prosecutors against white men accused of having ill-treated natives have not been followed up owing to administrative decision."

Yet, in face of this unquestionable evidence, the Secretaries of the Congo State had on two separate occasions in 1900 reported to the Sovereign King that "the judicial statistics testify to the vigilance with which the Judiciary investigates abuses, and endeavours to prevent any crime from being punished." . . . "The Government does not even hesitate to say that in the repression of acts of ill-treatment an excess of severity responds more with its views than does an excess of indulgence."

The most unfortunate aspect of it all, from a Belgian standpoint, are the facts that the beneficiaries of this system are, in the first place, the State itself; in the second, the Concessionnaire Companies of the State, in which the State holds half the shares; and finally the *Domaine de la Couronne*—*i.e.*, to say the King personally. Quoting from M. Cattier's book, the latter briefly is a territory ten times the size of Belgium, so rich in rubber that, since its formation in 1896—*i.e.*, in ten years—it has contributed something like 70,000,000 francs of clear profit to its founder, half of which, as far as is known, has been expended in the purchase of real estate in Belgium and the Riviera. Similarly, to show the abnormal market value of the rubber shares, M. Vandervelde gives the following figures of the *Société Anversoise du Commerce au Congo* and the *A.B.I.R.*, the two Concessionnaire Societies that are the most typical, and which bear the most sinister

reputation. The first of these has, it appears, from 1898 to 1903 paid an average annual dividend of 425 francs on every 500 franc share. The other was created in 1892, with a capital of 1,000,000 francs, of which only 232,000 were paid up.

"In 1898 each share brought in 1,100 francs in dividends, and was worth 14,600 francs. In 1899 each share brought in 1,225 francs in dividends, and was worth 17,950 francs. In 1900 each share brought in 2,100 francs, and was worth 25,250 francs. In 1901 each share brought in 900 francs, and was worth 14,550 francs. In 1902 each share brought in 850 francs, and was worth 13,400 francs. In 1903 each share brought in 1,200 francs, and was worth 15,800 francs." The proceedings employed in order to secure such colossal profits is to some extent explained by the following extract from the Report of the Commissioners :

"It was hardly denied that in the various posts of the A.B.I.R. which were visited the imprisonment of women hostages, the subjugation of the chiefs to servile labour, the humiliations forced upon them, the *chicotte* given to defaulters, and the brutalities of the soldiers employed in getting the prisoners, was the rule habitually followed."

To prove that the Congo State has not only tolerated but encouraged these abuses, M. Vandervelde proceeds to show that General Wahis had instructed his subordinates to take hostages ; that the State gave bonuses to its agents on rubber and ivory on a scale which assured the larger bonus to the official whose ivory and rubber had cost the State the least to acquire. But graver even than this is the fact that the State, which had suppressed the slave trade in its territory has not hesitated to re-establish it in order to obtain soldiers for the Force Publique.

Even admitting, however, that King Leopold's idea is not personal enrichment, allowing that his purpose is to enrich his own country, the facts connected with the acquirement of this wealth, and the effect it has had on Belgian public life, have been truly deplorable. This, ur

fortunately, was to be seen most of all in the subsidy of the greater part of the public press. To thoroughly understand, however, the entire Congo Question, it was essential that we should see quite clearly—as far, at least, as it is possible—into the finances of the Congo State, because, owing to the negligence of the Belgian Government, the public was very insufficiently informed. Again relying on M. Cattier for his figures, M. Vandervelde finds that, whereas in 1898 the total amount of its indebtedness was 2,283,000 francs, in 1905 it had increased to 80,631,000 francs. M. Cattier had arrived at these estimates by carefully-worked-out calculations, based on the amount of interest that the State paid annually on loans. "But to this figure of 80,000,000 francs must be added the 31,000,000 lent by Belgium, and the net product of the loan on the lottery system—net product which M. Cattier estimates at 50,000,000, which makes, independently of the sum lent by Belgium, an approximate total of 130,000,000, which represents the debt of the Congo State to-day, a debt which, in the case of annexation, will have to be taken over by Belgium." Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that so long as the present system lasts all will go well, it is obvious that when the economic products fail—as fail they must under the present ruinous system—an era of grievous deficit must at once ensue. In other words, the situation is all the graver, since this temporary prosperity depends exclusively upon the system of oppression imposed upon the natives. But this system is doomed to disappear. And there are three directions from which reform may come. These are: (1) From the Congo State itself; (2) from the intervention of the Powers; (3) finally, from Belgian initiative.

With regard to the first, however, M. Vandervelde is *profoundly convinced that the Congo State is powerless to reform itself*. The example of Russia proves that Absolutism cannot reform itself. It is reformed, or it is ended. "He is all the more justified in thinking that this is so

when even the Commissioners of Inquiry, to whose impartiality and good faith he has referred, merely propose insignificant measures, mere palliatives. They uphold the system of forced labour, and they adopt the thesis defended a few days ago only by M. Rolin, in the *Review of the University of Brussels*, that coercion is indispensable in tropical regions, that forced labour is necessary, that slavery is legitimate." But in his opinion the most significant of all these objections is the composition of the Commission of Reforms, seven out of the fourteen of whom are Congo State officials—that is to say, of the accused party—two directors of commercial companies, and one an agent of the King, the remaining four being independent members; while the absence from its ranks of men such as Dhanis, Wangermee, Lemaire, and Cambier, who have done good work on the Congo, merely accentuates this significance all the more. "Moreover, there is a fact more eloquent and more conclusive than all the others, which shows that there is no intention of doing anything, and that nothing has been done, and that is that during the year which has elapsed since the return of the Commission to Belgium nothing has been attempted to improve the conditions which prevail on the Congo."

To show how essential these reforms were. "To-day Catholic and Protestant missionaries are agreed in declaring that the events which have taken place in the Congo call for vengeance from Heaven." With regard to the two other directions from which reform might be expected, M. Vandervelde was most explicit and to the point. Belgium should take the initiative, and not wait for Foreign Powers to do so. This, in fact, was absolutely essential, for she had a more direct interest in the question; a moral interest, because her good name was at stake; a financial interest, because of the ultimate and disastrous consequences which annexation might one day bring about; a political interest, because he was convinced that many events which have taken place would never have occurred

if Congolese absolutism had not reacted upon Belgian constitutionalism. To say in answer to this that Belgium was powerless, and had no means of action on the Congo State, was altogether wrong; for Belgium is a signatory party to the Act of Berlin, and it is incontestable that the proceedings of the Congo State are contrary to Article 6, referring to the protection of the natives. The authorization necessary for the King to be at the same time Sovereign of the Congo State had been voted by the Belgian Chambers, and being an authorization given by Parliament, it was open to revocation or subordination to specific conditions of reform. Finally, Belgium lends to the Congo State her officers, her diplomatists, her officials, so that she might at least subordinate a continuation of this to the accomplishment of the reforms which are essential. It is not the power to act, but the will to act, which the Government lacks, and it was not possible to expect much from it, because the characteristic of its policy during the last few years has been complete acquiescence in everything which the Sovereign of the Congo State has done.

Touching once more upon certain possible contingencies, M. Vandervelde requests the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the financial consequences which might accrue to Belgium from the ultimate annexation of the Congo. But M. Vandervelde must be allowed to conclude a great and magnificent effort in his own vigorous yet conciliatory words:

"But there is one thing here which I must say, and I now speak in my personal name, without involving the party to which I have the honour to belong—viz., that of all the solutions which might be proposed, whether it be the abandonment of the Congo, or its annexation by Belgium, there is not one, whatever disadvantages it may have, which I do not consider as being absolutely preferable to the maintenance of the actual system existing in the Congo, which must result in the partial extermination of the natives. It is in this spirit—and you will see that it is a

spirit of conciliation—that I have wished to close my interpellation. I venture to hope that, in replying to me, side issues will not be invoked, and that I shall be no longer told that in denouncing abuses I am lacking in patriotism. I assert, on the contrary, that when abuses take place, true patriotism lies, not in dissimulating them, but in protesting against them, and I hope that the whole House will agree with this. This is the sixth time that we are interpellating on this question ; but it comes before us to-day under new conditions. When we spoke in the past you might not have believed us, you might have suspected our intentions, you had the right to ignore what was not revealed in official document ; but to-day you know, you ought to know, you can no longer ignore, you can no longer remain deaf to the complaints and the protests which arise from all sides. And I address myself to you members of the Clerical Party, I ask you to forget the links which bind you to the Government, and to cling, above all, to that which your conscience dictates to you. In the presence of facts denounced by all ministers of Christianity, Protestant and Catholic, you have no right to remain impassive, and to wash your hands of the blood which has been shed ; because, if you were to do so, if you were to refuse justice to the natives, if you were to withhold from them the bread of life which they ask, the words of one of the Fathers of your Church might be applied to you : ‘ Thy brother asked for help and protection, thou remainest deaf to his appeal, thou hast not gone to his assistance, therefore thou hast killed him.’ ”

With regard to the other speeches which were made on the side of the prosecution it is not possible to give more than the merest pith. M. Verhaegen, of the Catholic Party, whose entire speech is on behalf of the Catholic missionaries, associates himself with the protest which M. Vandervelde has brought against the acts and the abuses of the Congo State—*acts and proceedings which in his opinion have shaken public opinion in Belgium to its depths.*

M. Bertrand, one of the Labour Party, contends that the Congo State can obviously be regarded from a dual point of view—the moral and the financial. M. Vandervelde had spoken from the former ; it was his intention to speak from the latter. The Congo State was seriously indebted. The large amounts which had been borrowed have not been spent on the Congo, but in Belgium, in building sumptuous and palatial works and buying real estate. This is precisely the opinion as confirmed by M. Cattier. To escape all control, that is the desire of the Financial Department. The details which are furnished help to dissimulate truth, rather than make it appear. The Congo State, although it has published an annual Budget for the last thirteen years, has never published a single official account. Its Budgets, however, contain nothing but mere estimates. Its financial history falls into three periods. The first is the period which M. Cattier calls the period of prudence, from 1885-1890 ; the second is the period of tutelage, as a consequence of the convention drafted by the House in 1890 ; the third is the period of wastefulness. During the first period the idea was not to create an onerous position for Belgium, in case of annexation. Thus the loan of 1888 was organized on the lottery system—*i.e.*, in such a way as not to cost the Treasury of the Congo State anything, for the guaranteed fund is sufficient to insure interest on the sinking fund. The second period opened with the Convention of 1890. The Congo State then undertook to furnish Belgium with all necessary information, and not to contract any loan without the consent of the Belgian Government. This Convention held good until 1891 ; but no sooner was it signed, scarcely had the pledges been undertaken, than the Congo State violated them by secretly borrowing from M. de Browne de Tiege. This infringement was not made known until 1896, when the Congo State came to Belgium and obtained a credit of 5,000,000 francs to repay M. de Tiege, and another 1,500,000 francs to make good certain deficits. Once more,

then, it was that Belgium paid. In the third period a loan of 50,000,000 francs at 4 per cent. was contracted, but not until the Congo State found itself freed from the control of Belgium.

So, proceeding step by step, M. Bertrand—also by the help of M. Cattier—decides that the total debt amounts to a sum equal, perhaps, to 111,000,000 francs, which—although Belgium may any day have to take over the Congo—it is at present in absolute ignorance of. Two facts are quite certain: The money expended in contracting these debts has not been utilized either to develop the colony or to improve the lot of the natives; further, the effect which this system of finance has produced on Belgium has been detrimental, if not disastrous. He then vigorously endorses M. Vandervelde's conclusions, and ends an even and well-balanced speech with these trenchant words: "That which is at issue in this debate is not a political question, not a vain party question; it is, in truth, a question of justice and humanity."

There is not much to be noted in M. Colf's speech, for, like M. Verhaegen's, it is entirely on behalf of the Belgian missionaries; but it is evident throughout that, apart from this, M. Colf is animated by broad and humane feelings. So he remarks: "I will not say to the State, 'Courage! courage!' I will say to the State, on the contrary, 'For pity's sake stop! become converted, become what you always ought to have been—an agent of humanity and civilization.'" Then, too, he deplures, first, that missionaries whose sole object is civilization were excluded; next, that Belgium should be mixed up with the atrocities committed in the Congo, and points out that the Commission of Inquiry has failed on three different points to carry out its mandate.

"It declined to investigate what was taking place in the *Domaine de la Couronne*; it accused unjustly, and accepted as true, without counter-inquiry, without even hearing the interested parties, charges against their gallant missionaries;

finally, it omitted a point of capital importance — it has not made the slightest allusion to the most redoubtable obstacle which civilization encounters on the Congo—viz., the immorality which flaunts itself publicly and unrestricted, which often filters through from the corrupting European to the corrupted black, drying up in both the resources of physical and moral life, affecting the interests of the native peoples."

M. Lorand, of the Liberal Party, prior to plunging into the core of the matter, lays great stress on the point that Belgian politicians have nothing to gain by incurring the hostility of the Congo State; but those who were loyal and patriotic would be guilty of wilful neglect if they did not expose and endeavour to remedy any evils which they knew to be in existence. As for himself, he repudiated the statement of personal hostility to the King. He had never in his life shrunk from fighting for the cause which he believed to be right, and in this matter of the Congo he was but obeying the voice of his conscience. An examination of the Report issued by the Commission showed that the abuses in the Congo had not been suppressed; on the contrary, that they still continued, necessary and frequent, because they are the result of the system of government adopted by the Congo State. They were not individual abuses, but collective, the result simply of the system. It was known also, "from the Report of the Commission of Inquiry, that the whole system of impositions established by the Congo State has been declared illegal by the Boma Court, and that for years without end these odious claims and imposts, which have led to so many crimes, have been applied without law, without limitation, in an absolutely arbitrary manner, and that it was only after the Court had drawn attention to the fact, in passing judgment, that the law of forty hours was drawn up, a law which, as the Commission admits, is, moreover, not applied. All this is henceforth incontestable, it is all contained in the Report. The impartiality of the Commissioners had been praised—every-

body is agreed on that. When Congo affairs are being discussed it is necessary in every case to give much homage, to begin by rendering homage. Well, it is with sincerity and outside all conventionality that he renders homage to the impartiality and to the conscientiousness of the Commission, and also to the extreme prudence which has characterized their conclusions, to the extreme diplomacy of their language. Indeed, it would have been difficult to wrap so many grave facts, so many crying abuses, in more lenient terms. If, notwithstanding all this, the facts pierce through the eulogium of style, if the abuses appear on every page, despite these flowers of rhetoric, it is certainly not because the editors of the story have not taken the trouble to present them in the happiest way possible for the Congo State. We must take account of this when we read the Report, and it is, perhaps, this very fact which increases its gravity. When, notwithstanding all the platonic precautions taken by the editors of the Report, notwithstanding the care which they have always exercised to put things in the least disagreeable way possible for the Congo State, one goes to the rock bottom of things, one is compelled to recognise that the admissions which have been made are of extraordinary gravity, and one cannot say otherwise than *that the Report of the Commission of Inquiry is an overwhelming indictment for the Congo State.*"

On the essential point of freedom of trade the Commission had found that there was no freedom. This is a grave fact, because it is a negation of the *raison d'être* of the Congo State. This was to insure, first of all, complete freedom of trade; secondly, the preservation of the natives and the betterment of their lot. It was on these grounds that the State had been created with the common consent of all the European Powers. In spite of this, no one can trade in the Congo except the State or the State's concessionnaires. Even in the French Congo, where the system adopted is virtually the same, a tenth of the land appropriated has been reserved for the natives. This

was not the case in the Congo, for there all the land had been appropriated, with the exception of the huts inhabited by the people and the gardens enclosing them. In this way the Act of Berlin has been violated, because it formally forbids monopolies or privileges of any kind within the conventional basis of the Congo. Yet in practice everything there is monopolized by the State and its partners, even to the exclusion of the missionaries, who are unable to get leases of land, so complete is the appropriation of it ; *while the natives, to whom the land in reality belongs, are entitled to nothing !*

In a few words, what was this but a sorrowful caricature of the law, whose formulas have been placed at the service of the most brutal robbery ; a ridiculous abuse of the similitude of words to characterize totally different things, and the application of principles in circumstances for which they were not created ? Even the Commission of Inquiry, notwithstanding its goodwill, was compelled to recognise the exactions committed by the black sentries to the detriment of the natives ; for it found the reprisals of the latter so natural, that it considered the statistics of the murders of the sentries as the barometer of the atrocity of the régime to which the natives are subjected. It was on the strength of so atrocious a sentence as this, "that the natives were entitled to nothing," *that a man had been found to make of that sentence a system.* According to this, then, the natives have no rights. But the native has the right of a man, he has the right to live, the right of personal security, the right of personal property, the right to the produce of his labour, the right of coming and going. Yet in the majority of cases even that right is denied to him. Such a system is bound to produce the most frightful abuses. So in the Budgets there is nothing for the improvement of the people. Civilization has given them nothing in exchange for the crimes, the misery, and the wretchedness of the rubber-tax. That forced labour had produced the most appalling results was admitted by the

Commission. *It was the abuse of it which was the source of all the evil.* A corvée such as this was a disgrace to Belgium, for the natives are taxed indefinitely, and even the elementary rights of humanity have been denied to them. Yet the Congo State had been created with a humanitarian and civilization object.

The worst of it all was that these abuses had resulted in the most frightful depopulation, even in the Lower and Middle Congo, where the State has been able to exercise in the completest manner its civilizing action, due to many causes, to privations, diseases, etc., but, above all, to the savagery of the sentries and to punitive expeditions. *For it is not alone the penalty of death which is exacted, it is more than this: it is pillage, massacre, and incendiarism carried into the four corners of the territory.* Indeed, the Commission makes no bones about it, but emphasizes the fact that it falls as much on the innocent as on the guilty. Yet there are Courts of Justice on the Congo; but the organization of justice is simply deplorable, merely because it is too often interfered with by the administrative authority. The Commission admits this, also the fact that the verdicts of the Boma tribunals show that those who are prosecuted for violence towards the natives constantly give as an excuse, or as extenuating circumstances, the orders which they received from their superiors. This in itself constitutes a sufficient justification on the part of the Belgian Government to take action, *and these verdicts alone exclude all idea of good faith and every plea of ignorance on the part of the Congo Government.*

The instructions to officials are of two kinds: No. 1 is drawn up for European consumption, full of beautiful humanitarian phrases and suggestions of kindness and gentleness. But order No. 2 is not meant for publication. It tells the officials plainly what notice they need take in practice of the humanitarian instructions drafted to deceive European opinion.

To-day, however, the cup is full—it is, in fact, overflow-

ing. "You," addressing himself to the members of the Government, "refused to hear the indignant protests of the public in other civilized countries and of independent individuals in Belgium ; now you can no longer escape the movement of reprobation which is becoming universal. You can certainly no longer escape from it by saying that the charges brought against the Congo State are British calumnies, seeing that all the charges levelled at the Congo State have been admitted by the Commission of Inquiry as being the result of the Congo State's own system of outrageous exploitation of the people, enslaved to produce rubber, sought and massacred when they did not produce it. What sanction are you going to give to these overwhelming disclosures? I understand and I respect the feelings of those who recoil before the idea of denouncing to foreign Powers, signatories to the Act of Berlin, actions which constitute a flagrant violation of that Act, and which may provoke a new International Conference ; but what I do not understand is that the Belgian Government, which is in daily touch with the Congo State, should not say to it, 'Enough ! You have pursued up to the present a system of whose consequences you have probably been ignorant, but which has led to a mass of abuses which you had not foreseen. To-day these abuses are admitted, they are the result of the system adopted by you to draw the largest possible profits from the Colony ; they are of a kind which call for vengeance, and which cannot be tolerated. They must disappear immediately and radically, and Belgium will not remain a single day responsible with you for a state of affairs recognised by the Commission of Inquiry. You shall have no more officers, no more magistrates, no more officials of the Belgian State, if you do not immediately make up your mind to alter radically an admitted situation. If the Government is prepared to tell us that it will do this, I shall be the first to congratulate it for having accomplished, although very late in the day, its duty ; but if this is not what you are going to tell us, you will be

gravely lacking in your duties towards Belgium in tolerating the continuance of the abusive system which we have demonstrated. You will have affected in the gravest way the honour as well as the interests of Belgium.' "

THE CASE FOR THE CONGO STATE.

To this vigorous and outspoken onslaught the defence or explanation which is offered by the members of the Government is extremely weak. This, in plain words, is putting the very mildest construction on it that is possible. Reading twice through the entire debate as the writer has done, with a mind absolutely free from bias, and with the utmost care, making copious notes and extracts from it, besides marginally annotating all the salient points which stand out in the sea of matter like great high promontories that have to be rounded, there is no disguising the fact that the explanations given, or, rather, the tactics adopted, fall absolutely to the ground. It is obvious, in fact, that they are not explanations, but mere sophistical arguments. Obvious, too, that these Ministers of the King have no explanations to offer and no defence to make. The ugly truth stands revealed, and there is no concealing or suppressing it, and it is evident that the speeches of these men—toadies rather—are but clumsy efforts in that direction. So that, no matter whom the speaker, whether it be M. de Favereau, the Minister for Foreign Affairs; M. de Smet de Naeyer, the Premier; M. Woeste, the King's Special Pleader and Advocate; or M. Carton de Wiart, the question at issue, namely, the abuses on the Congo, is avoided and evaded. From beginning to end, in fact, both in principle and practice, their policy is one of evasion and of begging the question.

Thus in a few brief words the whole burden of M. de Favereau's speech is that the interpellation is inopportune. At the same time he admits in a half-hearted way that the Congo Administration has given rise to grave and regrettable abuses; maintains that the value of Article 6 of

the Berlin Act is exaggerated, and drawn up on the vaguest terms; asserts that, as the Belgian and Congo Governments are distinct, the former can neither interfere with nor be held responsible for acts in which it has not participated; declines, therefore, to discuss M. Vandervelde's analysis of the Report of the Commission; defends the *Domaine de la Couronne* on the assumption that Cattier's calculations are exaggerated and erroneous. M. de Smet de Naeyer almost loses himself in a flood of oratory over the beauty and the grandeur of the Congo enterprise. "One can really never," he exclaims, "have read the history of nations, if one fails to recognise, as has been done, the grandeur of the work accomplished in the Congo. This, indeed, can only be due to ignorance of international history." From this, too, he argues it is evident that an identical régime is practised in all other European colonies, and he proceeds to draw a comparison between some of the laws of the Congo and Southern Nigeria. Further, he seeks to justify the action of the Congo State by contrasting and emphasizing the pre-existing barbaric condition of affairs.

M. Carton de Wiart's speech is mainly an attack on the Socialist Party and its policy. M. Woeste alone of all the Monarchists has to some extent the courage of his convictions, and speaks out his mind in a less guarded and more impulsive manner. "With natives," he says, "coercion is often necessary. Authority must be felt in order to be respected. Despotism alone brings order out of chaos." Then he accuses the Republican Party of being animated by personal hostility to the King; harps—as, indeed, they one and all do—on the magnificent results achieved by the Congo State; repudiates indignantly the charge of atrocities; asserts that the existence of abuses has never been denied, but states openly that abuses are almost impossible to avoid; that the protection of every native in so vast a region is also impossible. "Regarding the land, the paramount factor," in his opinion, is that, by the showing of the Commission, the greater part of the land is not cultivated.

For this reason, also because the natives are unable to produce titles to these lands, they belong to the State in strict conformity to general principles.

It is, however, useless to make any further quotations from these speeches ; for, although at the beginning it was the writer's intention to state one side of the case as fully as the other, he has found it unnecessary to do so. True, there are always two sides to every question—even the murderer is given a hearing—but in this specific instance the other side has not even attempted to make out a case, so that it would be sheer waste of time to exploit statements which are altogether irrelevant and inconsequent to the main issue, for out of their own mouths do these Monarchists stand condemned. They do not refute the charges which have been preferred against the Congo State, because, seemingly, they cannot, knowing, as they appear to do, the futility of their own cause. Feeling they have only a crutch or a prop to stand on, which may at any moment be swept from under them, they run to shelter like burrowing foxes, and take refuge under pretexts, or behind evasions and subterfuges, devices which are as transparent as they are shallow, which are, in fact, a disgrace to the civilization and humanity that they make so feeble a profession of. Indeed, splendid as is the appeal that has been made by the Labour Party—by MM. Vandervelde and Lorand more particularly—it is not even so much, certainly not altogether in the magnificent sincerity of their vigorous protest, every word of which rings true, that the hideous reality of the situation rivets our attention. Rather it is in the absolute absence of true explanation from the King's Party, in the striking contrast between the two parties, the one standing for the liberty and equity of humanity, the other for an autocracy, which can best be described as the vested concentration of all power and authority in the egotism and tyranny of one person, which enables us to realize the awful truth that M. Vandervelde and his party have so manfully exposed.

In his own words, the position of the Belgian Government is untenable—indeed, the whole matter is unthinkable. That in a moral sense this is unquestionably so no unbiassed person can deny. Yet the Congo State is still pursuing the uneven tenour of its unequal administration, in spite of the two Commissions, whose business has been to inquire and to reform. Yet one man holds the power of life and death over some 20,000,000 of people, whose souls as well as bodies are at his mercy.

Surely a colossal situation, an awful temptation, to place in the hands of a just man, much more so than in those of one who is fired with ambition or the lust for gold. It is an old maxim, that Truth is great and will prevail; but in this particular instance, although Truth has been active in the shape of these Belgian deputies and the Congo Reform Association, Truth has not yet prevailed. For Europe, the centre and stronghold of civilization, has grown indifferent; age and luxury have nourished the fungus of apathy among its people, and apathy has made them callous. Civilization appears now to be no more compatible with humanitarianism; an excess of dogmatism, added to the limitations of sectarianism, have choked those sympathies which spring from the germ of a common origin. All that is highest in them, the humanity which can soar above life's sordid inhumanities, until it reaches almost to the Divine, has been clogged by the lower and more material instincts of self-interests, those interests which, as Ruskin says, warp a man's mind. Even England, once the champion of liberty, has fallen from her high estate into the coma and silence of a mental sleeping sickness. Indeed, although she has an Imperial Empire at her back, she is no longer disinterested, and the once glorious term Liberal is now merely the label on a glue-pot that sticks fast. Sympathy, that truer sign of breeding than mere kindness, has atrophied. So Jews are massacred in Russia by the hundreds and thousands, and the natives of the

Congo are not only slain, but mutilated mercilessly and without restraint ; and Europe looks on and does nothing.

Yet it is the great Powers of Europe which are responsible for a condition so truly deplorable, and of all those Powers, England, which took the initiative in the matter, is most of all responsible, if not culpable. If, then, the humanity which was once her proud boast is not dead, if she will only, as her own immortal bard said of her, remain true to herself, this grave responsibility which is on her shoulders will prick her to the quick, and arouse all her moral and spiritual energies to action. But for Heaven's sake let it be a whole-hearted and unstinted action, for this alone will save those millions in distress, whose voices are uplifted in silent agony ; this alone will show the world that the now slumbering humanity of England is still capable of rising to the sublime heights of equity and disinterestedness.

MOROCCO—THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT ALGECIRAS.

WITH the view of maintaining order, peace, and prosperity in Morocco, the various Powers agreed to an International Conference to be held at Algeciras, to consider the best means to promote this object. It was considered that reforms should be based upon the threefold principle of the sovereignty and independence of the Sultan, the integrity of his dominions, and economic liberty without any inequality. This Conference accordingly met, and on April 7, 1906, a General Act was adopted, and subsequently endorsed by the Sultan on June 18, 1906. The Conference consisted of delegates or representatives of the following Powers: The German Emperor, the Emperor of Austria, the King of the Belgians, King of Spain, the President of the United States of America, the President of the French Republic, the King of England, the King of Italy, the Sultan of Morocco, the King of Portugal, the Queen of Holland, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sweden.

The topics considered related to the police, the illicit trade in arms, a Moorish State bank, taxes, new sources of revenue, Customs, and suppression of fraud and smuggling, and public services and public works.

The General Act consists of seven chapters subdivided into 123 articles.

With regard to the organization of the police, it is declared that the same shall be under the authority of the Sultan, recruited by the Makhzen from among Moorish Mussulmans, commanded by Moorish Kaïds, and distributed in the eight ports open to commerce. In order to assist the Sultan in the organization of this force there are to be Spanish and French officers and non-commissioned officers acting as instructors, who are to be placed at the Sultan's disposal by the respective Governments. This portion of the Act contains 11 articles respecting details.

With regard to the suppression of illicit traffic in arms, the importation of the same and all materials destined exclusively for the manufacture of ammunition is prohibited throughout the whole of the Empire, except explosives necessary for industrial purposes and public works, and arms and ammunition intended for the forces of the Sultan.

With regard to a State bank, it shall be established in Morocco under the name of "The Morocco State Bank," which is to exercise its rights for a period of forty years in accordance with specified rules and regulations. "Each of the following institutions, namely, the German Imperial Bank, the Bank of England, the Bank of Spain, and the Bank of France, shall, with the approval of its Government, appoint a censor to the State Bank of Morocco. The censors shall remain in office for four years. Retiring censors may be reappointed. In the event of death or resignation the vacancy shall be filled by the bank which had appointed the previous holder, but only for the unexpired term of the vacated office." Certain rules are specified with regard to the duties of the censors. "The four censors shall meet at Tangier in the exercise of their functions at least once in every two years, at a date to be fixed by common agreement. Other meetings at Tangier or elsewhere shall be held on the demand of three of the censors. The four censors shall draw up, in common agreement, an annual report, which shall be annexed to that of the Board of Directors. The Board of Directors shall without delay forward a copy of such report to each of the Governments signatory to the Act of the Conference." "The capital, of which the amount shall be fixed by special committee, shall not be less than 15,000,000 fr. nor more than 20,000,000 fr., shall be composed of gold coin, and the shares, the certificates of which shall represent a value equivalent to 5,000 fr., shall be expressed in the different gold currencies at a fixed rate of exchange, as determined by the statutes. This capital may eventually be increased at one or more times by decision of

the general meeting of shareholders. The subscription of such increases of capital shall be reserved to all the shareholders without distinction of groups, in proportion to the number of shares held by each of them. The initial capital of the bank shall be divided into as many equal portions as there are participants among the Powers represented at the Conference. To this end each Power shall designate a bank which shall exercise, either on its own behalf or on behalf of a group of banks, the right of subscription as well as to nominate the directors. . . . Every bank selected as the head of a group may, with the authorization of its Government, be replaced by another bank belonging to the same country." "No alteration shall be made in the statutes except on the proposal of the Board of Directors and with the previous approval of the censors and of the Imperial High Commissioner. Such alterations must be voted at a general meeting of shareholders by a majority of three-quarters of the members present or represented."

There are certain regulations respecting the customs of the Empire and the suppressions of fraud and smuggling. "A permanent committee, styled 'the Customs Committee,' shall be organized at Tangier, and appointed for a term of three years. It shall consist of a special commissioner of His Shereefian Majesty, of a member of the Diplomatic or Consular Body nominated by the Diplomatic Body at Tangier, and of a delegate of the State Bank. The committee may add to its number one or several representatives of the Customs Administration with a consultative voice."

With respect to the public services and public works, "the Signatory Powers declare that in no case shall the rights of the State over the public services of the Shereefian Empire be alienated for the benefit of private interest. Should the Shereefian Government consider it necessary to have recourse to foreign capital or to foreign industries for the working of public services or for the execution of public works, roads, railways, ports, telegraphs, or other,

the Signatory Powers reserve to themselves the right to see that the control of the State over such large undertakings of public interest remains intact."

Finally it is stated, all existing treaties, conventions, and arrangements between the Signatory Powers and Morocco remain in force. It is, however, agreed that, in case their provisions be found to conflict with those of the present General Act, the stipulations of the latter shall prevail.

THE ABANDONMENT OF ST. HELENA.

BY A. G. WISE,

Secretary to the St. Helena Committee.

As a member of the deputation which included the Hon. H. J. Bovell, Member of the Executive Council of St. Helena, Mr. H. Solomon, and the Hon. M. Hicks Beach, M.P., and who waited upon Mr. Haldane at the House of Commons on July 17, 1906, to protest against the proposed withdrawal of the garrison from St. Helena, I gladly avail myself of the permission accorded by the editor of this *Review* to comment briefly on the petition from the inhabitants of that colony which is printed below. A very short time since there was, it may be mentioned, a strong consensus of military opinion that St. Helena should be well fortified and garrisoned. The armament is composed of some twenty guns scientifically placed, so as to command the approaches of the island. As has been pointed out in the *Army and Navy Gazette* by Major Keown, of the Indian army, and others, these guns are of an effective pattern, while three years ago two guns of an up-to-date pattern were landed and placed in position. The present garrison could, it is held, repel the raids of cruisers, and, indeed, any imaginable form of attack, until the arrival of British men-of-war. Moreover, the Eastern Telegraph Company's station will now be completely at the mercy of an enemy. I ventured to ask the Secretary for War if it was intended to dispose of the present guns as scrap-iron, and what steps would be taken to protect the lives and property of Europeans, who would be dependent for their safety on five native policemen. Mr. Haldane contented himself with the barren suggestion that the inhabitants should raise a volunteer force, which, however, is almost impossible, since on the withdrawal of the garrison there will remain only 200 white residents. No saving will be effected, as, if only on humanitarian grounds, it is the duty of the authorities to make a substantial grant to St. Helena from ruin and starvation.

PETITION FROM THE INHABITANTS OF ST. HELENA TO
THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF ELGIN AND
KINCARDINE, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR THE COLONIES.

MY LORD,

We, the inhabitants of St. Helena, respectfully lay before your lordship a petition, which we feel to be urgently necessary in order that you may realize what the proposed abolition of the garrison (which we understand to be the intention of H.M. Government) must mean to all of us. With the military policy entailed we feel that we can have nothing to say. It has no doubt been arrived at as conducive to the strategical efficiency of the army. While, then, we can plead no military grounds for the retention of the troops, yet we feel that in justice to ourselves we must show what the consequences of such a step will be to the prosperity of the island.

2. We, the landowners, business men, and labourers of the island (with the exception of those of us who are the descendants of the slaves so mercifully liberated by the English people), are the descendants of those who were induced by the Honourable East India Company and by the Imperial Government to settle here, with a view to rendering the island self-supporting in cattle, farm produce, stores, and labour. Our time and energies have always been applied to this object.

3. In the days before the opening of the Suez Canal, while this island was still a valuable military possession, a large garrison was maintained. The quantity of shipping which then called here, in conjunction with this large garrison, constituted a market which was as large as we could supply. Since the opening of the Suez Canal the shipping has steadily declined, until last year the number of ships calling fell to ninety-nine. The few vessels which do call take in very little in the way of supplies. Those who formerly gained a living by supplying the shipping here have emigrated, and we have fallen in population from 5,838 in 1871 to 3,512 in 1905.

4. Our remaining market, then, is the small garrison

now left us. The wants of the garrison in one direction or another mean our livelihood. The landowners amongst us depend on the sale of our cattle, our sheep, and our vegetables to it; for there are few here who eat meat except the troops, and these few are enabled to do so because of the money they themselves directly, or indirectly, get from the garrison. We, the business men of the island, also are dependent on the sale of our goods bought either directly or indirectly with money circulated by the garrison. We, the labourers, are almost entirely employed either by the Imperial Government or by those whose transactions with the Imperial Government enable them to employ labour.

5. It is true that the Eastern Telegraph Company staff now here constitute a small market, and circulate a little money. Their demands for cattle, stores, and labour are, however, too small to save landowners or business men, or to employ more than a very few labourers.

6. As we have endeavoured to show your lordship, the purpose for which we were induced to settle here, and to which our main endeavours have always been directed, has been the raising of stock and farm produce. As lately as 1898 the late General Goodenough, R.A., commanding the troops at the Cape, held a meeting under the auspices of His Excellency the late Mr. Sterndale, at which he urged us to increase our stock and to devote our energies to it and to farming, in order to render this island self-supporting in time of war. Many of us on his recommendation went to considerable expenses in importing cattle and sheep from England to improve our island breed. Yet even as matters now stand the market is insufficient; we are overstocked, and cattle must be exported or die, but exportation under the circumstances would mean almost a total loss.

7. We fear that your lordship may not realize how small our other resources are. We are a small community with no capital to start an industry. The only two possible industries could be flax and manganese. The flax, with no capital to work on, and with exceptional difficulties of

transport and freight, we have tried, and so far failed with. The manganese remains to be tried. Either of these industries would, if successful, circulate money and swell the revenue, but would save neither the landowners nor business men. The labourer does not eat meat, nor will he create a market for the business man, whereas the failure of farmer and tradesman must react largely on the labouring class.

8. Our revenue is small. If we have no market for our cattle produce, stores, and labour, the taxes must be lowered, not raised.. What, then, must inevitably happen is a large increase of applicants for parish relief, and no money to provide for them. We are proud to remind your lordship that we have always been a loyal, law-abiding population. We can boast of as little crime as any portion of the Empire. With a starving and half-educated population, however, we cannot look forward with confidence to the future.

9. Although, as we have stated, we cannot criticise the military policy involved, yet we feel that we can point out that should the garrison be withdrawn the cattle must be exported or die off, and that farms must be ruined. A garrison sent here in war would find no cattle and no supplies, but would of necessity have to import both. The roads and telephone system, both kept up by the Imperial Government for strategical purposes, could not be kept up by us. A small permanent garrison is, therefore, an insurance that in case of necessity the island should be found stocked, self-supporting, and with the roads and telephones necessary for its defence.

10. Of our services in the past we do not wish to boast, yet we hope we may remind your lordship that this island has at times been of use to the nation—viz., in the case of Napoleon's interment ; in later years as a depot for liberated slaves ; then for Zulu prisoners ; and recently as a suitable place for Boer prisoners of war.

11. We feel that we must point out that a grant-in-aid, even greatly though we hope for it should the garrison be withdrawn, would benefit chiefly the public works, hospital

and Government employés and organizations. The money thus circulated would benefit the labour section of the community by employing those now employed by the Imperial Government. It cannot, however, materially alter the condition of the landowners, business men, or labourers employed by them.

12. We have endeavoured to lay before your lordship the circumstances of the case, and we hope that we have shown that by no want of energy on our part we are dependent on the presence of the garrison. In good faith we have entrusted our all to the providing of the wants of the garrison, and we hope that through your lordship the English people may realize that we fellow-citizens of the Empire are in peril of losing our possessions, lands, and homes. We cannot realize our lands with none to purchase, for if the troops are taken away land will have no value; we cannot emigrate, for to most of us the Cape is now closed.* We are proud of being a historical, and we hope in our way valuable, part of the Empire, and in confidence we submit this petition to your lordship and to the English people, and humbly request that the troops may not be withdrawn.

ST. HELENA, *April 9, 1906.*

The foregoing petition was signed by the whole male population of St. Helena, including all the members of the Executive Council, and forwarded by the Governor, Colonel Gallwey, C.M.G., D.S.O., with a covering despatch strongly urging its favourable consideration.

A committee has been formed, titled "the St. Helena Committee" (offices 60, St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.), to promote the interests of the inhabitants of St. Helena, and seeks to obtain a grant from the Imperial Government to compensate landowners, owners of stock, and others whose interests are very seriously menaced by the withdrawal of the troops.

A. G. WISE.

* Immigrants are not allowed to land in South Africa unless they possess ten pounds sterling.

TAOISM.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THERE has always been a persistent disposition on the part of European writers who have discussed this question to consider Taoism purely as a religion, and to trace its origin to the spontaneity of Lao-tsz or Laocius, whose life covered the greater part of the sixth century before Christ. The real fact is that throughout the whole of ancient Chinese history, so far as we can know it at all by the light of surviving literature, there was always a fundamental notion that the Emperors, as vicegerents of Heaven or of God, governed according to the *Tao* or "way"; and to walk in this way, or, as we express it in common parlance, "to do the right thing," was supposed to be the special study of the Emperor, his advisers, and his officers, besides being loosely understood of the people in a general sense; much as we in England flatter ourselves we all know right from wrong, though we allow divines the privilege of preaching to us what we know on fixed weekly occasions. Hence what we consider the separate departments of government, law, religion, and morals, were never divided off very clearly from each other in the Chinese State conception, and were each regarded as a symptom-treatment rather than an ideal or a definite end in the general scheme of order and human happiness based upon an assumed natural law. In the same way, both before and after the appearance of Lao-tsz's new doctrine, the word *Tao* was appropriated by all schools of thought, and was not the exclusive property of anyone. In fact, to a Confucianist* of the second century before Christ belongs the honour of having best defined the word in its largest abstract sense. He says: "*Tao* is that which is free of vice for all eternity, whilst vice is that in which there has been a lapse from *Tao*."

* Tung Chung-shu, "Han Shu," chap. 56, p. 17.

It may be added that the assiduous cultivation and practice of *Tao* was from earliest times supposed to generate a habit called *Têh*, which we Westerners commonly translate "virtue," but which seems rather to mean the quality of mind, just as Shakespeare tells us that "The quality of mercy is not strained." In my book, "China and Religion,"* therefore, I have continued to use the terms "Providence" and "Grace," which I originally applied in the *Dublin Review* to the two divisions of the Classic of *Tao* and *Têh*—the book of 5,000 words, written by Lao-tsz at request about 500 B.C.; but it must be remembered that Lao-tsz, in his anxiety to stay the degeneration of his age, had long before that been accepted all over China as the leader of a new school, and that school had already extended the original meaning of *Tao* by endeavouring to identify the springs of human conduct with the workings of cosmogony and the processes of unconscious evolution. It must also be remembered that long after Lao-tsz's death, a succession of fanciful philosophers† had gradually given positive form to this purely theoretical cosmogony and evolution, and had constructed upon it a systematic fabric of hocus-pocus and fable, which base decoction at the beginning of our era, by borrowings from Buddhism and probably also from the Tartar, Japanese, Korean, and other beliefs, became a sort of religion or superstition, as far as possible removed from Lao-tsz's original teachings. These successive phases—pure political philosophy, fanciful courtiers' imagery, and popular spiritual superstition—have ever since then so run into and obscured each other that the true historical issues have become confused except where original texts have been studied; with the result that Taoism is unfairly described, and Lao-tsz himself, together with his book, is rashly denounced as a myth.

Accurate dates in Chinese history—the general truth of

* John Murray, 1905.

† Chwang-tsz, Lieh-tsz, Wang Hü, Shî-tsz, Tsou-tsz, T'ien-tsz, etc.

which, however, there is no reason to doubt—only begin with the middle of the ninth century before Christ. The imperial or old centralized power was then beginning to decline, and the satrapies or vassal States which throughout two millenniums at least had quietly submitted to central guidance, were now beginning to feel and to employ their own strength. The empire was still practically confined to the valley of the Hwang Ho or Yellow River, and the more northerly of the federated vassals had all their work cut out for them to defend this comparatively circumscribed region from the inroads of the horse-riding nomads of the north; no other enemies seem to have been very dangerous. Though the historians and political writers, from Confucius downwards, bewail the decay of good old patriarchal principles, the real fact seems to be that the settled race which we call Chinese had for long been rapidly growing in material wealth and cultivated intelligence; it required expansion, and the old system of government was no longer able to cope with rising ambitions: in short, “home rule” and “duma” were the cry then as now. There is ample evidence that several of the northerly princes were semi-Tartar in their habits and modes of government;* that their rulers occasionally bore Tartar names; that journeys to the Far West, supposed to have been made by Chinese Emperors, were really expeditions to the Tarim valley made by Tartaro-Chinese vassal Princes; that the Chinese borrowed many notions—including the celebrated twelve-animal cycle still in use all over Asia—from the Tartars; and that (as Confucius afterwards admitted) China had been within an ace of losing its independence and becoming a Tartar province, or at least a Tartar milch-cow. The situation was, in short, much like that of Europe at different stages, when vassals of the feeble Roman Emperors set up as semi-independent monarchs in Gaul, Germany, Spain, and Pannonia, or when Christendom was within an ace of becoming Hun or Arab.

* The States of Ts'in, Tsin, Chao, Yen.

One of the greatest characters in Chinese history is Kwan-tsz, who, during the seventh century before Christ, raised the vassal State of Ts'i (the northern part of Shan Tung province), to an hitherto unheard-of pitch of prosperity. He developed the salt and fishing industries, encouraged commerce, beautified and made gay with seductive pleasures his master's capital, and was equally keen in the interests of literature. His own book* of eighty-six chapters still survives in great part, and is considered, in fact, to be one of the earliest works on Taoism, though by some historians he is assigned a place amongst the law writers. The Prince under whom Kwan-tsz served was the first of the "Five Tyrants," who for a century (685-591 B.C.), in the capacity of self-nominated Cæsars, protected the imperial Augustus on the one hand and their own vassal colleagues on the other, from the Tartar attacks and from the evils of civil war. It was of Kwan-tsz, indeed, that Confucius spoke when he said: "Had it not been for him, China would have worn [Tartar] pigtails."

It was after the Five Tyrant period, when the different vassal States were all struggling for supremacy, that the retired scholar Lao-tsz (who was earning his livelihood as a keeper of the archives at the puppet Imperial Court) attracted his neighbours' attention by his new definitions of what *Tao* ought to be. According to the old historical way of putting it, the old *Tao* of the ancient kings was rapidly decaying; the same *Tao* of the reigning imperial dynasty was falling off; the vassals found *Tao* a check upon their ambition; hence there was no *Têh*, or educated quality inherent in men's minds; and so on. An active exchange of visits between the learned men of each State

* It has been argued by those who wish to discredit Lao-tsz's book that Kwan-tsz, "who lived in the fifth century," does not mention that book. As a matter of fact, the late Alexander Wylie, in his "Notes on Chinese Literature," wrote "fifth" instead of "seventh" century; and his mistake has been weakly copied by subsequent critics. In Dr. S. W. Bushell's "Chinese Art," there are specimens of the writing employed in Kwan-tsz's time.

is very clearly stated to have gone on ever since inter-State commerce became general at the initiative of Kwan-tsz, and great fairs or marts had grown up at a dozen or more of trade centres* in the Yellow River Valley; and, of course, the small State under the immediate rule of the Emperor, though low down now in power and political importance, was still much sought as a literary centre, and as a depository of duplicate archives for reference and of ancient collections—literary, ceremonial, pictorial, musical, and what not. Apart from the fact that standard history and philosophical writings both repeatedly record the specific visit or visits of Confucius to Lao-tsz, with their conversations, there is every reason to suppose that he would do so, not only because it was the universal custom of literary men to do so if they could afford it, but because he is known to have visited most of the States in the Yellow River Valley, and to have had literary friends in each. For example, the standard history† published (for Court use in the first instance) about 90 B.C., states specifically that “the persons most sedulously cultivated by Confucius were Lao-tsz in the Imperial domain; K’ü-pêh-yü† in the State of Wei; Yen P’ing-chung§ in the State of Ts’i; Lao-lai-tsz|| in the State of Ts’u; Tsz-ch’an¶ in the State of Chêng; and Mêng-kung Ch’oh in his own native State of Lu.”

The object of the Chinese statesmen who exhibited such mental activity at this period was not at all to “save their

* These are enumerated at the end of chap. cxxix. of the “Shi-Ki,” published 90 B.C.

† S. K., 67, 1.

‡ Several times mentioned in at least two of the Confucian classics.

§ The philosopher Yen-tsz, himself ranked as a Confucianist, but a great critic of their principles. As a Ts’i administrator, he was scarcely inferior to Kwan-tsz himself.

|| A Taoist philosopher, whose book of sixteen chapters still existed in 10 B.C.

¶ The first statesman to publish laws for the people (see the *Law Quarterly Review* for April, 1906, “Principles of Chinese Law and Equity”).

souls," and prepare for another life, but to devise acceptable formulas with a view to stay the ruinous, secular, and contemporary race for wealth, power, and glory during this life. The situation was in many respects politically analogous to that of Europe at this moment when a few enthusiasts are vainly striving for reduced armaments and a simple life in the face of trusts, "bosses," and restless Imperial personages. The word *ju*, usually translated "literati," or Confucianists, signified the school anxious to bring back men's minds to the old order of things, to the *Tao* of the almost prehistoric* Emperors Yao and Shun, and of the founders† Wên Wang and Wu Wang of the Imperial dynasty then still reigning, but running to decay. Confucius was not the first of this school, any more than Lao-tsz was the first of the Taoists; but Confucius best voiced the leading tenets of this school, and is therefore held to be the first representative apostle of the *ju*; just as Lao-tsz, who first conceived, developed, and voiced the republican, socialistic, and democratic extension of *Tao*, is usually considered the representative apostle of Taoism, though he was by no means the first Taoist, and though still later Taoism than his own had little in common with his own ideas.

During the fourth century before Christ, the Princes of Ts'i, Chao, and Ngwei—all powerful vassal States of "great power" rank in the Yellow River Valley, within the limits of modern Chih Li and Shan Tung—entertained quite a large number of learned men and distinguished philosophers. Among the Confucianists were Mencius, whose book, still studied by every Chinese schoolboy, gives us vivid notions of the relations existing between territorial Princes and peripatetic philosophers in those days; Ch'un-yü K'un, who declined to accept office; Li K'eh, pupil of Confucius' disciple Tsz-hia, who (Tsz-hia) had himself been the tutor of the ruler of Ngwei, and had trained a dozen other distinguished men,

† Cf. *Ch'un-shu* B.C.

both civil and military, at that Court. Among the legists was Li K'wei, whose code, though its details have disappeared, is at the root of all subsequent Chinese law to this very day;* Wei Yang, who carried Li K'wei's legal and politico-economical principles to the Western Court of Ts'in (Shen Si province), and thus prepared the way for the ultimate conquest of China by that power; Shên Puh-hai, the Draco of China (better known as the Taoist philosopher Shên-tsz, because his ideas were based on Lao-tsz's legal notions), whose book in six sections was still in existence in 10 B.C.; and Zhên Tao, also known as the Taoist philosopher Zhên-tsz,† whose book in forty-two sections was also still known in 10 B.C., and even partly survives to this day. The quietist school, or pure Taoists of Lao-tsz model, had a curious fancy for hiding their family identity under *nommes de guerre*, it being a part of their democratic and socialistic temper to efface, so far as it was possible, individuality and personal distinctions of all kinds. So much was this the case, that, even within a century or so of their deaths, curious antiquarian writers‡ often found it impossible to discover their family and personal appellations. Of these innominates were Tsieh-tsz and Hwan Yüan, the latter apparently identical with the Taoist philosopher and pupil of Lao-tsz, Yen Yüan or Yen-tsz,§ whose book of thirteen sections was also extant in 10 B.C.

During this fourth century before Christ, the diplomatic school of political intriguers, headed by the notorious Su Ts'in and Chang I. (both of whom had studied under the Taoist recluse Wang Hū, better known by his pseudonym Kwei-kuh-tsz),|| accentuated, developed, and brought into

* See "Principles of Chinese Law and Equity" in the *Law Quarterly Review* for April last.

† I write "Zhên" to distinguish from "Shên" just mentioned, the ancient initial not being capable of reproduction now, and being bound up with the "tone."

‡ "Han Shu," chap. lxxii., 1.

§ Not to be confused with the Yen-tsz already mentioned.

|| "Shi-Ki," chap. lxx., 1.

active, tortuous play the innocuous and perfectly honest administrative ideas suggested by Lao-tsz ; and the following century witnessed the efforts of the "four heroes" to stem the rising tide of Ts'in, and to prevent if possible the conquest of China, which was now being openly attempted by that formidable State. At this period, known to history as that of the Contending States Period,* the individuality of reigning Princes was beginning to be overshadowed by the virile qualities of their prime ministers. The "four heroes" just mentioned were the practical rulers of Ts'i, Chao, and Ngwei, and of a fourth great power called Ts'u, which had developed out of Annamese stock and Chinese colonists in the Hwai and Yang-tsze valleys. These four statesmen made it their business to collect at their respective courts all the learned men they could induce to settle there. For instance, the philosopher Sün-tsz, or Sincius (chiefly celebrated for his taking the view, opposed to that of Mencius, that human nature was at root corrupt and not pure), was given office by Hwang Hieh, the Bismarck of Ts'u, in whose honour modern Shanghai still bears a peculiar literary† name. Sün-tsz had studied under the cosmogonist Tsou Yen, and has left us a book in thirty-three sections, one of which is devoted entirely‡ to Lao-tsz and his philosophy. Another distinguished contemporary of Tsou Yen was the great General Yoh I, whose family was strongly and hereditarily Taoist, and furnishes several individual links in the chain, connecting Lao-tsz himself directly with the Taoist teachers at the great revolution of 200 B.C.

It is hardly too much to say that during the Fighting State Period Confucianism had become quite discredited: it was considered unmanly. Or, rather, the struggle for political existence was so desperate that, like Christianity during the French Revolution, its tenets were temporarily thrust aside as being more suitable for women and old

* 4
† S

† Ch'un-shên.

Review, Mr. E. Faber's statements.

men, the sick and the feeble—as being inconvenient for the busy days of strife. Taoism, on the other hand, especially the corrupt diplomatic and legist schools now affiliated to it by their own superimposition of “dogma,” was in high favour, especially at the virile Ts’in Court, where for at least a century back the most far-seeing and deliberate preparations had been made to get rid of antiquated, wishy-washy notions, and to encompass the subjection of all China under one supreme tyrant, and his “salt of the earth” and *lèse-majesté* ridden subjects. This ambitious object was at last achieved in 221 B.C., when the triumphant ruler of Ts’in, having by a bold admixture of force and intrigue, succeeded in destroying the power of each formidable opponent State in detail, declared himself “first Emperor,” and ordained that, instead of being consecrated with posthumous personal appellations, his successors should be innominate and simply numbered for ever. Satrapies were abolished; government centralized in provinces and prefectures; writing reformed and unified; weights and measures standardized; roads and cart-axles made of one size, etc.

To illustrate how deeply the new dispensation was affected by Taoist principles, it may be mentioned that the new Emperor’s Chancellor Li Sz (who had, moreover, studied under the philosopher Sün-tsz*), adopted the draconic system of ruling developed by the two legists Shên Puh-hai and Wei Yang. Another distinguished Taoist and legist, Han Fei, had hastened during the process of conquest to the Ts’in Court, in order to save his own State, and to consult with his friend Li Sz. Han Fei, like Li Sz, had been a pupil of Sün-tsz, and he had even written a book for the use of Li Sz, who, however, ultimately felt jealous of his superior abilities, and ungratefully connived at his murder in 233 B.C. Han Fei’s chief

* It will be seen, from this and other instances which follow, that at this period Taoists and Confucianists studied together in a friendly way, often under the same teachers.

work, in fifty-five sections, is still with us, and intact. Although he is officially classed as a legist, he is, like Shên Puh-hai, treated in the biographical sections of history as a Taoist. He quotes Lao-tsz very largely, and is, in short, one of the chief understudies and developers of Lao-tsz and his book.

The first Emperor, though under strong Taoist influence, and more especially under the influence of the mystic and charlatan developments of later Taoism, was not in the least actively hostile to the Confucianists, until, on the occasion of his visiting the sacred mountain of Ts'i State* in order to celebrate his victories by sacrifice, he was confronted with unwelcome and organized Confucian opposition in the shape of "deputations" and reminders about forms and precedents. It must here be explained that the whole of Chinese literature in those days consisted (so far as we know it) of the classics—as expurgated and edited by Confucius—and of the philosophical works of the "hundred writers" or critics, all of whom, unless they were specialists in medicine, agriculture, war, astrology, and so on, drew lessons from the same old hackneyed events and sayings; and, according to whether they were Confucianists and divine-righters, Taoists and radicals, Legists and absolutists, Cosmogonists, Purists, Denominationalists, or what not, placed interpretations and extracted morals as best conformed with their own particular preconceived views; much as certain didactic moralists amongst ourselves—as, for instance, the late President Krüger—draw illustration and warning from the acts of Rehoboam who made Israel to sin, David and Absalom, Ananias and Sapphira, or Daniel in the lions' den. In his eagerness to establish a new and homogeneous order of things, the Emperor found himself continually thwarted in his pleasures and confused in his schemes by these Jeremiahs; and so in the year 213 B.C. suggested the suggestion of his obsequious

* T'ai Shan, where all emperors of the Han dynasty came to pay homage, even in modern times.

Chancellor Li Sz, he conceived and carried into instant execution the drastic notion of entrapping and putting to death all the learned men he could lay his hands on, besides destroying all the contentious literature. If we reflect that in those days books were simply enormous masses of thin bamboo slips, each slip bearing upon one face only from a dozen to a score of characters, laboriously traced in varnish, and strung together by a thong at one end into chapters, each chapter weighing from two to three pounds, it may be imagined that the possessors of books were few and well-known; in fact, "clerks" were as rare as at the English Conquest, when even Earls and Bishops could not sign their names. Of the classics, the *Book of Changes* was spared,* as it fell under the category of divination or astrology, which science, together with those of medicine and agriculture, was considered harmless, and even useful to the public weal. The Emperor's hatred was more particularly directed against the "*Book of Odes*" and the "*Book of History*," for merely possessing which unprivileged persons were liable to the penalty of death. Nothing is specifically said of Taoist works having been spared; but, on the other hand, there is no mention whatever of any Taoist work or Taoist student having been destroyed. As the new empire was notoriously founded upon the doctrines of the Legist school of Taoists, it is highly probable that Taoist works, especially those of the quietist school, which were careful not to criticise individuals or mention definite dates and places,† were never in any way interfered with.

The first Emperor died before he had been able to consolidate the really great, if violent, work he had planned out and carried to such a successful conclusion. His son, the second Emperor, was not made of his father's stern

* There are four official statements to this positive effect, all before the Christian era.

† Neither Lao-tsz nor Kwan-yin-tsz, his friend, ever names a person or place.

stuff, and the loosely-tied knot soon became undone. The adventurers and generals who fought for the reversion of the rich prize were much too busy with their armies and their commissariat to trouble their minds about morals or philosophy. At last a jovial *viveur* of the people, who had gradually risen from the position of raiser of militia to the dignity of Duke of P'ei and Prince of Han, found himself in the year 202 B.C. firmly seated on the throne as founder of the Han dynasty. Although no single word is anywhere said of his having any Taoist proclivities, it is repeated over and over again that he utterly despised Confucianism and all its ways. Moreover, he gloried in simplicity and rough-and-ready remedies. He declined to wear long robes, to go through any ceremonial forms, to discuss questions of propriety, to bow and scrape, or to listen to goody-goody sermons of any kind. He said: "I have won the empire on my horse's back, and not by listening to your rotten Confucian stuff." "Just so, your Majesty," said the distinguished diplomatist Luh Kia; "but can you also hold it together on horseback?" Before he died the Emperor was to a certain extent tamed. He allowed the Confucianists to arrange a test court for him, and rather enjoyed playing the magnificent. "Now," said he, "now I see what a great thing it is to be Son of Heaven." There was some talk even of a sacrificial hall, and a resuscitation of the old ancestral sacrifices. After his death in 195 B.C. female intrigues about succession and other sordid family disputes placed purely military advisers once more in power during the short reigns of his young legitimate son and of that son's mother, the Dowager; so nothing whatever was said about either political Confucianism or political Taoism for some years. The tyrannical law about the possession of Confucian books was, however, suspended, and no time was lost in hunting for copies of the old literature. Ts'ao Ts'an, the premier or chancellor from 193 to 190 B.C., was not only himself a Taoist and a student of Lao-tsz, governing on Taoist principles, but he intro-

duced to the imperial court an old Ts'i philosopher named Koh Kung, who had received his tuition from the Yoh family, already mentioned, and could trace the teaching through six pedagogues, back even to Lao-tsz himself.

The Emperor Wên Ti was the elder son, but by a concubine, of the founder of the Han dynasty, and came to the throne in 180 B.C.. He is often called the Marcus Aurelius of China, on account of his calm and philosophical disposition. Though decidedly Taoist in his views, he was considered to belong rather to the Denominationalist school of lawyers—that is, to the “equity” men, as distinguished from the more severe and strictly punitive school of Shên Puh-hai and Han Fei. As might be expected from his character, Wên Ti achieved much in the way of law reform, especially in the direction of abolishing mutilation and vicarious punishments.* Though Taoist in his views, he was no enemy of the Confucianists; on the contrary, so soon as ever he heard that a copy of the “Book of History” had been discovered, he sent one of his leading statesmen to look for the old man who had buried it in 213 B.C., and who had since taken advantage of the suspension of the “law against possessing odes and history,” to unearth it, and to teach what survived of it once more in the old states of Ts'i and Lu (now mere provinces). Thus the “Book of History” was the first of the classics to come to light again, and the others gradually reappeared bit by bit in analogous ways, there being a complete record in each case of how they were found, who studied them, who were the best authorities, which the best editions, how the keys were discovered which enabled the antiquated form of writing to be scientifically compared with the simplified forms introduced by the first Emperor; and how Wên Ti, like his father, showed a tendency at least, if no eagerness, to re-admit the half-forgotten Confucian ceremonial and tenets into the Palace on an official basis.

But there was a serious obstacle: *Cherchez la femme*.

* See “Principles of Chinese Law and Equity,” cited above.

His wife, the Empress Tou, was not only an admirer of Lao-tsz's doctrines, but for some political reason not explained in detail she intensely disliked Confucianism. There are over a dozen specific narratives of her behaviour upon this question scattered over various chapters of the great history of Sz-ma Ts'ien (issued 90 B.C.) and that of the early Han dynasty (covering the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 1). She is distinctly stated to have insisted on her son, the Emperor King Ti, son of Wên Ti, and also on her own clansmen of the Tou family who were at court, studying* the sayings of Lao-tsz. The story is over and over again narrated of how during the reign of Wu Ti, her grandson, she consulted a prominent Confucianist about the *book* of Lao-tsz; how she condemned him to risk his life in the wild-boar arena as a penalty for having spoken contemptuously of that *book*, but how he was saved by the sensible Emperor (who regretted, but was powerless to correct the Dowager's anger) lending him a first-class pig-sticking javelin of his own, and thus saving his life. This was all in 139 B.C., or before it. It is also repeatedly narrated how the old Dowager succeeded in ruining the official careers of two other Confucianists, named Wang Tsang and Chao Kwan, who were anxious to reintroduce conservative customs.

As to King Ti himself, an anecdote is told of an argument which took place earlier in his own presence between the Confucianist Yüan Ku (the one who was afterwards condemned to pig-sticking for abusing Lao-tsz's book) and the Taoist scholar Hwang Shêng (the same man who instructed Sz-ma Ts'ien's father Sz-ma T'an in Taoism), and how the level-headed Emperor succeeded in closing the mouths of the disputants by a shrewd witticism about "a man not being a fool for saying half what he thinks." Other anecdotes are related of the same magnanimous Emperor in connection with Taoist statesmen who had

* The word is *tuh*, "to read," and necessarily involves a book, which, moreover, is twice specifically mentioned.

reproved him during his father's reign, and whose outspokenness he forgave when he himself came to the throne.

Wu Ti was the son and successor of King Ti ; it was under his reign that China discovered the Far West, and underwent great political expansion in the south, the Tartar steppes, and the Far East. He was from the beginning inclined to suspicion, credulity, and superstition. Even before he came to the throne, in 141 B.C., the pure old Taoist philosophy had, as we have seen, been sadly wrested beyond its primitive scope by the quacks and the wonder-mongers ; and many are the tales told of the pranks played at court by a succession of impostors who professed to have had spiritual relations with An-k'i-shêng and other more or less innominate Taoists of the first Emperor's time, and even beyond, and whose existence (though most probably genuine) had become still more obscured in men's memories since the destruction of records and learning ; besides, the inveterate quietism and self-effacement of the leading Taoists, many of whom went into hiding when they heard how rude the Han founder was to Confucian scholars, made it often impossible to ascertain their family names even at that time ; and it is so stated. It was in order to counteract the Emperor's superstitious tendencies, and to prove that Lao-tsz was not a miracle worker, but a common man with known and commonplace antecedents like the rest of us, that the historians Sz-ma T'an and his son Sz-ma Ts'ien deliberately consecrated a special chapter of their history book to the Taoists.* Meagre though the personal details of Lao-tsz given to us are, they are yet as full as in the case of many if not most of the old philosophical personages ; Mencius, for instance, of whom even less is recounted. The last thing, at any rate, that Sz-ma Ts'ien can be charged with is want of candour, for he eventually suffered the cruel punishment of castration for

* The masterly translation of this great work by Professor Chavannes, of Paris, has already reached five volumes in 2,000 pages.

his outspokenness before Wu Ti; and not a single Confucian, while they all of them condemn him and his father for ranking Lao-tsz and his doctrine above Confucianism, has a solitary word to say against the historian's fairness and good faith. Though Sz-ma Ts'ien gives us all the "yarns" then in vogue about Lao-tsz, *alias* Lao-tan, and relates naïvely and frankly how he has been confused with his quasi-namesake, the Taoist Lao-lai-tsz, and even with another archivist named Tan, who lived two centuries later than Lao-tsz, he makes it quite clear himself, and the commentators and critics make it clearer still, that the historian wished to, and did successfully in his chapter upon Lao-tsz, distinguish between the small amount of truth procurable and the large amount of popular tradition which smothered that truth. Besides, Sz-ma Ts'ien criticises and quotes whole passages from Lao-tsz's book; moreover, he devotes the introductory parts of two separate chapters to parallel quotations from Confucius and Lao-tsz, in order to contrast their opinions as bearing upon the subject in hand.*

During Wu Ti's reign there were two great collectors of books, both of them imperial princes, reigning semi-independently as satraps of provinces, but under the supremacy of the Emperor in matters of public law and general policy. These princes were Liu Ngan, Prince of Hwai-nan, grandson of the founder Liu Pei; and Liu Hien, Prince of Ho-kien, son of King Ti, and consequently, like Wu Ti himself, great-grandson of the founder. The former of these two has left the greater reputation behind him, partly on account of the sad fate which overtook himself and his father in turn in connection with political intrigue, and partly on account of his having left behind him a philosophical work known as "Hwai-nan-tsz,"† which we

* It has been absurdly argued that Sz-ma Ts'ien never saw the book or believed in its existence.

† The book of Lao-tsz was at first known by no other name than "Lao-tsz," and whenever Han Fei, Wên-tsz, Hwai-nan-tsz, or any other ancient writer quotes it, he says, "Lao-tsz says." In the same way

still possess intact. Probably the prince himself (who is said, however, to have been a very quiet man) had nothing to do with the actual writing or composing of the book which bears his name, and which quotes about sixty or seventy important passages from Lao-tsz in order to point the moral of as many political anecdotes. When he says "hence Lao-tsz says," he means "hence the book of Lao-tsz says," and when he wishes specifically to speak of the man he calls him Lao-tan. He also repeatedly quotes Kwan-tsz, Confucius, Shên-tsz, Zhên-tsz, and most of the other philosophers of the old days, but (so far as I can find) he never names Mencius, nor does Mencius name Lao-tsz. The Chinese historians do not class him as a Taoist at all, but as a *tsai-kia*, "mixed man," or "eclectic." He quotes as much of the cosmogony of Tsou Yen as he does of the quietism of Lao-tsz, and hence has as much right to be considered a Cosmogonist as a Taoist. Nothing could be more inept, therefore, than to argue that Lao-tsz's book is a forgery of the early part of our own era, made up of a re-hash of Han Fei and Hwai-nan-tsz, who quote him so freely literally and by name in the third and second century before our era; not to speak of the fact that Lao-tsz's own specifically-described book was also actually in the hands of the Empress Tou nearly two centuries earlier than our era.

But Hwai-nan's nephew, or cousin once removed, the Prince of Ho-kien,* was even a greater and a more discriminating collector than his senior counted by generations. He entertained an even higher class of literati at his court than his kinsman, and also by the thousand; moreover, he spared no money to search out, carefully recopy for the owner, and himself purchase at any cost, the ancient originals of any and every valuable historical

"Mencius says," or "Confucius says." Later on Lao-tsz's book was called the "Tao-tên Sections," and later still the (two sections) "Tao Classic" and "Tên Classic."

* "Shi-Ki," 59, 1; "Han Shu," 53, 1.

manuscript he could obtain. It is distinctly stated by the historian Pan Ku* that among the rare old books purchased by Prince Ho-kien were copies of Lao-tsz and Mencius, both of them in the ancient character used previously to the destruction of literature in 213 B.C.—and also previously to the existence of the Ts'in dynasty—as also ancient copies of the “Book of History” and the “Book of Rites.” His collection of books is stated to have been superior even to that of the imperial court; and when he visited that court in state, he was able to present to his brother, the Emperor Wu Ti, some fine ancient music; besides introducing to His Majesty an aged musician who was practised in the traditions of the Ngwei court in Mencius' time. Pan Ku's commentator even goes on to say that the earlier historian, Sz-ma Ts'ien, who wrote before him, had omitted to state these facts, and some others like them; so that there is no suspicion attached to them. The Prince of Ho-kien, besides, was himself the author of a work in eighteen sections (bearing his name), called “Imperial Institutes,” and was a great patron of Confucianists and “*Tao* craft”—the last words being used here (and often elsewhere) singularly enough not to mean the “Taoism” of Lao-tsz, but the ancient *Tao* of the patriarchal kings.

The superstitious Emperor Wu Ti, whose credulity had led indirectly to the judicial murder of his own son and heir in connection with some trials for witchcraft, and thus to the intrigues of his learned uncle-cousin, the Prince of Hwai-nan, for the imperial succession, repented him of his many political and “religious” errors before he died, and more especially of the brilliant conquests that have shed such lustre upon his name, but which then seemed to many so unnecessary, and which cost so many myriads of lives, and impoverished the resources of China so grievously. Even during his father King Ti's reign, Confucian statesmen had been patronized at court so far as the Dowager would allow; and during the long reign of Wu Ti (141-87 B.C.)

* Died A.D. 92; author of the “Han Shu.”

they may be said to have gradually ousted the Lao-tsz Taoist element altogether, which had become discredited, partly* because the pure quietism of Lao-tsz had been encrusted by inferior imitators with mysticism, wonder-mongering, and alchemy; partly because Confucianism was found after all to be more practically useful to a now thoroughly centralized power; and partly because long wars, rebellions of satraps, princely insolences, and revolutions had impoverished the capacity for literary productiveness of the leisured classes, and the almost complete rediscovery of the old classics had provided ready-made instruments for more settled government.

The imperial family of Liu (or Han)† really deserves everlasting credit for its literary services. Towards the beginning of the Christian era Liu Hiang, the great-great-grandnephew of the founder, and Liu Hiang's son Liu Hin, had almost entirely reconstituted the *corpus* of then known literature; indeed, the Han historians give us a complete list of the books existing at the imperial court, or at least known there in, say, 10 B.C., the year before Liu Hiang's death. There were 13,269 rolls‡ or chapters, contained in 596 separate works upon thirty-eight classes of subjects, grouped under six heads—classics, writers, poetry, theories, science, and craft. The *Tao-kia*, or Taoist authors, occupied the first place of honour in the second group, coming immediately after the six classics, and the list of prominent *ju*, or Confucianists. Moreover, the Taoist writers are apparently arranged pretty closely according to their dates, there being, it would seem, no book extant at that time (B.C. 10) between the book of Kwan-tsz§ (who may therefore be styled the last of the old *Tao-kia*), and the book of Lao-tsz|| (who, as we have seen, gave a fresh impetus to the ancient *Tao*). There were no fewer than three editions,

* As the Chinese say, "the pearls were confused with fishes' eyes."

† Liu was the family name; Han the principality (and later the dynasty).

‡ Silk, and a sort of "paper" made of waste silk, had partly replaced bamboo slips long before the discovery of paper proper in about A.D. 90.

§ Seventh century B.C.

|| About 500 B.C.

by three separate editors, all named, of Lao-tsz in the imperial library; and Liu Hiang himself had contributed a fourth work, in four sections, called "Liu Hiang's Comments on Lao-tsz." Next in order came the book, in nine sections, of Lao-tsz's own pupil Wên-tsz, who was also the pupil of Confucius' disciple Tsz-hia, and who is mentioned in the well-known work of the philosopher Mêh-tsz or Meccius.* Wên-tsz's own book quotes Lao-tsz; but on account of its relating imaginary ancient conversations, it is characterized in the list as being "apparently a mere borrower from others." Then there were the thirteen sections of Yen Yüan (a pupil of Lao-tsz), who, as already suggested, was perhaps identical with Hwan Yüan, the Taoist found at the courts of Ts'i and Ngwei during the fourth century B.C.; nine sections of the Taoist Kwan-yin-tsz, at whose request Lao-tsz wrote his book; fifty-two sections of the fanciful Taoist Chwang-tsz, who has never had much weight as a philosopher, but, on the other hand, is incomparable as a *litterateur*; and eight sections of the somewhat apocryphal Taoist Lieh-tsz;† twenty-five sections of the Taoist T'ien P'ien, who was also at the court of Ts'i in Mencius' time; and sixteen sections of Confucius' friend, the Taoist Lao-lai-tsz, who was even then mistaken by some ignorant persons for Lao-tsz himself.

When we reflect what are our own difficulties with Greek, Roman, and Hebrew classical and scriptural texts, we can scarcely wonder that these Chinese volumes—rediscovered, reconstituted, and re-edited between 200 B.C. and 10 B.C.; at a time, too, when a new form of script had just come into vogue to suit the newly-invented hair pencil; when bamboo slips were giving way to rolls of silk, and cheap paper was just about to be discovered to replace the

* Mêh-tsz took rank in the old philosophical discussions with Confucius; the expression "K'ung-Mêh" is often used in the sense of the *ju* or Confucianists.

† Many years ago Dr. Eitel said all there was to say about the genuineness or otherwise of this book. Whatever its origin, it certainly existed long before our era, and is characteristic of the times.

expensive silk paper made out of silk waste—should at best leave much to be desired in points of historical perfection, accuracy of text, confusion of text with comment, expurgations and additions, etc. ; but, as the Chinese are absolutely and exclusively the sole authorities for everything that concerns themselves and their neighbours at that remote date, and as their historical conscience and historical scruple have always taken the highest rank for good faith, it is monstrous for Europeans, possessing at best a mere smattering of this vast body of literature, to come forward with the ridiculous theory that neither Lao-tsz nor his book ever in fact existed, but are, on the contrary, mere creatures of imagination and forgery subsequent to the beginning of our era. The real fact is, this outrageous theory was first broached without reflection or ripe study, with the apparent objective of attracting attention and gaining notoriety ; it can only be wantonly defended now by garbling and tampering with texts which are, and always have been, quite convincing to the Chinese themselves.

One of the commentators and critics of the Han history, anterior to the great Yen Shī-ku of the seventh century, was Ts'ui Hao, who lived in the fifth century of our era. He is absolutely the only man in standard history, for 1,000 years after Lao-tsz's death, who has in the remotest degree expressed doubt about Lao-tsz's book. It is related of him that "he had no liking for Lao-Chwang books, was wont to cast them aside impatiently after reading them a little, and declared that such nonsense could not have been written by Lao-tsz, for Lao-tan was able to instruct even Confucius in propriety ; *and of such trashy books it might well be said, as Yüan Ku said in 139 B.C., that they were more suitable for a pack of retainers than for a royal court.*" The fact that Ts'ui Hao says "books of Lao and Chwang," or alternatively* "Chwang and Lao," proves

* The "Pêh Shī" has one form and the "Wei Shu" the other, both works treating of the Tartar dynasties of North China, and Ts'ui Hao's biography being nearly identical in both histories.

that he was thinking of "Lao-Chwangism" generally, and could not have meant exclusively the *Tao-têh* King of Lao-tsz, who lived two centuries before Chwang-tsz; but even if he did, he admits that Confucius knew Lao-tsz, and that Lao-tsz's actual book was in the Empress's hands in 139 B.C. Yet by the suspicious device of omitting the italicized words, it has been pretended that Ts'ui Hao denied the authorship of Lao-tsz, and that the *Tao-têh* King was forged after the Christian era out of materials found in Chwang-tsz, Han Fei, and Hwai-nan-tsz. Moreover, in the same chapter on Ts'ui Hao (but at least a dozen pages further on), in speaking of Ts'ui Hao's calendar, the historian states that "since the founding of the Han dynasty in 200 B.C. up to now, more than ten authors have fabricated spurious calendar systems." By transferring this statement about the fabrication of books on the calendar to the passage on Taoism just cited, and by concealing the fact that the fabrication in question referred solely to calendars, the same untrustworthy special pleading is employed to try and prove on second grounds that the *Tao-têh* King was really and officially stated to have been fabricated at some later date.

The destruction of literature by the first Emperor in 213 B.C. is by no means the only instance in which Chinese records have been destroyed. The collection so painfully made by Liu Ngan, Liu Hien, Liu Hiang, and Liu Hin, was utterly annihilated at the burning of the capital* by rebels in A.D. 23, when Liu Hin himself committed suicide. The second Han dynasty moved the imperial capital to Loh-yang, where it was when Ts'in had conquered the whole empire. This place was similarly destroyed by rebels about A.D. 190; 2,000 carts full of books perished in the flames. After this China was split up for four centuries. During the fifth century, when Ts'ui Hao was serving the Tartars, the southern dynasty of Ts'i (at modern Nanking)

* Ch'ang-an (Si-an Fu). The founder, Liu Pang, did not consider himself worthy enough to make Loh-yang his capital in 203 B.C.

lost 90,000 rolls of literature in a palace conflagration. During the Sui dynasty, a century later, several hundred thousand rolls were lost by shipwreck whilst being removed in boats. Nearly 200 years later, again, 80,000 rolls perished at the sacking of the capital* by the Turkish rebel Anlushan; and once more, in A.D. 880, twelve warehouses full of books were lost at the destruction of the same capital by the rebel Hwang Ch'ao. But, of course, in a vast country like China it was always possible for patient collectors to do what is now being done again by Shanghai printers—to search for, pay well for, and reprint old books.

* Ch'ang-an once more.

THERAPEUTICS OF CLIMATE.

BY GEORGE BROWN, M.D.

THE Therapeutics of Climate are thoroughly examined by Dr. W. R. Huggard,* who has taken considerable pains in giving a detailed account of the chemistry of the air with the addition of the recent elements, argon, neon, krypton, and xenon, and the component parts of the air are, as a rule—with slight variations—everywhere the same. The old elements of oxygen and nitrogen head the list, and the new element of argon with carbonic acid at a great distance follow, and the percentage of each by weight and volume are together : oxygen, 44·18 ; nitrogen, 55·50 ; argon, 2·24 ; carbonic acid, 0·08. Other constituents are present in the shape of watery vapours, ozone, and peroxide of hydrogen, with other volatile impurities arising from the earth as micro-organisms, etc. The earth with the air is simply a large laboratory working with chemical affinities that keep the air in normal proportions—the winds and the diffusion of gases acting as a fan to keep it in motion.

The temperature of the air is dependent on the sun, which, when placed perpendicularly, gives the greatest heat-supply. A great many natural agencies are at work in increasing or lowering or modifying the sun's heat : the length of time the sun shines over a place, moisture in the air, the temperature of the Gulf Stream are great products in producing warmth. When the heat of the sun is taken away, radiation makes the ground cool. The wind, also, from the north and south poles produces cold weather in the places nearest to them. The humidity of the air is by itself an essential part, quite distinct from rain or clouds, etc., and resembles a gas by its power of expansion, etc., and easily

* "A Handbook of Climatic Treatment, including Balneology," by William R. Huggard, M.A., M.D., etc. London : Macmillan and Co. Limited ; New York : The Macmillan Company, 1905.

becomes liquid according to heat or cold. Other principles affecting climate are clouds, fog, dew, and rain.

It will surprise many to know that a full-grown man supports a weight of air equal to between 12 and 14 tons, and the pressure of the air at sea-level gives 15 lbs. to the square inch, the total superficial area of the body giving its weight between 12 and 14 tons. Tables are given showing the weight of dry and moist air, also the difference of pressure at different heights, etc., and the influence winds have on the earth's surface.

With regard to electricity, it is stated that the air is, as a rule, positively electrified and the earth negatively, and it is at its maximum in winter and its minimum in summer, and the effects which the alteration of the climate on the earth's surface produce are carefully detailed.

In Part II. the physiology (and pathology?) of climate is discussed. The production of heat in the human body and the conservation of energy are touched upon, the constant renewal of the air over the earth, the use of oxygen to the animal economy, the safe use of nitrogen for workers under water, and other agents affecting the composition and purity of the air, are mentioned.

A very important chapter on the influence of temperature on metabolism is given, heat being the agency at work : the oxidation of the tissues is the chief agent in producing it, and the unit of heat is equal to 1 gramme of water raised to 1 degree Centigrade and is called a caloric. One thousand five hundred calorics are produced in a child in twenty-four hours, and about 3,000 in an active man, and if the heat were not dispersed as soon as it is formed, a speedy death would be the result. The liver supplies the warmest blood next to that in the brain. Oxygen is the chief factor in renewing the tissues and keeping the organism in health ; the other aerial agents are of little use. Many interesting experiments are mentioned giving the rise and fall of temperature owing to life in a warm climate or cold one, with the results following, and the optimum of temperature

in man is stated by Dr. Ranke to be from 59° to 68° F. The effects of great heat and cold are detailed with many interesting experiments relating to the disastrous effects of a very high or low temperature affecting all the organs of the body and their functions.

The influence of atmospheric humidity is analyzed and its effects on the body carefully noted. With active exercise the body gets hot and perspiration sets in, and if care be not taken a chill may arise ending in an attack of rheumatism of different forms. A table is given showing the results of excretion of water from the body during different conditions in fasting and rest, diet and work, and its influence on the lungs, digestive and nervous system, etc. A chapter on the influence of the pressure of the air gives an account of the first barometer showing the air had weight in 1643; in 1783 balloons were invented, and in 1839 Triger's apparatus allowed men to work under water by means of compressed air. In 1861 Dr. Jourdanet, a French physician practising in Mexico, published an account of the country and of the diseases to which its inhabitants were liable. He thought that the inhabitants of the mountain suffered from an insufficiency of oxygen, which lowered the quantity necessary for the red-blood corpuscles. Many observations are given according to the effect of the pressure of the air, with reference to the lungs, the heart, and its effect on diseases of the lungs and digestive organs and nervous system, and on the skin giving rise to surface anemia.

The influence of light on vegetable and animal life is next examined. Special rays of the spectrum producing different effects and its marvellous success in the treatment of lupus has introduced a new and most valuable agent in the cure of this terrible malady. The Jewish and gipsy races are said to be least affected by change of climate.

Part III. has reference to climates and health resorts. The equator is stated to be the starting-point of classification of climates, and they are divided into: (1) Tropical;

(2) Sub-tropical; (3) Temperate; (4) Cold; (5) Arctic. Climates range from tropical to arctic; two submarine, bordering the sea; three inland (*a.* lowland; *b.* medium altitude; *c.* high altitude). These five groups are classified according to the temperature given by the thermometer and the effect heat or cold has on the body, producing tissue change. Hot climates give a temperature under Group 1 of 71.6° F. and over; Group 2, 60.8° to 71.6° F.; Group 3, 48.2° to 60.8° F.; Group 4, 33.8° to 48.2° F.; Group 5, under 33.8° F.

Various select towns are mentioned, giving instances applicable to each group, with alterations referring to different periods of the year. The twenty-three chapters on health resorts, taking up 118 pages of the whole book, must be considered the most valuable and useful of all its contents from the physician's and patient's point of view. Commencing with Egypt the author gives a detailed account of the various health resorts likely to be of value in alleviating, strengthening, or restoring the shattered frame of the invalid in pursuit of the restoration of his health. The chief difficulty in selecting a suitable climate will be the large choice which the author places before the expectant recuperant, though this may be met in some measure by the advice of his own physician and friends, who may have visited the most likely resorts, and most of all by carefully reading the last chapter in the book, which gives a short recapitulation of the essential points to be considered before the journey is undertaken.

Chapter XIX. refers solely to the British Isles, and is the most interesting of the whole book, and is well worthy of careful perusal. The author states that "In physiological action as in temperature the climate of the British Isles lies midway between the warm and the cold climates. For the healthy active race that occupies these islands probably no other type of climate on the face of the earth would be more suitable. The heat, even in summer, is seldom oppressive in comparison with the summer of Southern Europe; nor

is the climate during winter so intense as to blunt or paralyze the activity of the nervous system. The great heat of tropical countries and the severe cold of the arctic winter both alike are apt to have a depressing or enervating effect. The climate of the British Isles, while not without blemishes of its own, is at least free from these drawbacks. The cloud-covered skies, the frequent rains, and the high relative humidity of the atmosphere tend, perhaps, to produce a sober or gloomy state of mind as contrasted with the light-heartedness of southern nations. The mental reserve of the English and of the Scotch must not, however, be put down wholly to climate. Ireland has a climate not less humid than has England, but her inhabitants vie with the southern nations in lightness and brightness of spirits. The health of the British Isles compares favourably with that of other European countries except Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The mortality of the United Kingdom for 1896 was 17.1, as compared with 18.4 for Switzerland, 20.2 for France, 20.8 for Germany, and 24.2 for Italy. This lower mortality in the United Kingdom can, however, hardly be ascribed entirely or chiefly to climate. The main cause of the greater healthfulness of the British Isles is the greater attention paid to sanitary and hygienic arrangements. The death-rate in England and Wales from tubercular disease has diminished enormously in several European countries, but especially in England. The mortality from phthisis in England in 1896 was 1307 per million living—little more than half what it was forty years ago, and much less than in any Continental country to-day. Typhoid fever has diminished in like manner. Other diseases have not been so favourable. In 1896 the deaths from rheumatism and rheumatism of the heart were, for England, 115; for Russia, 54; for Italy, 50; and for Switzerland, 26 per million.” Whether the climate or the soil or excess of animal food or some pathogenic organism in the air may be to blame for this great difference we must leave the physiologist and path

Part IV.—baths and mineral waters—takes 113 pages, and mineral water is defined as applicable to any water that differs from ordinary drinking water. Since helium and radium have been discovered in Bath and other springs, baths containing these elements may be improved, but as yet the author states there is no proof. Common water contains 59 to 68 per cent. of the body and may be regarded as food, and a list is given of the different kinds of potable therapeutic waters, and their different properties in European health resorts are given. Other waters are mentioned with their special peculiar ingredients.

Part V. includes therapeutics of climate and mineral waters, occupying ninety-one pages, which brings to a close this large and well-written volume full of research and information ; and this last part is of especial value in calling attention to certain chronic, troublesome, and dangerous disorders, which, according to the author, have the best means of cure by climatic change and treatment by mineral waters. Such diseases are obesity, anæmia, gout, rheumatism, rickets, tuberculosis, etc., and according to his opinion, though the diseases mentioned may not be successfully overcome in every case, yet “when the remedies can be employed, a satisfactory result is more readily, more agreeably, and more surely obtained than by the usual methods of home treatment.”

With regard to the ocean as a health resort, the author gives a too favourable view of the life of the invalid on board ship. At the beginning of the voyage it is all a chance if he gets a good berth ; he may be cabined, cribbed, confined in a small wooden cupboard with four or five other passengers whose ages may be from fourteen to eighty. His berth may give him many companions in the shape of cockroaches or an occasional rat ; or his lot may be cast in a cabin near the cook-room, where the heat from the cooking apparatus will raise the temperature of his berth to 90° or more. During the night, if he be of a nervous temperament, he will lie awake from the snoring or grunting

or groaning of his fellow-passengers—moreover, his own breath with the exhalations of his comrades cannot be advantageous for the healthy or sick.

The allocation of berths ought to be more carefully attended to, and the doctor on board the vessel should have the power of preventing the mixing of the invalids with the robust, as it is quite absurd to think that a steward or purser can have the nous or discretion with or without seeing the sick passenger to put him in a suitable cabin to aid his recovery to health.

It is impossible to prevent feeling some regret that these foreign health resorts and means of cure by them are entirely out of the reach of the poorer classes, though to some extent hydropathic and other kindred sanatoria with modern appliances for prevention and cure are increasing in number within the three countries, and many are doing excellent work. In finishing this sketch of the labours of the author, he is to be congratulated as having produced the best book up to date that has yet been written on this subject, with a fulness of detail as to the means of cure and procedure in attaining that end, citing the views of the best authorities, ancient and modern, on the subject, and last, but not least, giving at the end an excellent and copious index most useful to the reader.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Monday, July 2, 1906, a paper was read by S. S. Thorburn, Esq., I.C.S. (Retired), late Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, on "An Indian Militia for India's Defence."* Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair. The following, amongst others, were present: Lieutenant-General Sir Alexander Badcock, K.C.B., C.S.I., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, Surgeon-General Maunsell, C.B., Hon. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Colonel Kemball, C.I.E., Major Murray, Mrs. Thorburn, Mrs. Glass, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. Arathoon, Miss Delaney, Miss K. Delaney, Mr. F. H. Skrine, J.P., Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. F. C. Channing, Mr. C. W. McMinn, Sardar Arjan Singh, Mr. Yusuf Ali, I.C.S., Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mr. A. Rogers, Mr. D. N. Reid, Mr. Krishna Kawal, Mr. Bashir Ahmad, Mr. Shakir Ali, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. Mahomed Din, Mr. Ernest Herwitz, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Dr. Bhabha, Mr. K. A. Bhojwain, Mr. Theodore Morison, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

The paper was then read.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: Ladies and gentlemen, the few observations which, as chairman, I feel it incumbent on me to make will not detain you long, and I speak first instead of last because I wish to suggest that, as this is an exceedingly delicate question, the discussion should be, as far as possible, confined to the lines which our lecturer's exceedingly able paper has laid down.

Speaking for the East India Association, I do not know any subject which is more appropriate than the one which has been selected by Mr. Thorburn, and I am exceedingly glad to see that we have present so many persons of leading and intelligence to listen to this most interesting paper. I have always been in sympathy with the view which Mr. Thorburn has expressed, and on many occasions, both in writing and at the Central Asian Society, I have advocated some action on the lines which he has here suggested. The notes which I have taken as I have listened to the paper are to this effect: Is there any other real solution of this ever-present danger and difficulty to England and India than the one suggested by the paper? All I can say is, if there be such a solution it has never been brought to my notice. I do not doubt that the action of England would be far more effective, and on a far larger scale, than Mr. Thorburn has thought it safe here to estimate. In the case of any vital emergency I have not the least doubt that England and her colonies would together

* See this paper in our last (July) issue.

place in India quite as large an army as was placed in South Africa during the Boer War. That we may accept as a matter of course ; but it would be an operation of enormous expense, and would denude England and her possessions of their proper and normal defence. The proposals which Lord Roberts has laid before the country are excellent, and so far as they deal with the instruction of the youth of England in the use of arms, may be carried out ; but more than this I do not think Lord Roberts will be able to effect in England. He is, and will remain, *vox clamantis in deserto*—a voice of one crying in the wilderness. The English people, with their long traditions of independence, will never approve of conscription, and they will not take upon themselves the burden of any form of military service unless they are compelled to do so under lessons so severe and pressure so deadly that we may thank Heaven that we have escaped them so far.

Then with regard to the question which has been alluded to by our lecturer of the Japanese alliance, I am sure all those who are as well acquainted with India as are most of the English and Indian gentlemen present in this room, will agree that it may be absolutely put aside. (Hear, hear.) Our influence and our prestige in India would be absolutely ruined if we were to look for one moment to Japan for any assistance in India itself against external enemies. (Hear, hear.) No one is more enamoured than myself of the Japanese alliance, and no one has a higher estimation of that fine people ; but we do not want them in India. To bring them for military purposes of defence to India would be a far greater danger than any possible advantage their presence there could give us. Let that be thoroughly understood by the English people. If they think that they are leaning upon the Japanese alliance to defend India, let me tell them in the name of all those here in this room that they are leaning upon a broken reed which will pierce their hand. (Hear, hear.)

The paper has dealt, in no unfriendly way, with the Russian question ; and I, who have never in my life been a Russophobist, would desire to speak of it in an equally impersonal and friendly manner. Russia has advanced in Asia, as we have advanced, very much by the pressure of circumstances, and without, let us say, any malice of intention. If it be so, we need not regard it. But Russia is not the only country which in the future—not to-day, but ten years hence, or a quarter of a century hence—we may have cause to look upon with anxiety. For myself, I consider that the danger to England in the East is far greater from Germany than it is from Russia. I think Russian projects against India are very much in the air. I think that German ambitions in the Persian Gulf, in Turkey, on the Baghdad Railway are very pressing and very living things, and that we shall see a great development in them in the course of the next few years. However, these questions are by the way. The question which the lecturer specially dealt with was this, and I would merely give my opinion regarding it by saying that the axiom by which we must determine it is this : India must be defended in India itself, and by Indians (Hear, hear) ; and secondly, I would say, as another axiom, that we must so govern India that the people may trust us, and that we show we have trust and con-

fidence in the people. That is an axiom without understanding which and applying which we can never successfully hold India, and we can never govern it with satisfaction to ourselves or to the Indian people.

Then another point I have noted is this: We who have lived in the Punjab—and there are many Punjabis present—know (and I am sure I have said it a hundred times in articles and on platforms) that the people of the Punjab as soldiers are equal to any troops in the world. I am certain of this. I have served with them in the field; I have served with them in cantonments; they have been my escort in all sorts of difficult places; and no one has a higher estimation of them or, as a civilian, I think I may say, a greater knowledge of them than I have myself. They are the equals of any troops, whether they be Russians or whether they be Japanese. I look upon the Punjabis, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, and the Ghoorikas as holding as high a place in the fighting races of the world as any people—either European or Asiatic—who are fighting as soldiers to-day. With regard to confidence in the people of India, much has already been done, and many steps have been taken, I think, in the right direction. We in the Punjab were the first to employ—with, of course, the consent of the Imperial Government—native troops in the first Afghan campaign, and the contingents from our Punjab native states—Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Kapurthara, Bahawalpur, Faridkot, and others—served with distinction in both Afghan wars.

There are many difficulties in the scheme which the lecturer has proposed; but you know with people of great intelligence difficulties are only made to be overcome; and I do not believe that if you start on the bed-rock of confidence and trust in the people of India there are any difficulties which cannot be easily overcome. That is the foundation of the whole scheme. If you do not trust the people of India, if you do not believe, as I fully believe, in their loyalty to the King, the Emperor of India, however much they may choose to criticise the local government of India, then this scheme is only fit for the waste-paper basket. I know that loyalty to the King-Emperor does exist; that the people, and especially the peasantry, of India feel it very largely; and on this subject I would refer you to a most clever and interesting work which I was reading only last night, by a gentleman whom I had the honour to bring to and introduce to India many years ago—Mr. Theodore Morison; and you will see fully the direction in which his ideas coincide on this point with my own. That is all I wish now to say. There is no immediate danger to India, nor may there be for many years to come; but I do think this: that if we realize, and if the authorities realize, and act generally on their knowledge, the heart-loyalty of the great mass of the people of India to the King, at any rate; and if they utilize, as they may very profitably utilize, the enormous latent resources of the fighting military races of India, then I am certain that India will be for all time secure against attack by any European Power, whatever that Power may be. (Applause.)

MR. FRANCIS H. SKRINE expressed some surprise that a colleague of Mr. Thorburn's reputation, who had made a special study of Indian warfare, should remain under the obsession of the Russian invasion bogey.

That phantom had twice involved Great Britain in costly and unprofitable wars, and had as often brought us to the verge of hostilities with a Power which ought to be her fellow-worker in the task of civilizing Asia. Russia's instinctive craving for ice-free ports had pushed her towards the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and the Pacific Ocean. Everywhere she had found escape from an impossible position blocked by English jealousy. Her statesmen, therefore, sought for a point of contact with British Indian spheres of influence in view of applying counter-irritation should this dog-in-the-manger policy be persisted in. This motive was at the bottom of Russia's steady advance towards the North-West Frontier. But there was an immense difference between fomenting unrest in that borderland and undertaking an invasion of Indian soil. Mr. Thorburn had ably stated the physical difficulties attending such an enterprise. But in the event of success, Russia would have to face the problem of governing three hundred millions of Asiatics, whose ignorance of Malthusian doctrines had placed them within the grip of pestilence and famine. On what resources could she draw for providing the vast mechanism of Indian administration? She had no overgrown middle class which needed an outlet for redundant energies, and her domestic affairs would keep her fully occupied for many years to come. The speaker adjured his hearers to banish panic fear from their minds, and not to "cross the bridge before reaching the banks of the river." The surest bulwark of British India was not a numerous army, but a loyal and contented people.

Moreover, many elements making for future discord existed beneath the apparently placid surface of the empire. There was the rapid growth of an educated class. Many thousands of Indians believed that the highly anomalous conditions evolved from eighteenth-century anarchy could not long endure, and that a community welded together by common language, culture, and ideals, was already fit for self-government. In a generation or so these thousands would become millions, no longer inarticulate. Islam was in a state of suppressed volcanic energy from Morocco to the Celebes; Wahabi-ism was raising its head in Eastern Bengal and Arabia; the Marathas of Central and Southern India were highly organized; the hordes of religious mendicants were hostile to our rule. The speaker believed that to arm and discipline a horde of peasants would involve a repetition of the blunder perpetrated by the British Ministry in 1781. The Irish Volunteer movement of that year brought England to her knees, and forced her to concede complete autonomy under Protestant ascendancy. This ill-timed measure produced the horrors of 1798, and a union which was destructive of mutual confidence and goodwill.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that a popular force, on the lines so ably laid down by Mr. Thorburn, would be an admirable source of supply for the regular army. Marshal Saxe's victories during the war of the Austrian Succession were largely due to his militia. The English, on the other hand, had allowed their ancient constitutional force to become obsolete, and were compelled to fall back on foreign mercenaries. Under existing circumstances, however, a provincial militia in India must

be on a very restricted scale, and be closely linked with local battalions of the regular army.

COLONEL KEMBALL was afraid he could not offer any useful opinion on the subject of the paper as he was not an officer of the Indian army ; but he thought the view put forward by Mr. Thorburn was extremely interesting. No one who had not actually served with Indian troops and taken part in their training could say whether such a scheme could be worked in the way proposed. Whether Indian peasants could after a few months' training be made into a useful force was a matter as to which he personally was incapable of judging ; but he should like to hear an officer of the Indian army speak upon it.

COLONEL C. E. YATE : I cordially endorse the proposal made by the lecturer for the raising of a Militia force for Indian defence. What has been said about the fighting qualities of the Punjabis applies equally to the Frontier tribesmen with whom I have been more directly in touch of late years, and I have long been an advocate of giving increased service to these tribesmen. What we in Baluchistan call Levy Corps Service is, practically speaking, the same as the militia service proposed by the lecturer. In Baluchistan we have two levy corps—one in the north, composed principally of Pathans, known as the Zhob Levy Corps, and one in the south, composed of Brahuis and Baluchis of Kalat, known as the Mekran Levy Corps. These corps are practically militia, the only difference being that they are embodied all the year round, while an ordinary militia regiment is embodied only for a short time in the year. This latter system has been followed to a certain extent in the Transport Camel Corps raised of late years in Baluchistan, where each troop, both men and camels, serve only for a portion of the year, and spend the remainder of the year at their homes. The militia system of simply embodying the men for a short period at the slack time of the year would answer admirably amongst the Frontier tribesmen, who object in peace time to serve for any lengthy period far away from their homes. There is a grand reserve of good men in Baluchistan, with whom local militia service would be highly popular, and who, if enlisted and trained, would form a valuable and trustworthy reserve in time of war. The army in India cannot possibly be decreased, and, in fact, it ought to be increased, but we have not the money to increase it largely without undue strain on the resources of the country.

I am of opinion, therefore, that the Indian army should be largely supplemented by militia corps such as those proposed by the lecturer, and these corps should be raised wherever the local conditions and people offer a good ground for such recruitment. Baluchistan is one of those grounds, and doubtless many other suitable grounds would soon be found when once the system had been started. The Punjab Frontier force was practically a permanently embodied militia force when first raised, and what a grand service that force proved itself to be. A Militia force now raised similarly under the civil power, but only to be embodied for a small part of the year, ought to prove a similar success.

The difficulty regarding British officers has been touched upon by the

lecturer, and doubtless a small number of British officers, such as a commandant and an adjutant, are a necessity to start each regiment, but even this difficulty and expense may be solved in time. Let us remember what grand service has been done for us by native officers in olden days, and what is now being done again. Look what the commandants of the Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikanir, and other Imperial service troops have done for us in China, on the frontier, and in Somaliland. Look what that grand old soldier Sirdar Muhammad Aslam Khan did as commandant of the Khaibar Rifles, and what a reserve of young men we are now training up in the Imperial Cadet Corps. We want an outlet for all these young men, and the proposed militia supplies the very thing. The day has come when we must provide a military career for the ambitions and the military talent that we undoubtedly have at our disposal in India and which, if given the required career will, I believe, prove itself as loyal and courageous as any in the world.

To fight for the Empire is the ambition of all Indian soldiers, and I welcome anything that gives them the chance of doing so. I welcomed Lord Curzon's Imperial Cadet Corps scheme as the first step in the right direction, and I look to see that scheme slowly but surely largely developed. I hope the day is not far distant when I shall see the young Baluch chiefs, for instance, properly educated and capable of taking their place in the ranks of the Empire's defenders, each chief or scion of a chief commanding the regiment or company of his own particular tribesmen. A few British officers will doubtless be required as organizers, but beyond that I look to no great expense under that head; and I see no reason why the proposed militia organization should not eventually be developed something on the lines of the present Imperial Service Corps—that is to say, with Indian sirdars and gentlemen of good family as commandants and officers, and the British officers limited more or less to inspecting officers as in the case of native states' troops. Such militia corps must naturally remain a local and territorial force solely under the orders of the civil power; each corps, in fact, under its own local government, as in the case of native states, but still liable to be called out for military service in any part of the world in case of war.

A great advantage of this militia service on the frontier will be to bind the frontier tribesmen more closely to us. On the frontier we must remember that every man who is not with us is against us. If a man pays revenue or performs service he acknowledges himself with us, but if he does neither he is a free lance who is against us. He owes no allegiance to us and gives none. Militia service will be the one thing therefore to draw the frontier tribesmen more fully into allegiance, and that allegiance we can reckon upon in all ordinary circumstances. Nothing but some extraordinary upheaval, as in 1897, is likely to upset it, and when we trusted the heir to the throne to the guardianship of the Khaibar Rifles, we proved that our trust and confidence in that corps was not shaken despite the tragedy of 1897.

Whether it will be possible to affiliate these militia battalions to Indian regiments of the line as the militia battalions in England are affiliated to

their regular territorial regiments is a question for future consideration. I am in favour of local and territorial regiments myself, and I hope to see the Indian army more localized in future than it is at present. Meanwhile, I wish all success to the proposed Indian Militia for India's defence. There can be no doubt whatever that India at present is not properly insured, and that we must have more men, and a militia system seems to promise the best and cheapest way of getting those men.

MR. YUSUF ALI said the subject was one of extreme interest. After the speeches of experts on the subject it would ill become him to trust his own opinion, but he should like to call attention to the fact that there was already a precedent for the proposal, apart from the one pointed out by Colonel Yate as regards the frontier levy corps. In Bombay and Poonah the Parsees were, under certain conditions, allowed to raise volunteer corps for themselves. That to a certain extent supplemented the statement in the lecture that Christianity and European descent were necessary for enlistment in the volunteers. Those volunteer corps had been a success, so that in trying the experiment, if other conditions were found to be favourable, it could not be said they would be acting without any precedent. As to the larger question whether it would be practicable, and whether it would add to the defensive force of the Empire, he could not attempt to speak. As to Mr. Skrine's reference to the volcanic state of Islam and the Wahabi movement, as far as he was able to judge the Wahabi movement as a political factor was absolutely dead in India. Mr. Luigi Villari was recognised as an authority on the political questions of the border lands of Europe and Asia, and in discussing the riots in Baku and the Tartar and Armenian disputes which had taken place last year, and might occur again, he had recorded it as his deliberate opinion that anything in the nature of a pan-Islamic movement to combine the political forces that existed in Mussulman countries was absolutely nonexistent; and he thought he would be right in saying that, if anything, the Mussulmans further East than India were even in a less favourable position to dream of political designs. So that anything like a volcanic state of Islam, as far as it referred to the world's politics, only existed in the imagination of those who constantly pictured Islam as opposed either to Christianity or to Christian powers. Islam as a religion was not antagonistic to Christianity, and Islam as a political force was quite well able to exist and exert its influence without in any way disturbing the *status quo*. In conclusion he desired to thank the lecturer for the valuable contribution he had made to the study of a question which bristled with difficulties, and which might possibly lead to a successful experiment by the Government of India.

MR. CHARLES W. McMINN said he agreed generally with the statements made by the lecturer. During his forty-five year's residence in India he had noticed that the Government were far too chary about making experiments. He thought that that attitude probably proceeded from the theory that the Government could do no wrong, and therefore they would not try experiments unless perfectly certain they would succeed. Mr. Thorburn had said that the basis of our rule in India must be not only justice,

but the power to enforce order ; and that we could no longer rule India as masters, and therefore it would be a very proper course indeed to associate the men of India with ourselves in a scheme of frontier defence. Everything said by Mr. Thorburn on that point was extremely wise ; but in the last part of his paper he appeared to expect that a very large proportion of British officers would be required for the militia, although at first only two per regiment would be required. He (Mr. Mc Minn) did not think that many native gentlemen were aware how often, from the days of Lord Hastings down to the time of Lord Curzon, the Governors-General had been willing and anxious to make the experiment of allowing the gentlemen of India larger scope in receiving commissions in the army. It was a very difficult question, no doubt, but they found men like the Marquis of Hastings, Sir Henry Lawrence, Lord Lytton, and Lord Curzon, strongly of opinion that the natives of India should be allowed a much higher place in the military service of the country than they had hitherto held. No two men could differ more widely in character, experience, and careers than Henry Lawrence and Lord Lytton, yet in this matter they agreed. (Hear, hear.) He had personally studied the subject for many years, and had discussed it with military men, and they had always said, "You cannot trust the native leaders by themselves." He would only mention one famous Mussulman, Mahommed Yusuf, one of the finest soldiers who ever fought in India. Unfortunately he fell on evil days, and was ultimately blown from a gun ; but, at the same time, he was a man who for many years was in command of large bodies of native soldiers, and on many occasions he had Europeans under him, and always distinguished himself. When they were saying they were going to trust the people of India, he thought they ought to trust not only the peasants, as militia, but also the native gentlemen, noblemen, and princes ; and they ought to treat them not only as subjects, but as comrades on the field, as Colonel Younghusband had said a short time ago. It was a very grave thing that where the Civil Service had been thrown open to the natives, where they found a native Chief Justice sitting in Bengal, that there was not one single native military officer in India drawing more than 350 rupees a year. Surely that was a subject that should be dealt with ; surely the nobility of India should be able to fight for their country, to have for their motto *pro aris et focis*. Therefore, the only hostile criticism he had to make about the paper was that, when Mr. Thorburn said the militia should be officered largely by British officers, he (Mr. Mc Minn) thought that they should be officered largely by native gentlemen.

MR. MARTIN WOOD queried how the term "militia" could be applied to Indian conditions. Besides, in our native Indian armies have we not, with their practical system of reserves and pensioners, almost all that is needed ? He thought that we already had as large a number of Indian soldiers as could be utilized ; and that, instead of seeking to increase the number of men under arms, it would be far more important and desirable, in the present state of India, to try and increase the number of artisans and men of that character. Already the managers of our great Indian railways find difficulty in getting men for their locomotive and

other workshops. Though this militia argument was the chief object of the paper, the larger portion was occupied, as leading up to it, with a wider and different subject—namely, the old speculative question, “Can the Muscovites make any impression on our present impregnable frontier?” In my opinion, certainly not—unless we pursue recent policy in locating many of our outposts and forces outside that safe barrier, as Mr. Thorburn seems partly to advocate. In the former part of this essay, which is skilfully framed and well written, the survey of trans-frontier policy, since the making of the Second Afghan War—ending with the words “for many years to come, impotent for serious aggression”—is a useful historical summary, though it contains one erroneous statement—namely, that the Amir Shere Ali in 1877 was “negotiating a treaty” with a Russian envoy at Kabul. Mr. Thorburn’s argument in this large portion of the paper is so full and frank that it might be confuted by citations from the writer’s own admissions in the course of it. And the tone and trend of its few exaggerations render it a timely contrast with recent feverish ebullitions by insatiable advocates of the Forward Policy—including Lord Kitchener’s own scant references to it in the course of his despatches in the Blue-Book last year, when the immediate object to be served was that of restricting or destroying the civil autonomy of the Indian Government. Here, one general remark: Why should alarmist writers take such pains to invite or encourage Russian schemers by trying to make out how easily their supposed designs might be carried out?

The CHAIRMAN said that when in his opening remarks he had spoken with approbation of Mr. Morison’s book, he was not aware that Mr. Morison was present, but he was glad to have been able to bear testimony to a book which everyone who loved India should read. Mr. Morison for a long time was the head of the great native college at Aligarh, and he had there gained a knowledge of the upper classes of India from an educational point of view which probably was unsurpassed by that of any other Englishman in India to-day, and he should therefore be pleased if Mr. Morison would favour them with a few observations.

MR. THEODORE MORISON said he wished to associate himself with what Mr. McMinn had said. It seemed to him that the crux of this question and the point from which it would be considered by almost all educated Indians, would be the question of the officers. It seemed to him that a militia was successful only so far as it was supported by the opinion of the country. A militia was, more than any other force, the expression of the wishes of the inhabitants to defend their own country. That was the sense in which the militia, which now, unfortunately, had been allowed to drop, existed in England. They would remember that Parliament in the old days was always inclined to regard the militia as the constitutional defence of the country, and the standing army as that which the King desired to keep up for his own ends. He thought it was most unfortunate that we looked now upon the standing army in England as the true English defence. To be successful the militia of a country must represent the feeling of a country. It should not be in any sense a mercenary force, but the expression of the wishes of the people to defend themselves. Unless

the force were so constituted that the leading men in the country had an honourable position in it, he did not believe the militia would be worth anything. It would not have the sentimental or patriotic feeling, without which a militia would not be a success. The reception that would be given to Mr. Thorburn's paper by the Indian public would be dependent very much on the consideration of that particular point where he suggested that this force was to be officered by a very small number, but still officered by Englishmen, and that the condition of things which existed in the regular army would be continued. The subject, he agreed, was a very difficult one, but as the lecturer had introduced it, he must say that was the central point around which controversy would rage.

MR. ARTHUR SAWTELL thought they were all agreed as to the desirability of adopting some such scheme as that embodied in Mr. Thorburn's proposal, and it was a pity that in discussing that and similar questions there was a tendency to drag in catch phrases, such as "the bogey of Russian invasion," because such expressions did not enable them to get any further in the consideration of the question. The question of an invasion by Russia was not the question at all. The question was, Whether Russia could do us any harm by assuming such a position outside India that she would be able to threaten our prestige and disturb the balance of power in the Middle East? He had paid some attention to the question of our defences in India, and he thought the balance of opinion was against the comfortable idea that we could sit down on our side of the Indus, "the world forgetting, by the world forgot." The question of Russian invasion was not the question, but whether Russia would not, if she had the opportunity, disturb our equilibrium and disturb the equanimity of the Indian people by creating a new equilibrium outside India? That was the practical question on which the proposal of Mr. Thorburn had a most important bearing. It was quite evident that something must be done, as the present numerical state of our forces in India was utterly inadequate for contingencies that might very well arise. (Applause.)

MR. T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I.: Having been for some twelve years Secretary to the Punjab Government, and consequently knowing something of the Punjab Frontier and its administration, I do not like the discussion to end without saying a few words. Let me say, then, that I agree generally with the views expressed by the writer of the paper, and my friend, Sir L. Griffin, in regard to the question before us—that is to say, whether it is desirable that our military strength on the frontier should be supplemented by a militia raised from the martial tribes of the locality. For the reasons stated it seems very desirable, both from a military and political point of view, and there can be no doubt that the measure would be popular with the tribes concerned. Let me add that the idea is not a novel one. Years ago there was a frontier militia in connection with the late Punjab Frontier Force—what has become of it now I don't know—and as Colonel Yate has reminded us, local levies—thanks to the late Sir R. Sandeman—play an important part in maintaining peace in Baluchistan. With regard to the remarks of Mr. Morison, I presume that it is intended that the officers should be local chiefs—only

a few being Englishmen. It would be interesting to hear the opinion of military experts on the subject of the paper—that is, of military experts, with knowledge of the frontier and its races, and acquainted with army administration. Meanwhile, Mr. Thorburn has done good service in bringing forward this question, and deserves our hearty thanks for his able and useful paper. I forbear touching upon the controversial questions which have been raised during the discussion.

Mr. THORBURN, in replying on the discussion, said he had been pleased to hear that the privilege of raising a volunteer corps had been extended to the Parsees. He thought he had been a little misunderstood with regard to the number of reinforcements that could be sent from this country to India in case of an emergency. He had carefully restricted himself to "foreign service troops," and he did not think we could send more than 40,000 to 50,000 of them; but, of course, the Colonies and the militia would help enormously.

With regard to the question of British officers, he had submitted a rough draft of the paper to several distinguished military men now at home who had served in India, and they all stated that for the success of the scheme the crux lay in the question of the British officers. His own idea was, when he wrote the paper, and still was, that each regiment would require a British commandant and a British adjutant, and that a native regiment entirely officered by Indians would not be as efficient as a similar regiment with two or more British officers in it.

For the last twenty years ways and means for increasing the number of British officers in native regiments during actual service had been under discussion. The present number was five or six; but experience in the field showed it ought to be ten or twelve. Whenever a native regiment went on service the casualties amongst the British officers were in a far higher proportion than amongst the men or amongst the Indian non-commissioned and commissioned officers. He had simply added the paragraph about British officers conformably to the wishes of the men whom he had consulted in this country. He believed that for training purposes two British officers per battalion would be sufficient, and that as each would be called out from four to six weeks in the cold weather, and the cold weather lasted about three and a half months, those two officers could serve two or three battalions; hence in peace time the expense would not be great. He further believed that Indian troops preferred to be led by a few British officers rather than be entirely officered by their compatriots.

On the motion of the Chairman a vote of thanks to Mr. Thorburn for his paper was unanimously carried, and the proceedings then terminated.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting of the Association held at Caxton Hall on Wednesday, July 11, 1906, a paper was read by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., on "Self-Government for India," the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., presiding in the chair. There were present amongst others : Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.S.I., Mr. Justice Budrudin Tyabji, Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, C.I.E., Dr. V. H. Rutherford, M.P., Mr. and Mrs. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. Theodore Morison, Lieutenant-Colonel A. T. Wintle, R.A., Mr. F. H. Skrine, J.P., Mr. Charles McMinn, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. S. Digby, Mr. C. W. Whish, Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Mr. C. J. Bond, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. A. H. Wilson, Mr. Coldstream, Shyamji Krishnavarma, Mr. Arthur Sawtell, Mr. W. K. Bonnerjee, Mr. Donald Reid, Major Hasan Bilgrami, Dr. S. D. Bhabha, Lieutenant-Colonel T. W. Wright, Mr. Shakir Ali, Mr. A. H. Khudadad Khan, Mr. Ganesh Dutt, Mr. P. N. Chatterjee, Mr. K. K. Deb, Mr. J. N. Chadha, Mr. J. K. Roy, Mr. Har Dyal Singh, Mr. M. L. Gauher Ali, Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, Mrs. H. Bradlaugh Bonner, Miss A. Smith, Mr. J. W. Neill, Mr. J. D. Anderson, Mr. N. Din, Mr. M. Dikshif, Mr. V. N. Mehta, Mr. M. L. Varma, Mr. G. P. Sinha, Mr. B. Nath, Mr. B. De, Mr. N. Goswain, Mr. A. T. Rajan, Mr. L. Ali, Mr. G. V. Deshmukh, Mr. S. Y. Deshmukh, Mr. D. D. Karnat, Mr. M. V. Ahhyankar, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, Miss Ratcliffe, Miss Chapman Hands, Mr. H. Bubeck, Mr. Charanjit Rai, Mr. B. J. Wadia, Mr. Jehangir H. Vakeel, Mr. A. P. Dubé, Mr. H. D. Cama, Mr. J. M. Patel, Mr. Faiz B. Tyabji, Mr. A. Werner, Mr. T. Stoker, Mr. Nathu Ram, Mr. J. B. Patel, Mr. H. Singh, Mr. V. D. Savaskar, Mr. H. A. Cotton, Mr. M. A. Khan, Mr. M. R. Mohindar, Mr. D. V. Thakor, Mr. S. E. Kurwa, Mr. C. Fernandez, M.D., Mr. J. A. Wadia, Mr. F. E. Hosain, Mr. M. Asghar, Mr. J. A. Bonajee, Mr. P. N. Datta, Mr. F. Paul, Mr. B. J. Ahkhan, Mr. A. Hamid, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

THE CHAIRMAN : Ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in calling on Mr. Gokhale to read his paper. Mr. Gokhale is well known in India as a member of the Viceroy's Council, and anything that falls from Mr. Gokhale on the Indian situation is worthy of our best attention.

THE HON. G. K. GOKHALE, C.I.E., proceeded to read his paper on "Self-Government for India."*

MR. AMEER ALI said he had listened with much interest to the able exposition by Mr. Gokhale of the aims and aspirations of his party. With much that was said he was in sympathy ; many of the practical suggestions the lecturer had put forward were identical, if not in words, certainly in substance, with those he had urged for the last twenty-six years for the consideration of the authorities. He quite agreed that it was no longer possible for India to be governed on the assumption of racial inferiority.

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

Great changes had occurred in the ideals of the people and their conceptions regarding their political rights, and the time had arrived when the basis of administration should be broadened in that spirit of sympathy and comradeship which had been referred to by the Prince of Wales in his recent speech at the Guildhall. It was true that the progress of India was by no means uniform; that it was still inhabited by communities in a primitive state of growth. But the government of a country, he submitted, should be in accord with the ideals and standards of its advanced nationalities rather than those of its backward people. He considered that the development of the Hindoos and Mahomedans under British rule had proceeded in identical lines, and they undoubtedly formed the two most civilized communities of India. English education, in which, owing to causes unnecessary to detail here, the Mahomedans had lost ground, has within recent years made great progress among them. And yet they occupied a very secondary position in the actual administration. The British Government occasionally remembered that the Mahomedans had rights, but unfortunately it was only occasionally.

It is extraordinary that in none of the speeches or the writings of the Congress was there any reference to the position of Mahomedans, or to questions affecting their well-being. So long as that remained the case, it was no wonder that the Mahomedans looked askance at the movement of which Mr. Gokhale and his friends were the exponents. Long before the Congress was conceived an organization was set on foot in Calcutta for the protection of Mahomedan interests, but it came to nought owing to opposition from the north-west. It was an irony of fate that had brought about the foundation of the organization at Aligarh at the present time for the same purpose. With regard to whether its programme would become the same as that of the Congress, it was impossible for him to express an opinion, but he was of opinion that the minority was bound to see that its interests were not permanently relegated to the background, as was at present the case.

In order to secure equal treatment and a fair recognition of their claims, it was essential for the Mahomedans not only to be properly led, but to have definite ideas regarding their rights and privileges. Though he sympathized in many respects with the programme of the Congress, he maintained it was their duty to have a definite conception of their position in India, and to see that the majority whose influence was at present predominant in the councils of government should not remain exclusively in the possession of that influence for ever. There were some omissions in the paper which he should like to point out in no unfriendly spirit. In the first place, no reference had been made to the persistent drain on the resources of India caused by the incessant family litigation, which was the ruin of many people. Something ought to be done to stop this disastrous state of things. With regard to the advisability of holding simultaneous examinations both in India and England for admission into the Civil Service, he ventured to differ from the learned lecturer. He had always thought that the effect of Indian students coming to England was to broaden their minds, and in the result help them to see things in a

wider and more liberal spirit than if their training and education were confined to India. Even if there were simultaneous examinations, it would be necessary to send students to England after they had passed the preliminary examination to give them some knowledge of the world, and thus widen their horizon. Speaking from his own experience, he had met extremely able and intelligent men who had never travelled out of India, but he often found that when they came to deal with questions affecting different communities they did not look at the subject in the same broad spirit as the men who had travelled.

MR. S. S. THORBURN, while sympathizing with the aspirations of Mr. Gokhale as a highly-educated Indian gentleman, and holding that some of the appointments at present reserved for Englishmen should be opened to Indians, thought that Mr. Gokhale had not handled his case with the tact and discrimination with which he ought to have handled it. Mr. Gokhale was not addressing an audience of impulsive, unbusinesslike, uninformed sentimentalists—a class much in evidence just now—but a level-headed body of English and Indian gentlemen, most of whom were accustomed to examine things for themselves, and he (Mr. Thorburn) thought that some of the assumptions made by Mr. Gokhale were erroneous, and some of his statements of fact were terminological inexactitudes. (Laughter.) He thought, further, that some of his demands were either unreasonable or unworkable. To take instances: the statement was made that “the old faith of the people in the character and ideals of British rule had been more than shaken.” Well, he (Mr. Thorburn) had been over thirty years in India, and knew something about the people in the western part of the Punjab, and his opinion was that the masses there had still the same implicit belief in the impartiality and the justice of the English as they had thirty or forty years ago. (No, no.) What Mr. Gokhale really meant was that the old faith, not of the people, the masses, but of the “intellectuals” of India had changed, because they did not get all they wanted. Again, Mr. Gokhale talked of “the complete exclusion of Indians from their own Government.” That was not a fact: more than 70 per cent. of the appointments carrying more than 50 rupees a month were held by Indians. (Laughter, and cries of No, no.) There was also a considerable amount of autonomy in the country. In the Punjab, and probably everywhere else, every district had its District Board, its subdivisional Boards, and towns with populations over 5,000 were managed by municipalities, a large proportion of the members being elected. He maintained that the administration of India—and he defied anyone in the room to prove the reverse—was the purest, cheapest, and best in the world. (Interruption.) With regard to the Mahommedan movement at Aligarh, which Mr. Gokhale said “must inevitably merge into the older organization of the National Congress,” his own conviction was the reverse: as the Mahommedan organization strengthened it would diverge more and more from the Indian National Congress party, which was composed of Hindoo “intellectuals.” (No, no.) A little further on Mr. Gokhale referred to “the attitude of the Indian mind towards British rule” as changed. He would have been nearer to the truth if he had said “the

intellectual Indian mind." The British rule never was popular in India—no foreign rule could be, and never would be—but British justice was. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) Further on in sentence after sentence Mr. Gokhale had rather sneered at the efficiency of the administration in India, had persistently belittled the work of the English there, and glorified government by "the people," and so forth, quoting in support of his view what he said was "a wise observation of the present Prime Minister, that 'good government could never be a substitute for government by the people themselves.'" Good government meant efficient government, and government by the people would mean in India the rule of the ignorant and stupid masses. If they had it, they would have a revival of Suttee, female infanticide, and other abominations, and the first to suffer would be the "intellectuals." (No, no.) He thought that that remark of the Prime Minister must have been a vote-catching observation. In this age of keen competition no institution, whether State or commercial company, could thrive without efficiency, and "government by the people" was nowhere very efficient, and in India would soon produce chaos. Then he had been very sorry to hear the remark about Lord Curzon. It was not because Lord Curzon strove for efficiency that "never was discontent deeper and more widespread than when he left India." In point of fact, for the first three or four years of his Indian administration Lord Curzon was popular with everyone. Both the British and the vernacular newspapers all lauded him, but latterly his educational policy offended the "intellectuals," and then came the partition of Bengal. The discontent was in the minds of the "intellectuals," and not in those of the people. Next came Mr. Gokhale's attack on the "bureaucracy." He denied Englishmen credit for honest convictions; it did not seem to occur to him that one reason why Indians are not more readily advanced to certain posts in the service was due to the conviction that they were not as fit as their English rivals to fill the coveted appointments. (Ironical laughter.) He quite agreed that in the field of law Indians were found climbing to the top of the tree; the best judge in the Punjab Chief Court when he (Mr. Thorburn) left India was a Bengali gentleman, Mr. Justice Chatterjee, but half a dozen swallows did not make summer. He believed it was the fact that, outside Calcutta, wherever there was a strong Bar the practitioners who drew the largest incomes from the law were Englishmen, and not Indians. The very fact of the aptitude of educated Indians for the law, and their want of eminence in other professions and businesses, proved their limitations. The law was not the only field open to Indians. There was medicine, surgery, dentistry, tea and coffee planting, the whole world of commerce, engineering, building, and so forth. All those fields were open to them, but few entered them. They were practically monopolized by foreigners, Englishmen, and others. With regard to the old demand that competitive examinations should be held simultaneously in India and England, he agreed with what Mr. Ameer Ali had said, and his mind went back to the time when Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick argued out the case on paper, and he believed, convinced the then Secretary of State and the Members of Council that simultaneous examinations were impossible

If you contrast the environment and school trainings of English and Indian boys, there must be greater fitness for the work to be performed on the part of the latter. Besides the broadening of the mind built up by an English education, it stood to reason that "a finished product," on which £2,000 or more had been spent, was probably a better article than one which had cost as many rupees. As to the charge that the Indian "administration is carried on in the dark and behind the backs of the people," it was not correct. There was not the slightest change made in the law without the opinion of the people being first ascertained through the medium of the press, the official gazette, and the District and Divisional Boards and municipalities—in fact, every Indian and Anglo-Indian whose opinion was worth having was consulted. Then if, as Mr. Gokhale insisted, "local bodies" were made "popular assemblies," and not subjected to some sort of strict control, he (Mr. Thorburn) believed that the result would only be inefficiency and general corruption. (Interruption.) Finally, coming to Mr. Gokhale's last demand for "mass education"—i.e., "free and compulsory education for both boys and girls"—it would cost, say, fifteen millions sterling, and where was the money to come from? The parents of the children would have to find the money for the education of their children, and a large number of educational police would be required to herd the children to school. Then, as useful education only begins at ten, and parents require their boys to begin to help as workers and wage-earners about that age, they would clamour for compensation for the loss of their children's services. But supposing the money found, and all the boys and girls in India forced to school, what would happen next? Then would be the time for the political agitator; the people would be taught that the object of the sahibs was to Christianize the children, and once that idea got abroad there would be small insurrections in many places.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have, unfortunately, another important function to attend at University College, and therefore you must allow me to intervene at this stage of the debate. In the first place, I wish to state very distinctly that the debt which India owes for the administration it has received in the past to the members of the Civil Service is of great magnitude (Hear, hear), and if you compare the Civil Service of India with the Civil Service of any other country—and I do not make any exception—if you compare the colonial administration of Germany, the colonial administration of France, the colonial administration of the United States in the Philippines, with the administration of England in India, you will find that the Indian Civil Service is *facile princeps*. I am not a bureaucrat; I know the limitations of bureaucracy, and I am aware that India and every other country needs, in the first place, enlightened statesmen to govern it (Hear, hear); but it would be in the highest degree unfair, whilst we admit that statesmen of the highest order must be sent to India to realize what the problems are which India offers, not to recognise what is being done by the men who are sent out by England, and who spend all the best working years of their lives in India, and many of whom certainly come back thoroughly imbued with affection for the

people for whom and amongst whom they have worked. (Hear, hear.) Now what is to be done? In the first place I entirely agree with one of the principles laid down in this paper—that we must not alienate the educated classes in India, through whom we can strengthen our rule. (Hear, hear.) My relations when I was in India with the educated classes of the community were of the most cordial nature. (Applause.) Further, I think that the share which has been given to the natives in judicial appointments, in which they have been eminently successful, can be enlarged. I also consider that in the other departments more scope can be given to native talent; but I am bound to make one reservation, and that is, that as long as this country is responsible for the prosperity of India, you must have the supervision and the inspection carried out by Englishmen, in order that the standard of administration may not be lowered, but may remain as high as it is now. (Hear, hear.) Let me give you an illustration of what happened to me personally. There was a district during my time in India which had a collector, a police superintendent, and a judge who were all natives, and I admit that the administration worked smoothly; but we were asked by the people of the district what was the reason that that district was excluded from administration by an Englishman, and we were asked—and of course we complied with their request—to send them an Englishman. Further, in cases where there is friction, as does happen, unfortunately, between Hindoos and Mahomedans, the advantage of having an impartial English officer to arbitrate between the contending parties is certainly of very great importance, and my experience is that in cases where such difficulties arose, and they were left to be dealt with by native officials, the risk of friction was greater.

Now there is a third direction in which I think reform should be carried out—namely, in the separation of the judicial and the administrative functions. (Applause.) That is gradually being done. You will find that in the Central Provinces there has been an extension of the line of demarcation between the two. With the exception of the hill tribes and remote districts, I think it is a just demand that these functions should be separated everywhere, and that no judicial, administrative, and police duties should be discharged on the same lines as they are in this country.

Then as regards what I consider one of the most important practical questions—the development of the resources of the country. In that direction a great deal can be done to open up avenues of remunerative and of profitable labour for educated Indians, and I must in this connection pay a tribute to a man who thoroughly understood that aspect of the situation in India—namely, my late friend Mr. Tata, and I greatly regret that the scheme of Mr. Tata for establishing a research institute at Mysore was not taken up by the Government of India, as it ought to have been, with greater sympathy, and that the establishment of this institute was imperilled by constant delays. (Hear, hear.) Although Mr. Tata desired this institute to be started in Bombay, when it was proposed that it should be erected in Mysore, he gave a large sum of money—even taking into account his great fortune, it was a great part of that fortune—for the development of Indian industries on scientific lines.

Now there is another claim made in the paper to which I assent, and that is that greater extension should be given to elementary education. The picture here given of the four villages out of five which are without a school-house I do not believe is overdrawn, and I admit it is very deplorable. I do not think we can shelter ourselves behind the fact that there would have to be a great expenditure to fulfil our duty in that respect. (Loud applause.) But the claim that India should be governed as a self-governing colony is a claim which seems to me unreasonable. You must not lose sight of the fact that self-government in the colonies and self-government in England is the result of the existence of compulsory and general education, and that the people are supposed to exercise their voting power with discrimination. Now I ask any Indian here whether he can possibly contemplate, with the condition of the masses as described in this paper, that they should be entrusted with the exercise of the franchise. You see what is happening in Russia. There, to a certain extent, you have the same situation—namely, that the masses have not been educated; that the masses are not fit to exercise voting power. Not until the masses have been educated can you make the experiment. I should strongly deprecate any attempt to govern India on principles of self-government which apply to a totally different situation—to people who are in a totally different stage of development. Meanwhile the legitimate desire of the educated classes to share in the government and administration of the country should be carefully considered in order to secure steady progress and prosperity and a due regard for the susceptibilities of the various races. (Hear, hear.) Do not forget that progress does not depend on self-government. You will have more progress under present conditions without self-government. You must not forget that ultimately the Secretary of State for India is responsible to Parliament for the government of India. I do not see how it is possible to prevent the exercise by Parliament of those powers of control which are inherent in our constitution. Therefore, when it is stated in this paper that the centre of power should not be in London, I think that a caveat should be entered, because I do not think that such a change in the constitution as would limit in any way the influence of Parliament over the Secretary of State and the responsibility of the Secretary of State to Parliament would be accepted by the people of this country, however ignorant they may be of the condition of the Indian people, and, in consequence, cautious in their judgment on Indian affairs. Speaking as a friend and a well-wisher of India, I must advise, especially the more enthusiastic younger generation of India, who naturally, being young and ardent, and seeing how well in this country institutions work which are the result of a long process of evolution, not to rush to the conclusion that those institutions would be to the advantage of India where that process of evolution is in an early stage. I think that when they return to India, and when they study the situation which confronts them, they will find that the situation is not analogous. They will have other means within their power to benefit the people of India. It is the duty and the privilege of the statesmen who rule India by gradual and cautious progress to enlist in the various councils and branches of the administration the services of educated

natives, in order that they may gain experience of the very complex problems which have to be solved and that sense of responsibility which cannot fail to inspire confidence. (Loud applause.)

The CHAIRMAN then left, and SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN presided during the remainder of the proceedings.

MR. MORISON said he did not understand that Mr. Gokhale either demanded or contemplated the introduction of self-government into India immediately, but he wished to obtain a statement that the authorities would recognise that self-government for India within the Empire was a desirable ideal. His own idea was that some day in the future India should be autonomous, and from that there followed, as a second corollary, in which he found himself also in agreement with Mr. Gokhale and differing from Mr. Thorburn, that the test of an administrative measure must not only be whether it tended to efficiency of administration, but whether it tended towards the realization of the ultimate goal—the government of the people by themselves. (Applause.) That is, that they should consider whether any measure introduced tended towards the education of the people and towards qualifying them towards self-government. Where he differed from Mr. Gokhale was as to what measures were most educative in that direction. Mr. Gokhale had referred to the extension of the advisory functions, by which he understood him to mean that a certain number of elected representatives were to give advice that would not necessarily be followed. (Laughter.) He thought that was a fair description. It was not proposed that those representatives of the people should be entrusted with the administration. That represented a policy with regard to which Englishmen, with whom democratic methods were “bone of their bone,” could give a better opinion than an Indian. The result, he believed, would be that if Indian politicians were made a sort of constitutional opposition to criticise the Government, the tendency would always be to more bitter and more violent criticism, and at the same time there was no advantage in the education of the people. The persons who gave the advice irresponsibly attempted to draw more attention to what they said by violent and exaggerated speeches, and the audience to whom they appealed had no means of testing whether they were genuine leaders or not, because, *ex hypothesi*, they were never asked to go and do the work themselves. The experience with regard to every opposition in England was that the longer it stayed out the more exaggerated became its claims and the more words it used, which it had afterwards to eat when it got into office. In India the unfortunate state of things was that they had a permanent opposition and a Government that could not go out, and Mr. Gokhale's proposition would have the effect of increasing that state of affairs. He took an illustration from Mr. Gokhale's reference to military matters. In a discussion that had recently taken place at a meeting of the Association it had been pointed out that the largest number of men that under any possible circumstances could be mustered in India was 300,000 out of a population of 300 millions, less than half the number that Japan put into Manchuria. So long as the opposition had the power to criticise the Government, the tendency would be to make capital against it by re-

ferring to militarism and raising animosity against it; but was it conceivable that if Mr. Gokhale and his friends were in power they would demand that India should have no stronger force than that of a Balkan State? Would India be voluntarily reduced by them into the condition of Persia or China, from which stronger Powers carved what slices they would? He felt convinced that a person of the ability and patriotism of Mr. Gokhale would not in office ever be tempted to weaken India to this extent. Therefore it seemed to him that the extension of what Mr. Gokhale called the advisory system would simply be to create an opposition whose duty it would be to carp at the Government without at the same time providing any education for the people of India in the art of administration.

DR. V. H. RUTHERFORD, M.P., said he thought the colossal ignorance of the people of England with regard to India was a very terrible thing, and when he was brought into contact with such men as Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Dutt he felt that India deserved a better fate than she was at present receiving. He felt that Englishmen should be guided by the intellectuals of India, and he was surprised to hear a gentleman like Mr. Thorburn decrying the intellectuals. He would like to see, in the first instance at any rate, India governed by her intellectuals, and go step by step from that to some form of self-government. The greatest glory the English people could gain as Imperial people would be to raise India to a position of self-government, and, in fact, raise her to be a great and glorious nation in the world. That was a question of time, and they did not propose democratic institutions in India straight off the reel, but they did think that India should have some measure of self-government year by year until they were their own masters in what he might call a confederation of free nations recognising the King of England as the King of all.

MR. C. McMINN agreed with everything Mr. Gokhale had said as to his ideals in connection with India, and there was not a single one of them that he had not himself put before the English authorities—such, for instance, as simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service in India and England. Mr. Ameer Ali had shown a certain timorousness with regard to the experiment, but, considering it was a thing that would gratify the people of India, the experiment ought to be made. His (Mr. McMinn's) proposal forty years ago was a very simple one—namely, that a certain proportion to commence with—say one-eighth—should be selected in India by competitive examination, to which the residents not only in India, but also in Australia and the whole British Empire, should be admitted; but the other examinations should still be conducted in England. He was also of opinion that two or three native members should be added to the Indian Council. But when Mr. Gokhale proceeded to enumerate the benefits which England had conferred on India, some of the most important ones had been left out of consideration, and apparently he was rather considering those benefits which had been conferred as regards means of communication than benefits granted to the people at large—he had mentioned railways, post-offices, the telegraph, liberty of speech and press, all of which Congress leaders specially utilized and valued; he felt and spoke as a politician, not as one of the masses—

because he had entirely omitted dispensaries, harbours, bridges, hospitals, canals, and famine relief. Then the proper answer had not been given to the charge of militarism. The population of India was 300 millions, and the entire English and native military force was only 220,000; further, India was the only country in the world in which the military force had largely decreased and not increased. The army numbered 292,000 so late as 1847. With regard to discontent with British rule, he must admit that the discontent of the educated classes was spreading too fast; but with reference to the people of Northern India, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces, in which he had spent forty-four years and where he intended to die, he utterly denied that there was any discontent growing there. He maintained that the English rule was more popular, and the trust in English authority and honour was even greater than it was fifty years ago. Gentlemen who addressed them about the discontent came from Calcutta or Poona. They knew nothing hardly of the northern hundred millions who spoke Hindi or Urdu. These latter had a very significant proverb—

“Bengali Bengali se bolo, Panjabi Panjabi se
Hindustani ham se bolo, dil ke kunji kholo jan.”

MR. ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT said that, if it had been the desire of Mr. Gokhale to arouse a healthy discussion on the subject of his paper, he had eminently succeeded. Mr. Gokhale had made two clear and definite statements. The first was that they had no adequate representation or share in the administration of India; and the second point was that, as a consequence, their faith in the desire of the British Government to rule India for the benefit of the Indians themselves was declining. It had been admitted by many of the previous speakers that the share which they had in the administration of the country was nothing like what they ought to have after 150 years of British rule. After three generations of Indians had been educated in English schools and colleges in India, the share they had in the administration was infinitesimal and ridiculous. With regard to things being done behind their backs, Mr. Gokhale did not impute any bad motives to the administrators, but he meant that, in the way the work was being done at present, orders were frequently passed of which they were not aware. As one instance of what he meant, he would mention that up to about 1888 the general rule in making land-revenue settlements in the Central Provinces was that half of the rental of the country should be taken as the land revenue of the State. This was objected to by the officials, and after correspondence with the Viceroy the proportion was increased to something like 75 per cent. of the rental, and the whole of that was done without the people knowing a single word about it until the order was passed. As they were interested in the good government of the country, and suffered by bad or mistaken government, the people ought to be consulted, and the educated people in India represented the masses. It was no use saying that every man, woman, and child must be educated before self-government was given. That was not done in England or in any part of the world. Within the last twenty years arrangements had been made by which the higher ranks in nearly all the services

had been practically closed to Indians. Was that the sort of treatment that they should receive from the British Government after 150 years of British rule? With regard to the separation of the judicial and executive services, which had lately taken place in the State of Baroda, that was a thing which the educated people of India had been agitating for for years past, and an influentially-signed memorial on the subject was submitted to the Secretary of State for India some years ago, one of the signatories being the late Lord Hobhouse. It was said then that the separation could not be effected because it would cost more money; but, as a matter of fact, His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda had effected the separation in his State, and it had not cost a single shilling more. With regard to compulsory education, that might be a costly affair, but he certainly thought the Indian Government might spend a little more than the £200,000 they were at present spending on primary education. In the Gaekwar's territories an order was passed, ten or twelve years ago, making it compulsory in a small *taluka* for all boys and girls to attend school. That experiment had been successful, and His Highness the Gaekwar was taking steps, at some increase of expenditure, to extend compulsory education all over the State of Baroda.

MR. JEHANGIR BOMANJEE PETIT thought that Mr. Gokhale in his paper had voiced the sentiments of the whole of the educated Indian people. One of the greatest benefits that had been bestowed on India by British rule was the educational system of England, with its great and noble literature; and with that had grown up a spirit of raising the people to the highest political ideal of British citizenship, which that literature had taught them, and which Mr. Gokhale's paper aimed at securing. With reference to Mr. Thorburn's statement that the government of India was the cheapest and the purest in the world, he maintained that, although India was the poorest country on the face of the earth, it was the most heavily taxed, and the most expensively governed country in the world. With reference to their demands for association in the government of their own country, they had not only the unanimous voice of the people behind them, but also the unanimous opinions of many great Englishmen who had come to India in their favour, and as an instance of that he would refer to Lord Lytton's minute, dated May 22, 1878, to show how the most sacred promises, spontaneously given, were broken:

"No sooner was the Act (1833) passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. . . . We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course. . . . I do not hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me up to the present moment unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

Mr. Petit concluded by saying that he did not think it was either possible or statesmanlike to permanently deny a voice in the government of their country to a people whose aspirations were nourished from their early youth on the strong food of English liberty, and was of opinion that

if the minds that they were cultivating and had trained were not employed by the ruling classes in their favour, they would be employed against them.

The HON. G. K. GOKHALE, in replying, said that the main purpose of his paper had been served by the very interesting discussion which had taken place. The remarks made by the different speakers might be classed under three heads—namely, those that were absolutely friendly, those that were partially friendly and partially critical, and those that were practically hostile. In the first category he placed the speeches of his friends Mr. Dutt and Mr. Jehangir Bomanjee Petit; in the second category came the speeches of the Chairman (Lord Reay), Mr. Ameer Ali, Professor Morison, and Mr. McMinn; and in the last category he put the speech of his friend Mr. Thorburn. With regard to the criticism of Lord Reay, he thought it had been made clear that what he asked for was not immediate self-government, but that self-government should be the ideal of British rule in India. With reference to the practical steps to be taken towards that ultimate goal opinions must differ, but he was glad to see there was so much common ground between himself and Mr. Morison, whose idea seemed to be that, instead of expanding what he called Advisory Boards, it would be better to make over one small province to Indian administration. This was the proposal Mr. Morison made two years ago with regard to Berar, and the speaker was prepared to support it whole-heartedly. In regard to Mr. McMinn, there again he was glad to see so much common ground, and he perfectly admitted the additional benefits that had come to them from British rule, and it was from no want of appreciation of them that they had been left out.

With regard to Mr. Ameer Ali's remark, he would like to say that he had not consciously spoken of the movement at Aligarh in any deprecatory manner. On the contrary, he hoped great things from it. As regards the competitive examinations, he quite agreed with Mr. Ameer Ali that their young men should pass examinations and then come to England. With regard to litigation ruining the people, he had not spoken of that because it was not relevant to that day's discussion. He thought there were a great many other things too ruining the people, but that was not the place to speak of them. The subject he was dealing with was self-government, and what the British public could do with regard to that matter, and that had nothing to do with social institutions and litigation.

Passing to Mr. Thorburn's criticism of the paper, which he considered as amazing, the speaker said that Mr. Thorburn had rather dealt with his paper in the way that a pedagogue would have dealt with a schoolboy's essay, and had made a series of running comments upon it without any thread that could be laid hold of. When Mr. Thorburn said that the British Government was the cheapest in the world he differed from many distinguished Anglo-Indian administrators, who had admitted the extreme costliness of it, and deplored it, though urging at the same time that it was inevitable. With regard to Mr. Thorburn's calculation as to the cost of compulsory primary education amounting to fifteen millions, he had care-

fully gone into the matter, and his opinion was that not more than five to six millions would be required ; but even that they did not ask for all at once. What was needed, however, was that an earnest beginning should be made in the matter.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, in closing the proceedings, said that with reference to the claim of the people of India to have a share in the government of their own country, they could not have a better object-lesson than some of the Indian gentlemen present—for instance, Mr. Justice Tyabjee, Mr. Ameer Ali, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale, and Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt. Taking those four gentlemen, he did not think the Government of India need look further than the four corners of that room for competent advisers. It had been said that Mr. Gokhale had unfairly criticised the Government of India, but as he understood him, it was the system, and not the men, that was complained of. He thought they were all agreed as to the great merits of the Indian Civil Service, but he believed that the time for a purely bureaucratic form of government for India had passed, and that was really the whole point of Mr. Gokhale's contention.

The proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to Lord Reay and Sir William Wedderburn for presiding.

MR. FRANCIS H. SKRINE writes : I would ask permission to place on record the remarks which I would have made if the patience of those present had not been unduly strained by the number who took part in the discussion, and, I regret to add, by the tone which some of them adopted. Mr. Gokhale's conclusions, on the whole, commend themselves to common-sense. It would make for better government were executive councils established in every province with a strong elective minority. Justice suggests that a proportion of the appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service should be competed for in India, selected candidates undergoing their two years' probation in this country. I would thus allot twenty of the fifty annual vacancies, and reserve at least five for Mahomedans. Indians of good birth ought certainly to find a congenial career in the army, and it is simply scandalous that they are debarred from winning the most coveted of military orders—the V.C. With Mr. Gokhale's premisses I am not in accord. It is surely an exaggeration, in the face of legislation since 1870, to assume that England has broken solemn pledges, and justly forfeited the confidence of the educated classes. It is cruel to brand the old martial families of India as "broken swords," for a statesman should utilize their hereditary influence, and enlist it in the Empire's cause. No one can doubt that the peaceful revolution which we all desire would have advanced more rapidly had more "sweet reasonableness" been displayed by extremists. If the rising generation be "full of Irish bitterness," this ominous state of things is the fruit of the campaign of falsehood and misrepresentation undertaken by a noisy section of Indian "intellectuals." That politics may be discussed in a friendly spirit is proved by the history of the M.A.O. Institute. Having dined with this body on the night before Mr. Gokhale's paper was read, I can testify to the fact that the late

Syed Ahmed's followers are fully prepared to give Englishmen credit for good intentions, and to go hand in hand with them in promoting the welfare of the 300 million fellow-creatures who look to these little overburdened islands for all the essentials of civilization. I would respectfully urge my Indian brothers to take a leaf out of the illustrious Nawab's book. We cannot do without them, and they cannot do without us. The first step towards political reform must be to establish mutual sympathy and mutual toleration. John Bull will concede nothing to a pistol clapped to his head, but he is very amenable to fair words and temperate criticism.

MR. D. N. REID writes: I am in sympathy with much that was said by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale in his interesting lecture on the above-mentioned subject. Yet I venture to think that I was the only man present in the room at yesterday's meeting of your Association who thoroughly recognises the necessity of agricultural reform in India, and the following quotation from Mr. Patrick Geddes' article on "Cyprus: Actual and Possible," in the *Contemporary Review* of June, 1897, may be applied equally well to India if the word "Indian" is substituted for "Eastern" in the last sentence of the extract: "But if the desired 'reforms' mean anything, they admittedly involve corresponding financial reforms, fiscal reforms, and where there are practically no manufactures and commerce turns on agricultural output, what can these reforms come down to but agriculture? So the Eastern Question is ultimately an Agricultural Question."

To quote again from Mr. Geddes' article: "The main ineptitude of the Great Powers has been the agricultural ineptitude of their representatives, who have been diplomatic or military, Parliamentary or journalistic, almost to a man. Their futility is but the common urban incapacity to govern agricultural populations, to deal with rustic questions." The above is a quotation which should entail searchings of heart among the members of the National Congress—a Congress which is notoriously political in its aims. Hence the reason why agriculture was passed by on the other side at yesterday's meeting of your Association, although the question of rent did crop up on one or two occasions during the debate. But India is not a rack-rented country, whatever Mr. Romesh C. Dutt may say to the contrary.

FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

AT a meeting of the Association held at Caxton Hall on Monday, July 16, 1906, a paper was read by Arthur Sawtell, Esq., late of Lahore, on "India and Anglo-India : Some Unofficial Impressions,"* Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., presiding. There were present, among others, the following : Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Lesley Probyn, Sir W. Evans-Gordon, M.P., Cavalier P. F. Righetti (Italian Vice-Consul), Colonel C. E. Yate, C.S.I., C.M.G., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel Lewis, Colonel F. W. Wright, Lieutenant-Colonel Drury, Major and Mrs. Fink, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E., Mr. S. M. Mitra, M.R.A.S., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Charles McMin, Mr. W. W. Sawtell, Rev. J. C. Sowerbutts, Mrs. and Mr. Rustomji Faredonji (Deputy Commissioner, Akola), Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, the Misses Delaney, Mr. Abdul Majid (Cantab.), Mr. J. W. Fox, Mr. J. W. Neill, Dr. Bhabba, Mr. B. J. Wadia, Mr. Nasarvanji Cooper, Miss A. Smith, Mr. Francis Stringer, Mr. G. Stoker, Mr. Donald Reid, Mr. H. Bubeck, Mr. S. W. Nain, Mr. S. A. Hassan, Mr. S. M. Askeri, Mr. P. C. Taraporwalla, Mr. E. Horwitz, Miss Chapman Hands, Mrs. Andrews, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said he had accepted the invitation to preside on that occasion with pleasure, as he had the advantage of knowing that Mr. Sawtell approached the consideration of questions relating to India in a sympathetic spirit with her people. Only last May Mr. Sawtell had delivered before the Royal Colonial Institute a lecture on "India Under British Rule," which breathed that spirit throughout, and contained observations with which he (the Chairman) had found himself mainly in agreement.

The paper was then read.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said that he had great pleasure in asking the audience to listen to what was perhaps in England an unprecedented occurrence, and that was an address by a very distinguished Indian lady, the wife of Mr. Rustomji, a magistrate and Deputy Commissioner in the Berars, whose father bears a well-known and honoured name—Mr. Fare-donji, secretary to the Prime Minister, for the last twenty years, at Hyderabad. The East India Association considered that special honour had been done them, and he would like to assure Mrs. Rustomji of a cordial welcome and of the pleasure with which they would all derive from hearing her speak on that occasion.

MRS. RUSTOMJI said : Sir Muncherji Bhownaggee, ladies and gentlemen, I have listened, as no doubt the whole of this gathering has, with great interest to the excellent paper read by Mr. Sawtell before us. We have heard some very instructive impressions of an Englishman on a subject which has engaged the attention of both Europeans and Indians for years past. My countrymen cannot be too grateful to gentlemen like

* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

Mr. Sawtell for a candid expression of their views on the delicate question of social intercourse between the two communities, and for the opportunities for discussion it gives to people interested in the subject. Nothing is better calculated to promote social intercourse between the two peoples than a free exchange of ideas on occasions such as this. A gathering like this is, at least, some refutation of the statement so often made that an Englishman lacks sympathy for Indians amongst whom he spends the best years of his life.

You would perhaps like to know the impressions of an Indian lady on the subject. I confess the suggestion put forward to-day that English women in India are responsible for the want of social intercourse between Europeans and Indians strikes me as a very novel one, and I entirely dissent from it. I can cite instances of many a distinguished English lady devoting much time and attention to bringing the two communities together. The cause of Indian women has always had the support and sympathy of English women.

That social intercourse between Europeans and Indians is not what it might be cannot be denied. But no very minute investigation is necessary to find out the cause. In the first place, there must necessarily be a wide social gulf between Europeans who come out to India and those Indians whose education is not in keeping with their wealth and position. Coming to the educated Indians, the bulk of them who seek the society of Europeans keep their ladies behind the purdah. As European society is constituted, free intercourse is impossible under such conditions. That custom is against Indian ladies mixing with any men outside their families is a misfortune, but this can scarcely be urged as an argument for a one-sided arrangement between the two communities. For real social intercourse there must be mutual trust. And I am sure both communities have, at least, the wish to co-operate to this end.

On the other hand, an Englishman shining under the glory of the greatest Empire the world has ever known, and with the legitimate pride of ruling a country like India, would not be human if he were not somewhat spoilt. He is sometimes apt to despise what he does not understand, or what is foreign to European ideas. This insular pride is a subject of complaint against Englishmen on the Continent, and they cannot be expected to be rid of this characteristic when living in a country with an ancient civilization, but backward according to modern ideas. English men and women should also, I think, cultivate the language of the country more than they do at present. It is remarkable how few English gentlemen and ladies who have been long in India can carry on an ordinary conversation in the vernacular in a drawing-room. While I would ask my countrymen to avoid unnecessary suspicions against the ruling race, I would also ask Englishmen to give a little more encouragement to educated Indians who have no social or caste prejudices. Is it not a remarkable fact that in a presidency town like Bombay scarcely any native of India is allowed admission to a European club? On the other hand, at a place like Hyderabad the relations between Europeans and Indians are more cordial than elsewhere, as they often meet at a common club. To

promote social intercourse in India there must be a great deal of give and take, and each side should, in my opinion, try to give more than take.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said he was sure he was only giving voice to the unanimous opinion of the meeting in expressing his admiration of the exceedingly eloquent and sensible remarks of Mrs. Rustomji, and the more so as he thought that she, more than the lecturer, had hit the bull's-eye of the target. He could not agree with the sentimental view which had been taken in the paper of the relations between Indians and Europeans. The paper had dwelt too much on English aloofness. The Hindoos were far more reserved and aloof from the English and from one another than the English were from the Hindoos. The English were a proud and shy race, and not great linguists, and he thought that the alleged aloofness was as much natural shyness and linguistic disability as anything else. But he denied that there was any inherent aloofness in the British character. On the contrary, comparing British methods of treating races alien to themselves, they compared favourably with those of every people in the world. The British had at heart the love of independence and freedom and justice, all of which they had granted to India. When an Indian lady came to England to speak to them was there any aloofness towards her? They received her with the utmost enthusiasm, and that was the spirit with which the English received all worthy and representative Indians who came to this country. When Mr. Sawtell had spoken in his paper of a subject race, he had committed the very fault against which he was protesting. There was no subject race in India. The Indians were certainly fellow-subjects of the King-Emperor. In no other sense were they a subject race. They were their equals, and they were far freer than any other people on the face of the earth except the English themselves. Representative institutions, it is true, they did not possess, but these had never been imagined or known in Asia, and he hoped, for their very great benefit, that they never would be. Then he observed that Mr. Sawtell desired to impose upon that poor and down-trodden community to which he had the honour to belong—the Indian Civil Service—a burden which was even heavier than those which they had been accustomed to bear, namely, the cultivation of oratory, but he hoped that proposal would never be carried out. If it was suggested that speech was better than action, he entirely disagreed, and they had only to look at the history of their own House of Commons to see how entirely speech might be divorced from action. (Applause.) Although himself a man of action, he certainly maintained that the average of Anglo-Indian oratory compared very favourably with that of after-dinner or Parliamentary speakers in England, as the annals of the East India Association amply testified. In conclusion, he begged to offer, on behalf of the Association, the honorary membership of the Association to the gracious lady who had conferred such a great distinction upon it.

MR. S. M. MITRA said : Social misunderstanding between Europeans and Indians is no doubt unfortunate ; but political misunderstanding is worse—it means imperial danger. The learned lecturer proposed to educate the English voter with reference to Indian affairs. His other

proposal is to explain Government measures to Indian peasants. Educating the public is no doubt the foremost duty of the Government, but it should, in my humble opinion, begin neither with the British voter nor with the Indian peasant. It should begin with the future leaders of India. The young men who are qualifying themselves for the Bar and other professions will in time be the leaders of public opinion in India. It is the duty of the Government to educate them so as to enable them to take an intelligent interest in Government measures. We all know that what the Moslem sword failed to do in 800 years English education has achieved in a century. Caste defied the Moslem sword, but is disappearing with the spread of education.

The learned lecturer wants a missionary agency to carry information to the indifferent. But why not first inform those who are anxious to know? The average Indian youth is disliked because he takes the wrong view of Government measures. But has anyone tried to place the right view before him? Why blame him, then? What have the Government done to educate the future leaders of India who are now in England? There is not a society or public library in London where the Indian youth may go occasionally and spend half an hour profitably in reading Blue-Book literature. I know some Bengali youths now in London who are very anxious to know something of Indian problems, but have absolutely no facilities for learning. Let us take, as an instance, the recent opium debate in the House. All that the average Indian youth in London may reasonably be expected to do is to purchase a copy of the *Times* and read the report of the debate. There he finds Mr. Morley referring to an interesting paper read by "a gentleman" at the Geographical Society. Mr. Morley does not mention this gentleman's name. How can the Indian youth find out that this gentleman's name is Colonel Manifold? Even if he finds out the name, where and how can he get the paper to read? Where can he get a copy of the Tientsin Treaty of 1858, and the Chefoo Convention of 1885? Without these, how could he know whether our Government is forcing opium on the Chinese, or that they purchase of their own free will? If he has no materials to form an opinion, is he *alone* to be blamed for following demagogues ignorant of facts?

Now, the next question is how to educate them. Anglo-Saxon energy has solved most difficult administrative problems. There is no difficulty in the case of Indian students. For instance, a couple of rooms added to the Northbrook Society, with a few hundred volumes of standard works and official publications for reference, and some one familiar with Blue-Book literature to explain—say, twice a week—is all that is necessary. Surely for a Government that has altered the destinies of millions in India this is not a formidable task. The British Empire is the greatest Oriental Empire in the world, but does not offer facilities for the cultivation of Oriental languages as France and Germany does. Let not our Government be behind time in everything.

Young Indians who come out to this country are, as a rule, graduates or undergraduates of our Universities. The majority of them are intelligent and honest. It is, therefore, all the more pity that the Governmen

directly or indirectly, absolutely makes no attempt to educate the future national leaders of India, and thus avert an imperial danger. When these young men are induced to study Blue-Book literature, they will at once see that, in spite of many defects, the British Government is the best we ever had in India.

Educating the British voter is an excellent idea, but to be effective it must be done through the medium of the spoken word, and spoken by an *Indian* who has enjoyed the blessings of British rule in India.

MR. WHITWORTH said that a few days ago at a meeting of the National Indian Association he had contradicted the statement there made that all movements in India were movements by men only, because he knew of ladies in India capable and ready to address a meeting with effect and eloquence, but he had not then thought that he should so soon have a concrete instance of that before an English audience in London. Turning to the subject of the paper, he thought the author himself would be the first to admit that the amount of suggestion he had been able to make for the removal of the estrangement which he deplored was very small. That was not due to want of observation, but was due to the real difficulty of finding any remedy. The proposal as to the issuing of a manifesto was not a new one, as a similar proposal was made to the Bombay Government some thirteen years ago to issue a small supplement to their gazette, in which it should refute misrepresentations in the Indian press, but that proposal was not accepted. As far as it went it was a good proposal; but it would not go very far, because they might write what they liked, but the public would only read what they liked. With reference to the other proposal, as to the greater use of the spoken word, he thought that might do a little good. To the ordinary Englishman public speaking produced a certain amount of terror, and a little training, he was afraid, would not be sufficient to make him a ready speaker in connection with his office in India; but there were occasional opportunities when English officials did address a large audience—for instance, at the presentation of school prizes and sometimes at municipal meetings—and he thought with the lecturer that if good use were made of such opportunities it would have a valuable effect. Though it was difficult to find a remedy for the evils they were considering, an examination of the real causes need not leave them in a condition of despair. The real causes of the estrangement were not political questions, but might be expressed in three words—caste, sex, and language. As regards language, that had been dealt with by Mrs. Rustomji. The more serious question was caste. It was caste that went so far in preventing real sympathy between Englishmen and Indians, and partly for the reason that there were no leisured classes amongst the English in India, and the busy man must naturally look for his rest and recreation in connection with the hours set apart for eating. But here caste came in, and the Indian could not sit down with the Englishman, and that great opportunity for social intercourse was lost. With regard to the question of sex, the English habit of recognising intellectual quality and companionableness in women was sadly wanting in India. That had a similar effect as regards opportunity for social intercourse, because the

busy official wanted to be with his family at the time of leisure and the time of recreation, and free exchange of ideas was the time when the circumstances of India prevented Englishmen and Indians being together. But there was a ground for satisfaction in that the strength of these things was failing, and there were many good men and true in India, and Indian ladies too, who were working for the removal of these restrictions, and with an enthusiasm that would not be denied. One of them, Mr. R. D. Madholkar, in a speech recently delivered at Nagpur, had used the term "Indian," and then added that in "Indian" he included "Anglo-Indian." That was a remark very full of significance. The great nation which they all hoped to see arise in India would not be of one racial strain, but would be the joint product of all who are now working for the true advancement of India.

DR. JOHN POLLEN drew attention to the many instances in which English ladies had been devotedly anxious to promote social relations between themselves and the native ladies, and instanced the services of Mrs. Herbert Birdwood and Mrs. Adams Wyllie and others in the hospitals during the plague. With reference to the difficulty of language, that would be removed very rapidly, because the native ladies were taking to "Esperanto." (Laughter.) He congratulated Mrs. Rustomji on her admirable speech. He knew the family of Patels, in Bombay, to which she belonged—a family distinguished for intellectual gifts of a very high order. He also knew her father-in-law, Mr. Faredonji, the well-known private secretary to His Highness the Nizam, and one who had done more than anyone else to bring Europeans and natives together socially in Hyderabad. Dr. Pollen agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin that it was not right to speak of the natives of India as "a subject race." They were no such thing. There were only two classes in India now—viz., the rulers and the ruled—*i.e.*, the officials and the non-officials—and natives of the country constituted the vast majority of the former. Law was the dominant force in India, and all the subordinate judges, and many of the district and High Court judges, were natives of India, and surely they were not "a subject race"! They were the real lords of the land, and masters of the situation.

MR. P. C. TARAPORWALLA protested against the remarks of the lecturer about the mem-sahibs. Much of the social reform which had taken place in India would have been quite impossible but for the kindly offices which had been exercised by numerous English ladies on behalf of the Indian people. He thought the suggestion as to the aloofness of the mem-sahibs in India had been exaggerated, and as to the alleged aloofness of the officials of India, in his experience Indian officials took great pains to be in direct touch with the people. With regard to isolation, the people of India were isolated to one another, and he, as a Parsee, knew but very little of the home-life of the Hindoo. With regard to the suggestion made by Mrs. Rustomji about the formation of a club to which Europeans and natives could have common access, a move in that direction had been made in Bombay through the kind offices of that great friend of the Indian people, Dr. John Pollen.

MR. McMINN said that, whatever might be the case in large cities like Bombay, in small districts there was no aloofness between the two races. Many of the pleasantest hours of his life had been spent in the society of native gentlemen, and to say there was any aloofness on the part of the native gentlemen was a complete mistake. Anyone who knew the present conditions of life in Bombay and Calcutta must think with regret and shame that at the large clubs, consisting of from 1,000 to 1,200 members, on their doors might be inscribed, "No Indian may enter here." He had done his best to get an alteration of that rigid, even if unwritten, rule, which must be felt by native noblemen and gentlemen as an insult and a stigma.

COLONEL McDONALD also dissented from the lecturer in his attack on the mem-sahibs. If anything was recognised, it was that the wives and daughters of the officials had earned for themselves the warm regard of the Indian ladies by endeavouring in every possible way to bring them more into touch with Western ideas. He agreed that the whole crux of the question centred in the question of caste, and so long as that existed, so long would there be great difficulty in bringing Western and Eastern ideas together. He deprecated the use of the expression "subject races," because India could not be looked upon in that light. The Indians were as free as the people of England, and he thought that, so long as the laws of India were administered in the spirit in which they had been administered, the people of India would draw more and more close to the Mother Country, and so long as the mass education was properly directed with a view of bringing together the people of the two countries, in the course of a few years the caste prejudices would be put aside.

The CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen, I think I may in your name thank Mr. Sawtell for giving us an extremely valuable and interesting lecture, embracing many of those considerations which surround the important question of the relations subsisting between Englishmen and the people of India. In my opinion, if there is any aloofness from friendly intercourse between them—and I am not prepared to deny that there is some—it is the result more or less of ignorance, among other causes. With regard to individual instances of unfriendliness occurring now and then between persons, they are, no doubt, deplorable, but we have to consider the subject as presented to us by the lecturer on entirely general grounds, and from that point of view I have not the least hesitation in agreeing with the testimony borne by most of the speakers this afternoon as to the desire entertained by the bulk of the people on both sides, both women and men, to approach one another in sympathy and cultivate friendly feelings. On the Indian side this wish is prevalent not only among what are known as the educated classes, but I can speak from personal experience of the more orthodox and business and trading sections and working communities, who form the backbone of the prosperity of the country. With what genuine pleasure they grasp the hand outstretched in friendship of an English lady or gentleman! In spite of the purdah and caste restrictions, they like nothing better than being honoured with the company of Europeans on occasions of family festivities and even religious ceremonies like weddings.

This is a trait which is becoming more general in their everyday life, and it is pleasing to contemplate it, as I regard that the popularity of British rule depends on the cultivation of friendly relations between the two peoples. Mr. Sawtell, however, has stated some reasons why all this measure of confraternity is not brought out and developed to the extent that every well-wisher of India would like to see it manifested. There is much truth in what he says. He seems to have well utilized his five years' residence in India by being a keen observer of things as they are, and I might go the length of saying that if there were more men of his calibre and zeal for the cause of the people among the unofficial European classes there, the fraternal association between the two sections would be more widespread. I allude specially to the non-official European, because he can, to my mind, be a very efficient agent in this matter. The official Briton may, by the etiquette of service and obligations of his duty, be conceivably restricted in entering freely upon terms of intimacy with the people. Free friendship may likely arouse suspicions of his being open to undue influence in the discharge of his duties. An impression like this getting abroad may prove detrimental to the efficiency and integrity which the people have a right to look for in their administrators. But the non-official European, who is generally a merchant or a tradesman or occupying positions in which he is brought necessarily into close business connection with the people, has better opportunities of cultivating friendship with them. I, however, confess with regret that, generally speaking, he does not utilize his opportunities freely. A non-official Englishman even compares unfavourably in this respect with a continental European. The latter finds out soon enough in his career that, in order to cultivate his business, he has first to cultivate the friendship of the merchants and other people with whom he has to transact his business. I have known many continental commercial men, bankers, and others who have shown greater inclination than their British colleagues to be on friendly terms with the Indian people, and have found their advance welcomed and reciprocated. But, on the whole, it may be said that a desire for *rapprochement* on both sides exists, and the obstacles to an unrestricted display of it are to be ascribed to causes such as an exclusive temperament on the one hand, and to the purdah and caste systems on the other, which, with the spread of Western influences and better knowledge of one another, may be trusted gradually to become fewer. But, if I understand Mr. Sawtell rightly, it is not so much with regard purely to the social intercourse between the two sides that he attaches importance to this question of relations between India and Anglo-India as the effect and influence they have on the popularity and appreciation of British administration among and by the people. I am inclined to attach greater weight to that aspect of his discourse, and would support the suggestion he makes for establishing some method, like that in vogue in France, of interpreting to the people the motive and meaning of administrative and legislative measures. I have felt for many years past that, in the absence of any such exposition, the actions of Government conceived for the benefit and in the interests of the masses are misunderstood by them. There are, doubtless, defects and imperfections in the adminis-

trative system of India, and blunders are committed, but even extreme opponents of Government will concede that it is not its mission to do ill by the people. And yet very often the best-intentioned measures of the executive—such, for instance, as those contrived for the suppression of plague and relief from famine—are misjudged by the people, because they happen to be irreconcilable with the feelings, the habits, and the sentiments of the populace, and are, consequently, vexatious and unacceptable. And it is in order to make plain to the popular mind the true inwardness and benevolent motives of Government in respect of such measures that Mr. Sawtell seems to suggest that, by means of manifestoes or speeches by officials, Government should take the people into direct confidence. With these suggestions I heartily concur.

Now, I have promised not to detain you long, and I must leave some time to the lecturer to answer the criticism that has been offered by many of the speakers. I will therefore conclude by tendering to him on behalf of this audience, which I am pleased to see is both distinguished and numerous, our hearty thanks for his sympathetic and well-conceived lecture.

MR. SAWTELL, in reply, said several of the speakers appeared to think that he was in the position of an advocate briefed for the prosecution, with the mem-sahib in the dock. He had no wish to assume such a rôle, but if he must consider himself in the light of an advocate, he was like a prosecuting counsel who rejoiced at the acquittal of the prisoner at the bar. The testimony given by several of the speakers as to the part taken by Anglo-Indian ladies in establishing friendly intercourse with native society was most interesting. Especially valuable were the views of Mrs. Rustomji, who spoke on this point with an authority superior to that of anyone else in the room. At the same time, it was clear that different speakers viewed this question in the light of differing experience, and the degree and extent of the friendly intercourse between European and Indian society evidently varied greatly in different parts of India.

His proposal that civil officers should cultivate the art of oratory with a view to getting into closer touch with the people had been, as he had expected, rather contemptuously received. He could only wonder why, if oratory was so much despised by Anglo-Indian officers, they persisted in attempting it. It would surely be preferable to pay Bengali babus to do their public speaking for them than to expose their own incapacity for the work in the way in which he had frequently seen and heard them expose it. English people had yet to learn that public speaking, like everything else worth the doing, has to be acquired by study and practice. It was because Englishmen imagined that anybody could "get up and spout" that the level of oratory in English public life generally was so low. Mr. Sawtell concluded by moving a very hearty vote of thanks to Sir M. M. Bhow-naggee for presiding.

The CHAIRMAN having acknowledged the vote of thanks, the proceedings terminated.

COLONEL C. E. YATE, having been unable to speak owing to the closing of the discussion, has written as follows :

With reference to what was said by Mr. McMinn regarding the admission of Indians to English clubs in India, I think something ought to be said on the other side to point out the difficulties Englishmen in India have to contend with in putting this into effect. Indians who belong to the Civil Service, Medical, or any other service in India, are already eligible to belong to United Service clubs, and Mr. McMinn's appeal does not apply to them. It only applies to non-official Indians, merchants, and others, and here the difficulty is to know where to draw the line. English clubs in India are limited in space, and cannot usually accommodate many more than the number of members already using them. Englishmen are few in India—a mere speck, in fact, in the ocean of Indians, just as Indians in England are a mere speck in the ocean of Englishmen. In England Englishmen readily admit Indians to English clubs, but in England there can be no question of Indians swamping out the English members. In India it is just the opposite. Were Indians there to be admitted to English clubs, the English would be swamped out. Where the club-houses are small, to admit Indians in any numbers would be an impossibility, and yet to admit one Indian and not another would lead to much heartburning. The case is not such an easy one, therefore, as it looks on the surface, and instead of the cry for the admission of Indians to English clubs in India, I think the idea should be the admission of English to Indian clubs in India. Why should not Indians take example by what the English do in England and start their own clubs in India, and admit Englishmen to membership, just as the English admit Indians to membership in England? A practical scheme of that sort would be worth all the talk in the world. Englishmen and Indians would then be able to meet on terms of perfect social equality, and the difficulty regarding the interchange of sympathy and ideas between the European and Indian, instead of being well-nigh impracticable, as the lecturer said, would soon melt away. The remedy in this case lies in the hands of the Indians themselves.

What the lecturer has told us regarding the social conditions of Indian life, and the separation between the various races, is only too true. Not only are the Hindoos separated from the Mussulmans, and the English from both, but it is quite possible for an Englishman to pass his whole career in India without ever having had the opportunity of exchanging ideas with any Indian, apart, as the lecturer expressed it, from his own babus and servants. An Englishman under these circumstances naturally fails to know anything of the real India as it is, and misses much that might have charmed him while he was in it. Some of my happiest recollections are connected with the days spent in hunting, shooting, and travelling with my Indian friends; and as to the hospitality of Indian gentlemen to their English friends, it is proverbial. Never have I received greater hospitality than I have in India from high and low, rich and poor.

The want of leisure on the part of the hard-worked English official in India for social amenities with his Indian friends is no doubt a great

drawback, as has been so ably pointed out by Mr. Whitworth; but I cannot agree with Mr. Sawtell that the desire for such social intercourse does not exist on either side, except in a very limited degree. My experience is that my Indian friends have been just as pleased to come to my house as I have been to go to theirs.

I thoroughly agree with what the lecturer has said as to the poverty of eloquence on the part of British officials in India. That is a misfortune which time alone can cure. The whole trend of official life in India tends to writing, not to speaking, and the ordinary English official gets no practice in public speaking. I should like to see district officers and all officials in India encouraged to speak to the public much more than they do, and if their Hindustani is not grammatical enough, they can, at any rate, speak in English and have their speech translated. I cordially approve, too, of the lecturer's remarks as to the good that might be done by printing and publishing in the vernacular the speeches of governors and other high officials on public questions of the day. Publication in English in the Government gazettes is not sufficient where so few know English, and far more should be done in the way of dissemination of the policy of the Government than is done at present. This will doubtless come as education increases. Meanwhile much is happening to bring the English and Indians together. Look at the polo tournaments and other sporting meetings between English and Indian teams now so common throughout India. We had nothing of that sort when I first went out to India. Look at the example set by the M.A.O. College at Aligarh, and the effect of the training now given there on the Mahomedan youth of the country. Look at the Rajkumar colleges throughout India, and the effect of their teaching on the young Chiefs of the various provinces. All this evinces much progress in social intercourse. It is not only in England, where, as we have seen to-day, Indian ladies can even take their place with Englishmen on public platforms, and speak with a charm and grace peculiarly their own, but it is in India itself that social intercourse between English and Indians is becoming more and more general. I have every hope that as time goes on, and the bonds of caste and purdah become gradually relaxed, and Indian ladies become more and more able to take their natural place as hostesses in their own houses, social amenities between the different races will become more and more common, to the general welfare and happiness of all concerned. When we think of the charm exercised by the Begum of Bhopal when entertaining in former years, does it not make us wish for the day when other Indian ladies will be able to imitate her example and entertain their friends in a similar manner? In this, also, the matter lies in the hands of the Indians themselves.

I cannot agree with the lecturer in what he says as to the duty of mitigating the present condition of estrangement lying primarily with the ruling race. In the first place, the expression "ruling race" is a misnomer, as Sir Lepel Griffin so well pointed out. Of all the rulers in India, the number of Indians who rule far exceeds the number of British. The Tehsildar is the embodiment of rule in the eyes of the cultivator, and even the district officer as well may be an Indian; while the judge is

far oftener Indian than English. Secondly, the duty of making the first advance rests just as much with the Indian as with the English, and when the day comes in which both can meet in the family circle on equal terms, I feel sure that any estrangement there may be will rapidly disappear.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on July 16, at 3.15 p.m. Lord Reay, G.C.I.E., LL.D., was in the chair, and among those present were : Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Lesley C. Probyn, Mr. T. H. Thornton D.C.L., C.S.I., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. G. C. Whitworth, Colonel Yate, C.M.G., C.S.I., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. Martin Wood, and Dr. Pollen, C.I.E.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted, after a short discussion, in which Lord Reay, Mr. T. H. Thornton, Sir Lepel Griffin, and Mr. Martin Wood took part.

The three retiring members of Council were duly re-elected, and in addition the following gentlemen were added as members of Council :

Mr. Ameer Ali, C.I.E.

Colonel Yate, C.M.G., C.S.I.

Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E.

Dr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E.

Mr. Abdul Majid, B.A., LL.B., of Christ's College, Cambridge, was duly elected a member of the Association.

On the proposal of Sir Lepel Griffin, seconded by Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, Lord Reay was unanimously re-elected President of the Association for the ensuing year.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA
ASSOCIATION, 1905-1906.

THE report and accounts of the East India Association for the year 1905-1906 are now submitted by the Council.

The event of the past year which certainly both appealed most strongly to the mass of the Indian population and will be longest remembered by them was the tour of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. Covering, as it did, an extent of country far greater than was possible in the state of communications thirty years ago, when King Edward as Prince of Wales made a similar journey, it serves as an illustration of the immense progress which has been made during that period in the extension of railways and other facilities for reaching hitherto landlocked areas. Though the tour was, unfortunately, owing to a failure of the monsoon, to some extent curtailed, yet the royal visitors were enabled to penetrate to places inaccessible in the tour of 1875-1876. In the case of Upper Burma, it even embraced a tract which in 1876 was still outside the limits of the Empire. In almost every area of importance, from the Khyber Pass to Mysore, and from Karachi to Mandalay, the people were able to see, and to express by their acclamations their loyalty to, the person of their Emperor as represented by his heir. India has not passed

beyond the stage in which, to the bulk of its people, the personality of the Sovereign is the only real conception which they have of a supreme government.

In parts of the country the year will be associated with less happy memories in the severe scarcity, amounting in places to famine, which is indicated by the fact that, during the present summer, the numbers receiving daily relief in one form or another have exceeded half a million for a short period. Here again, however, there is a reminder of the progress of the last thirty years, in respect of the organization of famine administration ; for numbers such as these would in 1876 have connoted a famine of the first order, whilst nowadays they stand for only a comparatively slight scarcity.

The controversy which raged over the question of Army administration was probably known to exist only by the smallest fraction of Indians, and it was one in which still fewer took any serious interest. Such interest as there was in Indian circles would seem to have centred not so much round the merits of the question as on the unusual spectacle of a serious difference of opinion amongst the highest powers of the Government, ending in the discomfort, at the hands of the Secretary of State, of the Viceroy. To Indians this cannot but have been an unedifying event, and it was perhaps peculiarly fortunate that the Prince's visit should have served to divert attention from it.

The agitation which followed in parts of Bengal on the constitution of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam is not one which affects other parts of India, and it would be ridiculous to suppose, with some of the opponents

of partition, that the separation of Bengal into two administrations of precisely similar nature can create any general alarm or apprehension of an infringement of rights and liberty.

The use of the Swadeshi movement as an instrument of political agitation is an unfortunate sign that the lesson of the rise of Japan has not been appreciated by India. True, Swadeshi, in the sense of strenuous endeavours to make India self-supporting, and to develop to the utmost her vast natural resources, as has been done in the case of Japan, is, as Lord Minto has pointed out, a policy fraught with nothing but good. The attempt to prohibit the use of English manufactures when their place cannot be taken by those of the country cannot possibly succeed or bring anything but discredit on its authors.

To turn to the affairs of the East India Association, the Council have to record the election of the Maharaja of Cooch Behar as a Vice-President, and the acceptance by Lord Curzon of a Life-Membership of the Association. On the other hand, the lamented death of Mr. T. Durant Beighton has deprived the Association of one of its most active and capable members. It is satisfactory to note that the three first papers read during the past session were contributed by Indian gentlemen. All of them were of great interest and marked by considerable ability. Those who were present at the reading of the paper by Shaikh Abdul Qadir on "Young India: its Hopes and Aspirations" cannot have failed to be struck by the tact with which the chair was filled by the Hon. Mr. Justice Tyebji, a gentleman whose name will always be connected with the movement for improving education amongst the Mahomedans of

Western India. In inviting the reading of a paper by the Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale on "Self-government in India," the Council have sought to give an opportunity for the statement of the views of the extreme party of Indian reform by a well-qualified representative. Mr. Thorburn's suggestive paper on "An Indian Militia for India's Defence" is appropriate at a time when army reorganization is so much in evidence. The closing lectures of the session are by Mr. Arthur Sawtell on "Some Unofficial Impressions of India," and by Mr. Abdul Majid on "The Modern History of Egypt."

The following papers have been read before the Association during the past session :

Monday, February 19, 1906. Shaikh Abdul Qadir, B.A., "Young India : its Hopes and Aspirations." The Hon. Mr. Justice Tyebji in the chair.

Monday, March 5, 1906. A. Yusuf Ali, Esq., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), I.C.S., "Civic Life in India." The Right Hon. Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., in the chair.

Monday, March 26, 1906. S. M. Mitra, Esq., M.R.A.S., "The Partition of Bengal and the Bengali Language." Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

The following members of Council retire by rotation. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election :

Sir H. S. Cunningham, K.C.S.I.

Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I.

Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E.

The following have been elected members of the Association :

Dr. E. M. Modi.

H.H. The Maharaja Cooch Behar.

M. Shakir Ali.

Sir F. S. Lely, K.C.I.E.

Three members have resigned their membership : Sir S. C. Bayley, K.C.I.E., Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., and Dr. Duka ; and the Council regret to announce the death of Mr. M. H. Nazar.

Receipts for the year, including balance at bankers and in hand, £449 12s. 2d., expenditure, £388 6s. 4d., and balance at bankers and in hand, £61 5s. 10d.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

INDIA—MILITIA FOR DEFENCE—NATIVE
ADMINISTRATION.

SIR,

Two papers have lately been read before the East India Association which I consider deserve to be prominently noticed in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*: one* by a retired member of the Civil Service, which may be considered the old school of Indian politics; and the other† by the Hon. G. K. Gokhale (C.I.E.), a representative of the new. The former appears not to go far enough and the latter too far, or, at all events, too fast.

Mr. Thorburn's paper dealt with the subject of an Indian Militia for India's national defence, and was published in the July number of this Magazine. The title seems to me to be a misnomer, for, far from applying to India generally, it is concerned only with the Punjab and the defence of the North-Western Frontier against a possible Russian attack. As far as the latter is concerned, I do not wish to raise any objection, but there underlies it the wider-reaching question of Indian finance on the whole. Were it not for the great and increasing cost of the army in India, the Finance Minister would lie on a bed of roses, and there would be ample room not only for remission of taxation in cases where the shoe now pinches, but there would be a surplus that could be applied to still further remission and to the improvement of the resources of the country by extending irrigation and bettering the means of communication. But to call a Militia for the Punjab and the North-Western Frontier one for India is, as already said, a misnomer. India has other frontiers besides that on the north-west, and these require to be defended, if not against Russia, against comparatively wild and uncivilized tribes that are capable of doing much mis-

* See our July issue.

† See this paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

chief by, to use a Shakesperian term, *excursions and alarums* against the more peaceful portions of the country and its inhabitants. This question deserves consideration from those who have not become, from long association with it, part and parcel of its limited concerns, and thus form a narrow view of the requirements of the country as a whole. Why should there not, then, be a Militia to guard the North-Western Provinces and Oude against trouble on the frontier of Nepaul, and the same in Northern and Eastern Bengal, to keep the peace in the direction of Assam and the north-east? Why should Khandesh and Gujarát, among other regions, not be prepared against possible, although improbable, disturbances among the Bheels of the Vindhya and Sátpoora Hills? To go further, could not the Indian exchequer be substantially relieved of a large portion of the cost of keeping up a regular army for the mere purpose of garrisoning a peaceful country, which could never be exposed to attack from any foreign enemy, and therefore requires no more or more thoroughly trained troops than such as are necessary for the purposes of police and the maintenance of internal order? There are already in existence local corps, such as the Maiawara Battalion in Rajputána, the old Coolie Corps in Ahmadabad (now, I think, disbanded), and the Bheel Corps in Khandesh, which with some increase and improved discipline would be quite competent to carry out the smaller purpose now indicated. If such local corps, or the improved armed or military police that are no doubt kept up in other parts of India, were substituted for the garrisons now supplied by detachments from the regular army, there would be a great relief given to the Imperial finances, and that relief could be made available for the more general purposes indicated above, and especially for that of more general education which was prominently brought forward by Mr. Gokhale.

On the whole, then, it may be taken as demonstrated that Mr. Thorburn in his paper hardly touched the fringe of a large question, for the discussion of which an excellent

opportunity was afforded, and on which I hope the East India Association will soon provide another.

In the paper read by Mr. Gokhale it appears to me that, in accordance with the views of the National Indian Congress which chiefly represents those of the educated classes among the Hindoos, he has made the mistake of commencing at the top instead of the bottom. He has forgotten, or at all events has not taken into account, those higher moral qualifications required by those who take part in the administration of an Empire, and in which even the most bigoted member of the Congress must admit the native Indian community is greatly deficient. These qualifications are to a great extent inherited by the members of the English Civil Service from their ancestors, and fail even among the most highly University and College educated of the Congress, chiefly in consequence of the deplorable ignorance of the mothers of the people. The mistake is made of thinking that an educated native who is wanting in such moral qualifications is fitted, *ipso facto*, from his education in literary acquirements, to take part without any training whatever in the duties involved in the higher offices of the administration. But even the most highly educated *alumni* of the English or foreign Universities who may enter the ranks of the Civil Service do not aspire to become at once Commissioners of divisions or provinces, or even Collectors and Magistrates of districts, without the preliminary training given by experience in actual superintending work in the lower grades of the service. This, however, is a matter that a Congressman would generally scorn to discuss, as he would scorn to discuss a differentiation between Englishmen and natives of the country in that of pay on account of the less expensive method of living of the latter. Not only this, but the highly educated native, aiming, as he considers himself entitled to, at high office and high pay at once, would consider himself degraded by the offer of a lower appointment (with comparatively little more than a living wage) in which he would gain that practical knowledge of

the duties of administration acquired by every civilian before he rises to higher and more responsible posts.

Having discussed the general points of the two papers mentioned, it does not appear necessary to enter into detail with regard to such questions as the simultaneous examination in England and India of candidates for entrance into the service, or that of the larger admission of natives into the commissioned ranks of the army. As I have already mentioned in the pages of this Magazine, my motto in all such matters is the old but wise one of *festina lente*.

A. ROGERS.

THE OPIUM QUESTION IN INDIA.

SIR,

I hope my article* on the Opium Question will be widely read. For years I have been doing my best to induce the people of England to take some practical interest in the peasantry of India, who die in their millions from preventable diseases. But the people of this country, while ignoring my appeal for the improvement of the water-supply and the development of dairy farming in India under proper conditions, take up the ignorant cry against opium! For one life lost by opium-eating in India, tens of thousands of little children, and of adults old and young, are annually killed by drinking impure water and milk. "In India milk is largely consumed in the liquid form by well-to-do natives, and it is also manufactured into numerous edible products," the most important of which is *dahi* (curdled milk). And yet to this day the milch buffaloes are the village scavengers, "eating human excrement with disgusting avidity." The milk produced under these conditions has "a rank unwholesome flavour, and, besides, is invariably adulterated or diluted with impure water, while ample opportunity is afforded for the introduction of the germs of contagious diseases, the most dreaded of which is enteric fever."

* See our last issue (July), pp. 42-51.

The quotations which I have given are taken from an interesting article in *Blackwood's Magazine* of February, 1898, which was written by a well-known expert, Professor Robert Wallace, of Edinburgh, and they emphasize all that I have said and written on the subject.

D. N. REID.

INDIAN BUDGET 1906-1907.*

THE figures for the past three years, reduced to their simplest form, and excluding capital, debt, and remittance transactions, are as follows: The revenue for 1904-1905 was £84,812,971; expenditure £81,356,905; the surplus being £3,456,066. For the year 1905-1906 the revenue was £84,829,500, and the expenditure £83,073,800, and the surplus was £1,755,700. For 1906-1907 the revenue is estimated at £86,495,100, and the expenditure £85,621,000, leaving a surplus of £874,100.

It is anticipated that the receipts from land revenue will be considerably better than those of the last year. In the United Provinces the agricultural prospects are also encouraging. In Bombay also, in spite of the adverse conditions prevailing in the Deccan districts, recovery to the extent of Rs. 21,92,000 is anticipated. It is also expected that in Burma, where much new land is being brought under settlement, and also in Madras and the Punjab, there will be considerable improvements. With regard to opium, it was estimated that the average price of last year would be Rs. 1,400 a chest, but the actual average was Rs. 1,434. The sales in February and March, however, yielded rates of only Rs. 1,343 and Rs. 1,258 respectively, and for next year the average may be Rs. 1,125. This involves a decrease of 111½ lakhs of rupees as compared with the revised estimate of the current year. On the other hand, there may be a small recovery in Malwa,

* Indian Financial Statement for 1906-1907, and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General thereon, House of Commons, May 9, 1906.

where the weighments during 1905-1906 had been the lowest on record, and the net falling off is estimated at £659,400. The consumption of salt, and the receipts from the salt duty, have continued to expand in a very gratifying manner, and a further increase is expected during the year to the extent of 12 lakhs of maunds, being an increase of revenue of £63,300. An increase is also expected under stamps and excise and other items. With respect to expenditure, there is anticipated an increase of £287,300 on direct demands on the revenue, £1,140,600 under salaries and expenses of civil departments, £421,500 on other public works, and £406,400 under army service.

It is proposed that the surplus should be devoted to the following objects: For the reform of the police in accordance with the approved recommendations of the Police Commission the principal objects of which will be improved scale of pay for the superior officers, the recruitment of a new class of officers to be termed deputy-superintendents. Further recruitment of sub-inspectors, the formation of Provincial Departments of Criminal Investigation, and reforms in the force of Madras, Calcutta, and Rangoon. The grant will be apportioned between the various provinces—viz., Madras, $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs; Bombay, $2\frac{1}{2}$; Bengal, 4; Eastern Bengal and Assam, $2\frac{1}{4}$; United Provinces, $3\frac{1}{4}$; Punjab, $2\frac{1}{2}$; Burma, $2\frac{1}{2}$; Central Provinces, $2\frac{1}{2}$; Minor Provinces, 1. There will also be grants for agricultural development and research, and there will be a small sum of 5 lakhs a year for education, half of which will be applied to technical education, and the remainder to the education of Europeans and Eurasians. The grant for technical education is to be allotted as follows: Bombay, Rs. 1,67,000; Bengal, Rs. 35,000; United Provinces, Rs. 30,000; Central Provinces, Rs. 22,000.

ENGLAND, TIBET, AND CHINA.

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND CHINA
RESPECTING TIBET, SIGNED AT PEKING, APRIL 27, 1906.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED THE CONVENTION BETWEEN THE
UNITED KINGDOM AND TIBET, SIGNED AT LHASA,
SEPTEMBER 7, 1904.

(Ratifications exchanged at London, July 23, 1906.)*

WHEREAS His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and His Majesty the Emperor of China are sincerely desirous to maintain and perpetuate the relations of friendship and good understanding which now exist between their respective Empires ;

And whereas the refusal of Tibet to recognise the validity of or to carry into full effect the provisions of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of March 17, 1890, and Regulations of December 5, 1893, placed the British Government under the necessity of taking steps to secure their rights and interests under the said Convention and Regulations ;

And whereas a Convention of ten articles was signed at Lhasa on September 7, 1904, on behalf of Great Britain and Tibet, and was ratified by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India on behalf of Great Britain on November 11, 1904, a declaration on behalf of Great Britain modifying its terms under certain conditions being appended thereto ;

His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the Emperor of China have resolved to conclude a Convention on this subject and have for this purpose named Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :—

His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland :

Sir Ernest Mason Satow, Knight Grand Cross of the
Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and

* Presented to Parliament August, 1906 (Treaty Series, No. 9, 1906).

Saint George, His said Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of China ;

and His Majesty the Emperor of China :

His Excellency Tong Shoa-yi, His said Majesty's High Commissioner Plenipotentiary and a Vice-President of the Board of Foreign Affairs ;

who having communicated to each other their respective full powers and finding them to be in good and true form have agreed upon and concluded the following Convention in six articles :

ARTICLE I.—The Convention concluded on September 7, 1904, by Great Britain and Tibet, the texts of which in English and Chinese are attached to the present Convention as an annexe, is hereby confirmed, subject to the modification stated in the declaration appended thereto, and both of the High Contracting Parties engage to take at all times such steps as may be necessary to secure the due fulfilment of the terms specified therein.

ARTICLE II.—The Government of Great Britain engages not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet. The Government of China also undertakes not to permit any other foreign State to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet.

ARTICLE III.—The concessions which are mentioned in Article IX. (d) of the Convention concluded on September 7, 1904, by Great Britain and Tibet are denied to any State or to the subject of any State other than China, but it has been arranged with China that at the trade marts specified in Article II. of the aforesaid Convention Great Britain shall be entitled to lay down telegraph lines connecting with India.

ARTICLE IV.—The provisions of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and Regulations of 1893 shall, subject to the terms of this present Convention and annexe thereto, remain in full force.

ARTICLE V.—The English and Chinese texts of the present Convention have been carefully compared and found to correspond, but in the event of there being any difference of meaning between them the English text shall be authoritative.

ARTICLE VI.—This Convention shall be ratified by the Sovereigns of both countries, and ratifications shall be exchanged at London within three months after the date of signature by the Plenipotentiaries of both Powers.

In token whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed and sealed this Convention, four copies in English and four in Chinese.

Done at Peking this twenty-seventh day of April, one thousand nine hundred and six, being the fourth day of the fourth month of the thirty-second year of the reign of Kuang-hsü.

ERNEST SATOW.

(Signature and Seal of the Chinese Plenipotentiary.)

ANNEXE.

Convention between the Governments of Great Britain and Tibet, signed at Lhasa on September 7, 1904.

Declaration signed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India on behalf of the British Government and appended to the ratified Convention of September 7, 1904.

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREAT
BRITAIN AND TIBET.

Whereas doubts and difficulties have arisen as to the meaning and validity of the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890, and the Trade Regulations of 1893, and as to the liabilities of the Tibetan Government under these agreements; and Whereas recent occurrences have tended towards a disturbance of the relations of friendship and good understanding which have existed between the British Government and the Government of Tibet; and Whereas

it is desirable to restore peace and amicable relations, and to resolve and determine the doubts and difficulties as aforesaid, the said Governments have resolved to conclude a Convention with these objects, and the following articles have been agreed upon by Colonel F. E. Younghusband, C.I.E., in virtue of full powers vested in him by His Britannic Majesty's Government and on behalf of that said Government, and Lo-Sang Gyal-Tsen, the Ga-den Ti-Rimpoche, and the representatives of the Council, of the three monasteries, Se-ra, Dre-pung, and Ga-den, and of the ecclesiastical and lay officials of the National Assembly on behalf of the Government of Tibet.

I. The Government of Tibet engages to respect the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and to recognise the frontier between Sikkim and Tibet, as defined in Article I. of the said Convention, and to erect boundary pillars accordingly.

II.—The Tibetan Government undertakes to open forthwith trade marts to which all British and Tibetan subjects shall have free right of access at Gyantse and Gartok, as well as at Yatung.

The Regulations applicable to the trade mart at Yatung, under the Anglo-Chinese Agreement of 1893, shall, subject to such amendments as may hereafter be agreed upon by common consent between the British and Tibetan Governments, apply to the marts above mentioned.

In addition to establishing trade marts at the places mentioned, the Tibetan Government undertakes to place no restrictions on the trade by existing routes, and to consider the question of establishing fresh trade marts under similar conditions if development of trade requires it.

III.—The question of the amendment of the Regulations of 1893 is reserved for separate consideration, and the Tibetan Government undertakes to appoint fully authorized delegates to negotiate with representatives of the British Government as to the details of the amendments required.

IV.—The Tibetan Government undertakes to levy no

dues of any kind other than those provided for in the tariff to be mutually agreed upon.

V.—The Tibetan Government undertakes to keep the roads to Gyantse and Gartok from the frontier clear of all obstruction and in a state of repair suited to the needs of the trade, and to establish at Yatung, Gyantse, and Gartok, and at each of the other trade marts that may hereafter be established, a Tibetan Agent who shall receive from the British Agent appointed to watch over British trade at the marts in question any letter which the latter may desire to send to the Tibetan or to the Chinese authorities. The Tibetan Agent shall also be responsible for the due delivery of such communications and for the transmission of replies.

VI.—As an indemnity to the British Government for the expense incurred in the despatch of armed troops to Lhasa, to exact reparation for breaches of treaty obligations, and for the insults offered to and attacks upon the British Commissioner and his following and escort, the Tibetan Government engages to pay a sum of five hundred thousand pounds—equivalent to rupees seventy-five lakhs—to the British Government.

The indemnity shall be payable at such place as the British Government may from time to time, after due notice, indicate whether in Tibet or in the British districts of Darjeeling or Jalpaiguri, in seventy-five annual instalments of rupees one lakh each on the 1st January in each year, beginning from the 1st January, 1906.

VII.—As security for the payment of the above-mentioned indemnity, and for the fulfilment of the provisions relative to trade marts specified in Articles II., III., IV. and V., the British Government shall continue to occupy the Chumbi Valley until the indemnity has been paid and until the trade marts have been effectively opened for three years, whichever date may be the later.

VIII.—The Tibetan Government agrees to raze all forts and fortifications, and remove all armaments which

might impede the course of free communication between the British frontier and the towns of Gyantse and Lhasa.

IX.—The Government of Tibet engages that, without the previous consent of the British Government—

(a) No portion of Tibetan territory shall be ceded, sold, leased, mortgaged or otherwise given for occupation, to any Foreign Power ;

(b) No such Power shall be permitted to intervene in Tibetan affairs ;

(c) No representatives or agents of any Foreign Power shall be admitted to Tibet ;

(d) No concessions for railways, roads, telegraphs, mining or other rights, shall be granted to any Foreign Power, or to the subject of any Foreign Power. In the event of consent to such concessions being granted, similar or equivalent concessions shall be granted to the British Government ;

(e) No Tibetan revenues, whether in kind or in cash, shall be pledged or assigned to any Foreign Power, or to the subject of any Foreign Power.

X.—In witness whereof the negotiators have signed the same, and affixed thereunto the seals of their arms. Done in quintuplicate at Lhasa, this 7th day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and four, corresponding with the Tibetan date, the 27th day of the seventh month of the Wood Dragon year.

This Convention was ratified by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council at Simla on the eleventh day of November, A.D., one thousand nine hundred and four.

Declaration signed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and appended to the ratified Convention of 7th September, 1904.

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, having ratified the Convention which was concluded at Lhasa on 7th September, 1904, by Colonel Young-

husband, C.I.E., British Commissioner for Tibet Frontier Matters, on behalf of His Britannic Majesty's Government; and by Lo-Sang Gyal-Tsen, the Ga-den Ti-Rimpoche, and the representatives of the Council, of the three monasteries Se-ra, Dre-pung, and Ga-den, and of the ecclesiastical and lay officials of the National Assembly, on behalf of the Government of Tibet, is pleased to direct as an act of grate that the sum of money which the Tibetan Government have bound themselves under the terms of Article VI. of the said Convention to pay to His Majesty's Government as an indemnity for the expenses incurred by the latter in connection with the despatch of armed forces to Lhasa, be reduced from Rs. 75,00,000 to Rs. 25,00,000; and to declare that the British occupation of the Chumbi valley shall cease after the due payment of three annual instalments of the said indemnity as fixed by the said Article, provided, however, that the trade marts as stipulated in Article II. of the Convention shall have been effectively opened for three years as provided in Article VI. of the Convention; and that, in the mean time, the Tibetans shall have faithfully complied with the terms of the said Convention in all other respects.

AGREEMENT IN REFERENCE TO MONEY ORDERS BETWEEN
THE GENERAL POST OFFICE OF ENGLAND AND THE
GENERAL POST OFFICE OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES
SO FAR AS IT CONCERNED THE GENERAL PUBLIC.*

ARTICLE I.—Between the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland* on the one part, and the *Dutch East Indies* on the other part, there shall be a regular exchange of Money Orders.

ARTICLE II.—The Money Order service between the contracting countries shall be performed exclusively by the agency of offices of exchange. On the part of the *United Kingdom* the office of exchange shall be the Money

* Parliamentary Paper, Cd. 3011, 1906.

Order Department, General Post Office, London, and on the part of the *Dutch East Indies* the General Post Office of *Batavia*.

ARTICLE III.—The Post Offices of the two contracting countries shall have the power to fix, by mutual agreement, the maximum amount for single Money Orders issued in their respective countries. This maximum shall not, however, exceed 20*l.* or the nearest practical equivalent to that sum in the money of the country of issue.

ARTICLE IV.—The Post Offices of the *United Kingdom* and the *Dutch East Indies* shall each have power to fix, from time to time, the rate of commission to be charged on all Money Orders they may respectively cause to be issued; such power to include a right to fix the rate of exchange between the issuing office and the remitter. The commission, together with any profit that may arise from the rate of exchange, shall belong to the issuing office; but the *British* Post Office shall pay to the Post Office of the *Dutch East Indies* one half of one per cent. ($\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.) on the amount of Money Orders drawn by it on the *Dutch East Indies*, and the Post Office of the *Dutch East Indies* shall make a like payment to the British Office for Money Orders drawn by it on the *United Kingdom*. Each Office shall inform the other what commission it may determine to levy and what alterations it may from time to time make in that commission.

ARTICLE V.—In the accounts between the two chief offices, the conversion of the money of the two countries shall be made in, accordance with the average rate of exchange, which, until otherwise mutually agreed to, shall be taken at 12 florins 10 cents to the pound sterling.

ARTICLE VI.—In the payment of Money Orders to the public, no account shall be taken of any fraction of a penny or of a cent.

ARTICLE VII.—The applicant for every Money Order shall be required to furnish, if possible, the full surname and Christian name (or at least the initial of one Christian

name) both of the remitter and of the payee, or the name of the firm or company who are the remitters or payees and the address of the remitter and payee. If, however, a Christian name or initial cannot be given, an Order may nevertheless be issued *at the remitter's risk*.

ARTICLE VIII.—In the event of a Money Order mis-carrying or being lost, a duplicate shall be granted by the Post Office of the country where the original Order was payable, provided that the application be made within the period and in accordance with the rules adopted by such office.

In all such cases the office which issued the duplicate shall be authorized to demand an additional commission, unless there is reason to believe that the original Order has been lost in transmission through the post.

ARTICLE IX.—Each office shall be authorized to repay the amount of a Money Order to the remitter on learning from the other office that the sum has not already been paid in due course, and that the latter office authorizes the repayment.

ARTICLE X.—Orders shall be payable in each country for twelve months after the expiration of the month of issue. The amounts of all Money Orders not paid before the expiration of that term shall revert to and remain the property of the administration of the country of issue.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE ALLEN, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON,
1906.

1. *India under Royal Eyes*, by H. F. PREVOST BATTERSBY, author of "In the Web of War," "The Plague of the Heart," etc. All who have taken an interest in the recent visit of the Prince of Wales to India will peruse this work with extreme pleasure. The letter-press is excellent, and the numerous illustrations of persons, places, scenes, and incidents give a charm to the whole book. As the well-known author tells us, "it offers a picture of India which but a score of men in a generation have a chance of seeing—a picture of the old romantic, magnificent India which it is very possible may never be again in view." "How different in her office hours India is from the bedizened reveller we met in the streets one had now and again an opportunity of discovering, and it is hoped that in a part of this book some use of that opportunity may be discerned. The more serious aims of it have, for the readers' convenience and avoidance, been, as far as possible, consigned to its concluding chapters. These chapters enter upon the Bond of Language, the Partition of Bengal, the New Army, Lord Kitchener's Reforms, the Silladar Cavalry, and the Educational Outlook. In reference to the latter, the following expressions of opinion are worthy of serious consideration :

"We are manufacturing discontent in India, and we are manufacturing it by means of education. Nor is the discontent of the sort for which might be felt any satisfaction, the unsatisfied aspiration which may be thought divine. It is a discontent, not with conditions, but with their personal application ; not with the limitation of opportunity, but of rewards. To appreciate the position, the different relation of education to life at home and in India must be understood. In England education is regarded as an end,

in India almost wholly as a means to one. In England the educated for a special purpose form only a small proportion of the educated population ; in India they practically compose the whole of it. Every boy who proceeds to the higher schools and colleges does so with the set purpose of obtaining employment—Government employment preferably—as a direct return for his labours. The educated Indian public may thus be said almost entirely to consist either of appointed or of disappointed men, with the proportion of the latter every year increasing, according as the output of scholars and graduates enlarges, with no corresponding expansion of offices. It was a constant source of anything but agreeable surprise to discover that the humble functionary deputed in the Native States to look after our mere epistolary requirements was in most instances a Bachelor of Arts. But the B.A. is already such a common object along the highways of learning that in the more considerable cities you may pick up as many specimens of him as you require to perform the functions of a clerk at the humble emolument of a pound a month. Yet you will have to pay seven times that wage for an ordinary shorthand writer, with no pretensions to scholarship. Still, the obvious advantages of the more commercial training have not operated, and apparently are not likely to operate, in reducing the crop of unemployable graduates. The classes are different from which the competitors are drawn, and the man who craves for the sheltered course of departmental promotion and the beckoning distance of a pension has, as a rule, not only an inherited aversion to trade, but lacks all business instincts and aptitudes. There seems, therefore, no diversion to be hoped from other channels of attraction, and nothing appears likely to result from the natural processes of discouragement. The only too apparent disproportion of effort to reward has shown no tendency to diminish the accumulation of effort."

" Now, the most salient impression one derives from a brief acquaintance with the average Indian graduate's mind

is that it only moves completely at ease amid quotation marks. It swings from one to the other of these with the expertness of an acrobat among trapezes, but, without an inverted comma to lay hold of, its flight drops heavily to earth. It may be able to correct your reference to an obscure Elizabethan poet, but it finds a difficulty in forming any original literary opinions. The most retarding influence on its cultivation is really its prodigious memory. It tries to acquire everything by rote. It was proposed a few years ago to permit a candidate for graduation to present himself for examination in one subject at a time, the plain intention being that he should learn each by heart. Even without that assistance to superficiality, he contrives to reduce most of what is intended for education into a system of memorizing. His wonderful English is often a plain proof how merely formal is his proficiency; but in the humours of that English one may easily forget how remarkable an achievement for an Asiatic are even its pedantic absurdities, and it is not for the average Anglo-Indian, with his still queerer treatment of an alien tongue, to laugh at a performance so far transcending the alternative which he is able to achieve.

“Yet his very aptitude seems a reason why the Indian undergraduate should not be trained too exclusively on literature. He is intrinsically too prone to the mental habits which a literary diet breeds; his wonderful memory enables him to evade what a profounder digestion might yield him; the training is not best fitted to develop his rather indefinite personality, and, in the event of his failing to obtain employment on the mere strength of his degree, it leaves him with no very marketable quality with which to start any other sort of calling. It is difficult, indeed, to suggest anything to supply that deficiency because, of course, the careers are not yet there, and their possibilities have scarcely been indicated; but if India comes to have more need of anything from her own children, it will not be of the arts which extend the refinements of life, but of those

which add to its possibility. India has only begun to invoke the assistance of science to extend by modern methods her productive powers, and it is obvious that if the invocation is to be of any value a new and comprehensive department, or at least the very considerable extension of an old one, will be required. There is much still to be discovered, and much in consequence to be taught, concerning methods of cultivation and the best material for crops, and it would be wisdom on the part of the Universities to forestall the clamant hour by qualifying men to take advantage of it when it comes. The training of an experimental science, with all the advantages it offers to memory, and the little that it yields to memory alone, would have a particular value for the Indian mind, and the existence of men prepared to serve the new department might accelerate its creation. There is scarcely a branch of agriculture in India, there is hardly one of her manufactures which has not questions to ask, the adequate answering of which would mean increased profits and increased employment."

In reference to the education of women, the author had the "chance of seeing in the Maharani's Girls' College at Mysore one of the most successful experiments, and of learning the difficulties through which it has to fight its way. It makes somewhat for romance in education when one has to safeguard one's scholars from being kidnapped by their husbands on the way to school, and round these little girls, many of them widows in their early teens, every sort of jealous interference seems to lie in wait; but that appeared only to add to the zest of those who were trying to bring learning within reach of them. So many of India's questions are tied to the future of her women, so much of her inner efforts after social reform are pledged to the amelioration of their lot, such possibilities in the relation of the two races may depend on a new conception of Indian womanhood, that even one's misgivings were interested in the Westernizing of her heart."

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS: MACMILLAN AND CO., 66,
FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 1906.

2. *A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama, with an Introductory Sketch of the Dramatic Literature of India*, by MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JNR., A.M., Consul-General of the United States to Siam. The object of this work is to supply to students of Sanskrit literature as complete a catalogue as possible of all Hindoo authors and their writings, in order that they might be able to tell, at a glance, how many manuscripts of each are known, how many additions and translations have been made, and what has been written concerning them. The useful material of this work has been collected for several years by the learned author. The arrangement of names and titles follows the order of the English alphabet. Plays are inserted under the author's name when it is known, and cross-references are given under the titles of his various works; anonymous are listed under the names by which they are known. There is an admirable introduction upon the Sanskrit drama, in which he says: "In the invention of plots the dramatists show little fertility of imagination; on the other hand, cleverness is certainly clearly shown in the way in which the details of the plot are worked out and the development of the intrigue is presented. In the majority of cases the plot is somewhat as follows: The hero, who is usually a king or a prince, and already has one or more wives, at the opening of the play suddenly becomes enamoured of the charms of some girl or nymph. Although she is equally in love with him, she is too bashful and modest to let her passion be observed. Hope and fear alternately cheer and dismay both hero and heroine. She confides in some girl friend, he in the jester, who is always a Brahman, but a person of slow intelligence, whose uncouth attempts at wit seem often lacking in every element of humour. The jester, moreover, is a glutton, greedy for money, and, as it is to be expected, an inveterate gossip, always on the watch for some fresh bit of news.

One of the most curious features of the Sanskrit drama, fostered as it was by the Court society of India, which was almost always under the control of Brahman priests, is that this figure of a degraded and besotted Brahman should be allowed to appear as a typical stage figure. In an article written some years ago ('The Origin of the Vidūsaka and the Employment of this Character in the Plays of Harsadeva, in *Jaos* 20' [1899], pp. 338-340) I advanced the theory that such a seeming inconsistency might be due to the fact that the drama had its origin in the religious dances and ceremonies of the common people, who were, of course, largely non-Brahmanic, and was therefore an outgrowth of the many popular religions of India rather than a development of pure Brahminism. In this way the conventional figures, having become in the course of time crystallized into permanent types, were retained when the folk-drama became popular at Court, and thus even Brahman authors did not hesitate to perpetuate the type, though really derogatory to their class. Other stock characters in the plays are the parasite (*vīta*), ministers, Buddhist monks and nuns, servants of the harem, dwarfs, mutes, and the female attendants of the king."

"The age of the Sanskrit drama may roughly be given as extending from 400 to 1100 A.D. This period does not, of course, include the earliest efforts at dramatic composition, nor take in a large number of late and inferior plays. Very little is known of the earliest dramatists before Kālidāsa, and none of their compositions, excepting scattered verses, are extant. For example, the poets Bhāsa, Rāmīla, Somīla (or Saumīllaka), and the Kariputras, were well-known and popular playwrights among the Hindoos of Kālidāsa's time, but our knowledge of them is practically confined to their names. (See the prologue to Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, and F. Hall in *Jas. Be.* 28 (1859), p. 28 seq. and in the Introduction to his '*Vāsavadattā*,' pp. 14, 15.)"

CROSBY, LOCKWOOD AND SON, LONDON ; RAI SAHIB M. GULAB SINGH AND SONS, LAHORE. 1906.

3. *Hindustani for Every Day*, by COLONEL W. R. M. HOLROYD, M.R.A.S., Fellow of Calcutta University, and of the University of the Punjab, and Director of Public Instruction, Punjab. The object of this excellent work is to impart a sound practical knowledge of the Hindustani language as it is employed in daily life, more especially in the intercourse between Indians and Anglo-Indians. Its accuracy may be relied upon, as the author, not only from his own experience, but also after consultation with the eminent scholar Maulavi Mirza Beg, a Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab, went over the work, word by word, through all the Hindustani sentences which the work contains, thus effecting many improvements both in the text and in the notes. The first part contains twelve short chapters on pronunciation, treated in a novel manner ; all difficulties are fully explained, and the chapters are so progressively arranged that the reader may not be required to contend with more than one difficulty at a time. He will be able to pronounce the language in such a manner as to make himself readily understood. Each chapter, after the first two, contains useful sentences of simple construction, composed of words entered at the head of the same or previous chapter. The second part, which consists of thirty-four chapters, and constitutes the main portion of the book, deals with grammar and the construction of sentences. The third part consists of appendices. The first appendix shows the forms used to express various degrees of relationship, and the second contains a note on transliteration in Roman characters. The system adopted is in accordance with that recommended by the Oriental Congress of Geneva in 1894, and also with the system followed by the Government of India for spelling the names of places which have not become well known in an Anglicized form. The whole work is extremely useful to Englishmen in India,

and we most cordially recommend it to every Englishman whose visits or services are in India.

ELLIOT STOCK, 62, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, 1906.

4. *Persia by a Persian, being Personal Experiences of Manners, Customs, Habits, Religious and Social Life in Persia*, by REV. ISAAC ADAMS, M.D., author of "Darkness and Daybreak," founder of the Nestorian Colony in Canada. The author of this work gives a very interesting history of himself. He was a poor and destitute Persian boy. He has divided his book into three parts: the first relates his own personal history; his contact with missionary work in Persia; and in the course of many vicissitudes and extraordinary adventures he made his way to the United States of America. Under Christian influences he qualified himself first as a Christian missionary to his native country, and afterwards he took a medical degree in order that he might thereby be more able to carry on the work which he wished to accomplish among his countrymen. His efforts have met with remarkable success. In the second part of the volume he gives a concise history of Persia from the proclamation of Cyrus down to the present time, and details, as no one but a Persian could do, the present condition and needs of the country. In the third part the author gives a short history of the Nestorian Church and its work. There are also numerous well-executed illustrations—a portrait of himself, Exiles to Siberia, Schools—and other interesting subjects, including the manners and customs of the people and other topics, which add a charm to the volume.

The following is an example of his description of the present condition of the Christians in Persia: "It is impossible to adequately picture in words the awful condition in which the Christians live in these parts, so much oppressed by the wild Kurds and the Turks. On my travels there, always accompanied by two or three Turkish soldiers, I had ample opportunity to witness the outrages which Christians must endure. Whenever we had entered an Armenian or

Nestorian village, the soldiers would rush into the houses and act entirely as masters of the place. They demanded food and drink such as they preferred, and their demands must be complied with under all circumstances, or they would become furious, knock down doors, break the windows, slap the inhabitants in the face, shoot the chickens or other domestic animals in the yard, and carry on in a brutal manner. At one place they shot a little child, playing in the sand, just for a joke. When once we arrived at the village, late at night, they demolished the doors which were not immediately opened at their call, compelled most of the men in the village to arise from their beds and go out and cut grass in the fields for their horses. In the meantime they themselves entered the houses and did what they pleased with the women. At one time they entered a house while a male inhabitant was watering their horses. They found a woman with children lying asleep in bed. They picked up the bedding, together with the persons in it, carried all out of doors, emptied the mother and her children out into the yard, and after taking the bed back into the house, slept on it themselves. Everywhere in the Kurdistan Mountains the dwellings of the Nestorians are of the humblest kind. Many houses (but they do not deserve that name) are built half underground on account of the extreme severity of the winters, the snow there lying 5 feet deep on the level. In order to keep warm during this season people live in one compartment, together with their animals, in a state of filth that beggars description. But there is another reason for this. The winters being very long, the animals owned by these people are solely depending upon the stock of hay laid in. This hay, as well as the animals, must be kept as near as possible, owing to lawless tribes of Kurds, who are swooping down upon them, foraging their herds, pillaging their goods, and burning their hay when within their reach and unprotected. However, the extortion and oppression by the Government are feared nearly as much as the Kurds."

“These soldiers are called Zaptiehs, and their functions are similar to those of patrolmen in the United States ; but there is another kind of Turkish soldiers called Hamidieh, who are a great help to the Zaptieh in oppressing the people. These will seize people at their option, and then promise to release them if they pay them the money they want ; if the money is not forwarded, they will be taken to prison. Here they will be penned in a cell full of vermin and filth with twenty-five or thirty other persons, and no water given them to drink but that which Mohammedans have used for their ablutions. The treatment which such poor persons are subjected to is most shocking : (a) Red-hot irons are pressed against different parts of their bodies ; (b) they are undressed and beaten into unconsciousness ; (c) a collar is thrown over their heads, and they are thus dragged through the streets ; (d) they are left without food or drink until starved ; (e) they are forced to stand for a long time continuously, and all kinds of filth is poured down over their heads ; (f) they are forced to perform ‘shaton toppy,’ or devil’s ring, the result of which is death ; hands and feet are tightly bound ; they are forced to hold their hands above their heads, whereas a severe torture is administered, and an unspeakable, beastly crime committed ; (g) their hair is plucked out by handfuls ; (h) they are mutilated and crippled in various ways ; (i) they are compelled to stand erect within a box just large enough to admit one person ; but the box is beset with sharp steel points on all sides. In this box they must stand for from thirty to forty-eight hours in succession, not being permitted even to attend to wants of nature.”

As to the practice of medicine in Persia, he says : “A physician cannot see the faces of his patients. The traveller in the East is often asked to prescribe for the sick, be he actually a physician or not. I have been repeatedly requested to serve in this capacity. The physician, however, labours under a peculiar disadvantage in Persian practice, even if his qualifications are not too carefully

examined ; for, as I have indicated above, he is not permitted to see the face of his female patient, and is thus deprived of one of the most important points in forming a diagnosis. The native doctors require no other diploma to enter the profession of medicine than a supply of infinite assurance. They are generally itinerants who go from village to village and announce their profession on arriving. Extraordinary remedies are given. Having prescribed, the physician decamps before the results become perceptible, aware that a common sequence is death. Fortunately for the practitioners, this result is generally quietly accepted as the fiat of Kismet or Destiny."

"It must be admitted that the most important factor now at work in the missionary field of Persia is one that is largely secular. I refer to the employment of missionary physicians. Persons who do not care to be instructed in the tenets of a faith other than their own are still in need of a physical aid. All may not be in spiritual need, but all, sooner or later, require a physician. If the practitioner be a man of ability, tact and suavity, he acquires a personal influence that necessarily leads to a modification of the opposition to the progress of the missionaries with whom the physician is associated, and important concessions may thus gradually be obtained from those in power."

In reference to Mohammedan women : "It is the policy of the Mohammedans not to open too wide the eyes of women, consequently they have no schools for girls. Among the higher classes even very few ever teach their daughters to read ; consequently there are millions of Mohammedan women who during their whole lives can never take up a book and read, or sit down and write a letter to their friends. Sometimes it happens that a woman's husband has to reside for a time several hundred miles distant from her. In such a case, should she wish to write to him, she will cover her face and go to a priest and tell him what she wants to have written to her husband. He then writes the letter for her, and she pays him for it. When she receives

a letter from her husband, she again has to go to the priest, or someone else that can read, and has it read to her. This shows how very ignorant they are, and no wonder, then, that they are so superstitious. When they go out, it is customary for them to cover their entire body with a large blue wrap, while a linen veil, with small holes in it for the eyes, is worn over the face. These wraps they wear are nearly all of the same colour and the same material, so that when they are out walking many of them cannot be recognised by their own nearest relatives even. Rich and poor appear just the same. When they go to a party—or ladies' reception—we might call it—they paint their faces with a red substance, and blacken their eyes, eyelashes, and eyebrows with black antimony. Many of them colour their fingers and finger-nails, and even their feet, red with henna. They dye their hair also with henna, and plait it in many long braids. They wear necklaces and chains around their necks, and bracelets and glass bangles on their arms. Quite a number of them smoke pipes. Most of the ladies of the higher classes are very idle. They invite each other to parties by turns. Often ten or fifteen of them may be seen in the streets, attended by servants, going to parties. Where women are gathered no men appear, and where men are no women come."

Our space does not permit us to give further quotations from this very interesting volume. We, however, strongly recommend the perusal of the whole work by those who desire to promote civilization in Persia, and to advance education among the people, thereby laying a sure foundation for the maintenance of the peace, the order, and the liberty of this ancient kingdom.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; 39, PATERNOSTER ROW,
LONDON, E.C., NEW YORK AND BOMBAY.

5. *Everyday Life among the Head-Hunters, and other Experiences from East to West*, by DOROTHY CATOR. With thirty-four illustrations from photographs. The author tells

her story of travelling, the scenes of men and women, and of places and events, very vividly and with great simplicity. The route to Borneo, its surroundings and their inhabitants, their manners, customs, and talents, all come under notice and review. The following is a portion of her description of the "Head-Hunting country," and its people :

"After a tiring and difficult walk, we arrived at the Romanow town, which consisted of two or three villages, each village, with all its different families living for safety in one very long house, to the chief of which we were taken. It looked like a very long shed, as it was built upon piles 10 or 12 feet from the ground, and had no walls, only a floor made of split bamboos, laid 1 or 2 inches apart, very convenient for lodging no dust and for throwing down any odds and ends you may want to get rid of, and a very high palm-leaf roof, which slanted right down below the floor, and so, unless you were underneath, entirely hid the fact of there being one."

"We were welcomed with great courtesy by the chief, and given the further end of his village, or rather house, to live and sleep in ; and as we stood at the top, looking down, a sea of faces met our eyes—men, women, and children, gazing with bated breath on the first white man or woman they had ever seen. "

"They had heard of white men, and some of them had seen them, and they certainly were extraordinary enough ; but a white woman !—words evidently failed them, as their wide-open mouths and vacant faces testified ; and except for our own voices, not a sound broke the dead silence with which those hundreds of eyes watched our every movement. From then to the day we left we had absolutely no privacy. Their various works fortunately called them away sometimes, but they were determined to lose nothing, and I was never without a small audience. I got quite clever at dressing and undressing under a sarong, while they all sat round patiently, watching and longing for the moment when I should drop the sarong, so that they might

see what transformation had been going on. It was all like a very thrilling play to them."

"I found, as we thought, a really private place for bathing in a stream not far off. We pretended to be going in the opposite direction, and then we doubled back when we were out of sight, and Dick sat within calling distance at the top of a small hill between me and the village to keep off all intruders; but it was no good. The natives had hidden themselves most successfully, and only when I had finished crept away through the trees on the opposite side."

"I was a constant excitement to them, and one day when I was sitting in the house, a very old woman could bear no longer the suspense of not knowing whether white skin felt the same as black, so she summoned up all her courage and bore down on me; the other people delighted at her pluck, and thrilled to know the result of her investigation. She came nearer and nearer, in a creepy, squirming way, as if she was treading on hot coals, and when she was quite close she suddenly put out a skinny finger and touched my hand, and then drew back very quickly, as if it had burnt her. I laughed, and my audience all joined in, delighted."

"One-third of the house all up one side was boarded off, and divided into extraordinary little boxes for the women and children. The kitchen and store-room were also there, and the whole place looked very like an untidy hen-house on a large scale. The kitchen was very simple, just a flat stone fireplace, with no means of carrying off the smoke, which was allowed to escape where it liked."

"At night we all slept in one serried row, packed like sardines, the whole way down this hugely long house. I slept at the top, then Dick, then all the other men, quite close up to us, only divided by a mosquito curtain and a shallow step, and our only means of going in and out was by more or less swarming a very thin, nearly perpendicular trunk of a tree, with notches cut in it. This was stuck up

at the extreme end of the house, right away from us, and I shall never forget it, as I was very ill once up there, and picking my way in a half-fainting condition at night over all those sleeping and never-ending men's legs whenever I wanted to get into the air, and the swarming backwards and forwards at the other end is still almost like a nightmare to me."

"This all living together in civilized countries would mean endless rows; but all the time we were living with these Head-Hunters we were struck with their gentleness and the extraordinary peacefulness of their home life. Countries outside the pale of civilization certainly teach us a great deal."

"They have much less vice than we have in many ways. The breaking of the Seventh Commandment was among the Muruts an almost unknown crime, punishable with death."

"In those crowded houses their girls are as safe and sacred as if each of them were under lock and key."

The volume also contains interesting narratives of the author's visit to China and Japan, and residence on the West Coast of Africa. The illustrations are numerous and well executed.

JOHN LANE; THE BODLEY HEAD, LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1906.

6. *Rifle and Romance in the Indian Jungle: a Record of Thirteen Years*, by CAPTAIN A. J. R. GLASFURD, of the Indian Army, with numerous illustrations by the author and from photographs. The author of this well-written and beautifully illustrated volume does not go over old ground, but aims at bringing the reader into direct contact at the present time with the surroundings of the Indian sportsman and naturalist, and to lead him into the jungle, with all its fascinating variety of scene and season, hill and plain, where in spirit he may make acquaintance or renew an intimacy with its shy denizens and their habits. To this end the author's effort

has been made to bring out those apparently unimportant details, the light and shade, so to speak, that, apart from the mere gratification of a hunting instinct, goes so far to complete the pleasurable whole of a hunter's wanderings. The illustrations, made by the author himself, possess a value as being essentially correct and strictly true to Nature. The jungle sketches are merely the records of the quiet solitary *shikari*, who, lacking the means or the inclination, or both, for the slaughtering of a large amount of game in a short space of time without the exercise of personal effort or woodcraft, works alone or in the company of a single comrade, and with his simple equipment penetrates to retired spots—the peaceful haunts of game. In this way he was able to trace the habits and daily life of the creatures of the jungle in a way which is denied to those employing more pretentious methods. At sunset and at dawn, by the light of the moon, from the solitary mighty host, or silently treading the undisturbed forest, he discovers and narrates the secrets of the wilderness, and becomes therefore an inmate himself of the wilderness. The chapter titled “Reminiscences of Junglypur,” now deserted cantonments of that portion of the Indian Army long known as the Hyderabad Contingent, is peculiarly interesting.

The appendix contains, amongst other interesting matter, a glossary of such Hindustani words as do not bear their own explanation in the text.

The volume is full of useful information, not only to the sportsman, but to the general reader, and the beautiful illustrations add much to the liveliness of the narratives.

LUZAC AND CO.; GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON.

7. *The Achehnese*, by DR. C. SNONCK HURGRONJE, translated by the late A. W. S. O'SULLIVAN, Assistant Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements, with an Index by R. J. WILKINSON; 2 vols. This work is an interesting collection of lore of every kind regarding the turbulent

inhabitants of Acheh (Achin), who have given our Dutch neighbours in the East trouble for so long. As far back as 1786 the Englishman Francis Wight reported to the Governor-General of Bengal that they were "rigid and superstitious Mahommedans, sullen, fickle, and treacherous," and would need "a force sufficient to subdue all the chiefs." Although the Dutch war of conquest has, it is alleged, lasted over thirty years, the learned author (whose Arabian studies and journey to Mecca make him a particularly important authority on the custom and law of Mahommedan peoples) points out that the "force sufficient" has never, from various causes, been employed long enough until recently, and that consequently the defeated Achehnese always recommenced the strife on being stirred up by their *teungkus*, or religious teachers. The whole kingdom now, however, acknowledges the rule of the Dutch, and is administered by native chiefs under the sway of the *Gömpeuni*, and we have here an account of the manners and customs that exist within its territories. The first of these volumes—which though encyclopædic, we cannot do more than mention in a few words—includes chapters upon the people, government and justice, calendars, agriculture, domestic life, and law. The last shows the inevitable relation between *adat* (custom) and *hukum* (religious law), so difficult to define, but which plays so large a part in a Mahommedan State. Nothing is made definite about the origin of the people. It is shown to be probable that Islam had formerly much influence, though it has left little trace on the customs, and it is also likely that the conversion of Acheh to Islam was from Hindustan also. The people though jealous of slave blood, have always welcomed strangers especially Arabs and Klings, and their chief line of princes from 1723 are said to be of Bugis origin. The customs are mainly patriarchal, but signs of former slavery remain also. The *gamping*, or village, is the smallest territorial unit, and it is ruled by the *keuchhi*, or headman, the *teungku*, religious chief, and the *urëng luha*,

or elders. The associated *Gampongs* as *Mukims* are swayed by the *Imeums*, and they in turn by the *U's'ebalang*, or territorial ruler, nominally a subject of the *Rafa Acheh*, whose power has for long, however, been shadowy. We are told many details about the chiefs and their wars with the Dutch "unbelievers," and the last conflict has given rise to a new epic (*Hikayat prang Gōmpeñi*), of which a sketch is included. The women of Acheh marry earlier than in most Malay countries, and are generally wedded to men of equal birth; interesting accounts are given of the marriage and birth customs. Divorce (*talené*) on certain conditions may be procured, but is seldom desired. [On this and many cognate subjects the author falls foul of M. Vanden Berg.] Many Achehnese are practically monogamists, and the position of women is pretty high for the East, as one might expect from a people which has had several Queens among its rulers.

The second volume deals with learning and science, literature, pastimes, and religion. It is shown that, in spite of the power of Islam, heretical mysticism of a Pantheistic nature has had some vogue. Art has never had much influence in Acheh, and the artistic sense is little developed except in the making of silk fabrics. The realm of literature is very fully dealt with, and many *Hikayats* will be read with interest. [The *Hikayat Pochūt Mūhamat*, pp. 88-100, is of some slight historic value.] The native fiction also occupies many pages, and we welcome "the seven-headed elephant." Games come next, and the "games of suggestion" are worth noticing, as are the *Rahebs*, which, in the form of the *Rahéb Sudati*, are the most popular forms of entertainment, and descriptions of which fill many pages. The music, costume, native medicine, popular feasts, and processions of the Achehnese are all discussed in this important and painstaking work, which is a valuable and welcome addition to the books in English on the countries of the Malay Archipelago.
—A. F. S.

JOHN MURRAY ; ALBEMARLE STREET, LONDON.

8. *Things Indian*; being discursive notes on various subjects connected with India. By WILLIAM CROOKE, of the Bengal Civil Service (retired), pp. 544. It would be difficult to review shortly and at all adequately a book dealing with as many subjects of interest as are contained in this encyclopædic work, so it will be best only to indicate its nature. It is a sequel to Dr. Ball's *Things Chinese*, and Professor Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*, and it will be found to be a worthy successor and a valuable guide to persons seeking for information on subjects connected with life in India which are not easily found in other ordinary books of reference. The author points out that as he deals with subjects connected with so large an area, inhabited by so many totally dissimilar races and peoples, he has naturally been forced to rely on many authorities, though trusting to his own knowledge and experience of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the necessary local information. This work, which includes a multitude of articles—to choose but a few subjects at random, "Agriculture," "Barasaul Guns," "Dacorty," "Education," "Johar," "Shikaw," "Towers of Silence," and "Writing"—written in excellent style, will be read with pleasure, and not only the articles themselves, but also the references appended to them, will be found of much value. Colonel D. D. Cunningham and Mr. Vincent A. Smith are thanked by the author for having read the book in proof, and we may congratulate all who had a hand in the publication of so welcome a work.—A. F. S.

9. *Empires and Emperors of Russia, China, Korea, and Japan*, by COUNT VAY DE VAYA AND LUSKOD. It is not easy to see why this well-got-up work is not more interesting. Perhaps it is because it is a translation, or perhaps because it, while partaking of the nature of both, is neither to be counted a book of travel nor a book dealing with royal gossip. The writer, a Hungarian priest, Mon-

signor Vay de Vaya, went in 1902-1903 on a mission connected with the Roman Catholic Church to Russia and the East at a very interesting period, and this book, which contains an epilogue written in view of the Japanese victories, is the result. The most valuable part, perhaps, is the chapter on "Manchuria under Russian Rule," which first appeared in the *Revue de Deux Mondes*, as it deals with the political situation before the Russo-Japanese War. The author praises in his notes on China, as perhaps in duty bound, the Chinese Christians, and in the chapter on Korea lays stress on the anarchy of the Koreans and of their apparent incapacity for self-government. His narrative of travels in China and Japan, particularly the former, contain some descriptive passages, showing his real appreciation of the beauty of scenery, art, and architecture; and, indeed, somehow his chapters give a better indication of the glamour of China than do the books of many more painstaking travellers. The meetings with potentates, which he narrates at length, do not interest us as much. He was impressed by the "simplicity" of the Tsar (who gave him permission to visit Siberia) in the "little hermitage of Alexandrovsky," was received by the Empress Dowager and the "immovable" Emperor in China, and by the Mikado and the kindly Empress in Japan. More notable, as it gives the portrait of a less-known ruler, was his reception by Li-Hsi, the Emperor of Korea. The book is very well illustrated, and many of the author's sketches will be found of artistic work, as well as of interest.—A. F. S.

10. *Sadi's Scroll of Wisdom*, with Introduction, by ARTHUR N. WOLLASTON, C.I.E. This translation is one of the "Wisdom of the East" series, whose object is to be "the ambassadors of goodwill and understanding between East and West, the old world of thought and the new of action." Mr. Wollaston, in his Introduction, gives a very interesting history of this famous Persian poet, and quotes a description of him by a native annalist. He "was

short, and not very handsome. His head was extremely long, truly indicative of a grave and saintly aspect. His dress was eminently simple, consisting of a turban, a long blue gown worn over his undercoat, and a stick in his hand. The character of this venerable bard was highly noble, and becoming a great person. He was extremely courteous and affable to his friends, and generous towards his enemies. In wit he surpassed every author of his age, and his humour was so successful that he could make the most silent and melancholy face laugh in his company. He was a boy among the circle of experienced youths, a sage among a society of divines. In a word, he was an accomplished scholar, an excellent master of pure Persian eloquence, an unsullied instructor of divinity, and a consummate painter of life and manners."

The Scroll of Wisdom, or The Pand Namah, first ascribed to Sadi about A.D. 1438, is a small volume of poetry, "embodying precepts which would not do discredit to the philosophy of this the twentieth century of the Christian era. Concise and elegant, the work is most popular throughout the length and breadth of the Persian-speaking East. This may indeed well be the case, inasmuch as, in addition to beauty of diction, it is written in a metre which flows in easy cadence, and fixes the words of the poem on the mind. Hence the lines are committed to memory to an extent that is probably not surpassed by any work in the Persian language." Mr. Wollaston adds, "that no translation of *The Scroll of Wisdom* has been published in this country during the last hundred years"; "though in Bombay some twenty years ago an Indian scholar rendered it into English," now out of print. We can only give one quotation, that on

CONDEMNATION OF OPPRESSION.

"The world witnesseth desolation owing to failure of justice,
As it were a beautiful garden from the autumn gale.
Do not give way to oppression in any case,
Lest the sun of monarchy suffer decline.

He who raiseth the fire of oppression in the world,
 Occasioneth a sigh on the part of the people of the land.
 If a tyrant raiseth a sigh from the soul,
 The anguish createth a flame over land and water.
 Do not oppress poor helpless people,
 Without further thought as to the narrowness of the grave.
 Be not disposed towards the market-place of oppression ;
 Be not neglectful of the smoke of men's hearts.
 O man of haste ! be not an oppressor of humanity,
 For of a sudden the wrath of God will overtake thee.
 Do not oppress the poor humble people,
 For without doubt the tyrant passeth to perdition."

The following is Sadi's prayer :

" *In the Name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate !*
 " O merciful Being ! take pity on our condition ;
 For we are captives in the snare of lust !
 We have no protector save Thee !
 Thou art the all-sufficient Forgiver of sins to us sinners !
 Keep us from the path of error ;
 Forgive us our trespasses, and show us righteousness."

THACKER, SPINK, AND CO. ; CALCUTTA, 1906.

11. *A History of Assam*, by E. A. GAIT, Indian Civil Service. The author having received great encouragement in tracing the history of this region of country, has dedicated his work to Sir Charles James Lyall. The country grows in interest chiefly from its tea plantations and other industries which have sprung up since its administration by the British Government. Hordes of immigrants of the Mongolian race in Western China entered India through Assam, and settled in Bengal. Like Bengal, large sections of the population are of mixed origin, but there are also " numerous tribes who are almost pure Mongolians, and the examination of their affinities, in respect of physique, language, religion, and social customs, with other branches of the same family, forms one of the most interesting lines of inquiry open to ethnologists." The author, under the guidance of Sir Charles Lyall, then Chief Commissioner, prosecuted his historical researches, and in the course of these inquiries there was discovered " a rock

inscription at Tezpur and five ancient copper-plates, containing records of land grants by bygone Kings, and these, with two similar copper-plates already known, gave a good deal of information concerning the Kings who reigned in the Brahmaputra Valley between the years 800 and 1150 A.D." Additional plates and historical manuscripts were found in other districts, "but the most important results of the inquiries were in connection with the records of Ahom rule. The Ahoms were a tribe of Shāns, who migrated to Assam early in the thirteenth century. They were endowed with the historical faculty in a very high degree, and their priests and leading families possessed *buranjis* (a term used as one of the very few Assamese words which are derived from the Ahom—the literal meaning is 'a store that teaches the ignorant'—*bu* 'ignorant persons'; *ran*, 'teach'; and *ji*, 'store' or 'granary') or histories, which were periodically brought up to date. They were written on oblong strips of bark, and were very carefully preserved and handed down from father to son. The number still in existence is considerable." "The more recent of these *buranjis* are written in Assamese, which was gradually adopted by the Ahoms after their conversion to Hinduism, but the earlier ones in the old tribal language, which is similar to that of other Shān tribes, and is written in a character derived from the Pāli." The author brings his history from prehistoric times down to the present day, and gives an important history of the tea-plant and the improvement of its cultivation and preparation for the market. The author concludes his interesting and exhaustive history as follows: "The benefits which the tea industry has conferred on the province have been many and great. The land most suitable for tea is not adapted to the cultivation of rice, and the greater part of it would still be hidden in dense jungle if it had not been cleared by the tea-planters, who in 1901 paid a land revenue of £41,000 in addition to £5,000 paid as local rates. The gardens gave employment in the same year to more than

600,000 labourers." In consequence of this progress, roads and railways are being constructed, in order to improve and extend communications. To this interesting and well-authenticated history there is a minute index.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. VII. : Indo-Aryan Family; Southern Group; Specimens of the Marāthī Language. Compiled and edited by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. RETD. (Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1905.) This handsome, princely volume has been prepared, under the supervision and responsibility of Mr. Grierson, by Dr. Sten Konow, of Christiania, Norway. There is an admirable Introduction, and a map to illustrate the various dialects of the Marāthī language. There is also a "Skeleton Grammar," which will prove exceedingly useful. The printing of the various specimens of the literature are remarkably clear and distinct.

Archæological Survey of India (New Imperial Series) : Vol. XXXIII., *Western India*; Vol. VIII., *Architecture of Ahmadabad*, Part II. (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co. London: Quaritch, etc. 1905.) This handsome volume contains very numerous and well-executed illustrations from photographic and lithographic plates of Muslim and Hindoo remains in the vicinity. The Muhamadan remains are so numerous that only a selection could be surveyed and delineated. Dr. Burgess says in his preface: "The ornamental details are so beautiful and interesting that it may be regretted that several of them are not reproduced to larger scales; but financial considerations interposed in this, in the arrangement of some of the details, and in the reproducing of more of the illustrative photographs made for survey." He adds: "This volume completes, I believe, my work for the Government of India." There is also an index to

Vols. VI., VII., and VIII. of the "Archæological Survey of Western India."

Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay, assembled for the Purpose of making Laws and Regulations in 1905. Vol. XLIII. Published by the authority of the Governor. (Government Central Press, Bombay, 1906.) This large volume contains the proceedings of March 18 and 20 and other documents, with an index and numerous appendices.

Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, for the Year ending March 31, 1906. (The Economical Press, Lahore.) This report is divided into two parts, the first consisting of Departmental Notes, Expenditure, Inscriptions, Photographs, and Drawings. Part II. consists of Preservation of Ancient Monuments, Explorations, Epigraphy, and Acquisitions for Museums. The area for the past year is Mathra (United Provinces), Simla-Chamba-State, Kañgrā, Lucknow, Kasia (Gorakhpur District), Sārñāth Allāhābād, Saton, and Fatehpur.

The Drahmans and Kayasthas of Bengal, by Babu Girindran'ath Dutt, B.A., M.R.A.S., M.S.A., author of "The History of the Hatwa Raj," etc. Reprinted from the *Indian Review*. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras.) A well-printed, brief, and interesting history of the two chief castes of the educational population of Bengal. It is a praiseworthy effort and a very able endeavour to explore, by patient research, a field left almost still untouched by Oriental scholars. It contains also chapters on the early history of Bengal, the present social condition of the Bengalees, and an earnest appeal to their patriotic sympathies and duties.

First Steps in Muslim Jurisprudence, consisting of Excerpts from Bākūrat-al-Sa'd of Ibn Abū Zayd, with Arabic Text, English Translation, Notes, and a Short Historical and Biographical Introduction, by Alexander D. Russell, M.A., LL.B., Chief Magistrate of the Colony of the

Gambia; and Abdullah Al-Ma'mūn Suhrawardy, M.A., M.R.A.S., Barrister-at-Law. (Luzac and Co., 46, Great Russell Street, London, 1906.) This well-printed and concise book of about 100 pages will be useful to the English student commencing the study of Arabic, who may be desirous of entering the public service in India or Egypt, and, in a special way, to those in our West Africa Colonies and Protectorates. As the rite of Mālik is almost exclusively observed in the latter regions, a manual of Muslim law from that point of view is of great use. The Arabic text is printed along with the translation, which will be convenient to those whose duties are to administer Muslim law, with respect to such subjects as civil status, marriage, succession, gifts, wills, guardianships, and kindred questions. The manual will also be of much use to those who desire to become acquainted with English legal terms, and, to a certain extent, the English language.

Music and the Anti-Nautch Movement, by C. Tirumalayya Naidu, M.R.A.S. (Madras: The Arya Press, 1906.) This is a native argument as to the effect of music and singing, properly guided and purified, on the moral, intellectual, and social faculties, with special reference to the doubtful efforts of the Anti-Nautch movement in India.

Manual of Colloquial Tibetan, by C. A. Bell, Indian Civil Service. (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 41, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.) The object of this well-printed book of 450 pages, with an excellent map of Tibet and surrounding regions, compiled from the latest information, and explanations of Tibetan and Mongolian names, is to provide a practical handbook to those who desire to acquire a speedy knowledge of colloquial Tibetan. The written language is useless for conversational purposes. The dialects are numerous—according to the saying, "Every district its own dialect, every Lama his own doctrine"—and the author of the work has very wisely selected that of Lhasa as the most widely spoken and most

correct in speech. The English-Tibetan Vocabulary given in the work contains nearly 10,000 Tibetan words. The honoric words—*i.e.*, the terms used in addressing the higher classes—will be found extremely useful. Rules are also given in each chapter of the grammar to be followed by the student, with corresponding elucidative exercises. There are also numerous other helps to those who wish to acquire a knowledge of the language, or to visit the country, or to enable him to discharge his duties as a public official. We most cordially recommend the work to all those to whom we have referred.

The Journal of the Siam Society. Vol. II. (Bangkok. London: Luzac and Co. Leipsic: Otto Harrassowitz. 1906.) The object of this society being "the investigation and encouragement of art, science, and literature in relation to Siam and neighbouring countries," the present volume contains interesting articles on the history of ancient Siam, researches into indigenous law of Siam as a study of comparative jurisprudence, and other kindred subjects; also a concise memoir of eminent Orientalists who were members of the society, and who have recently died.

The Instruction of Ptak-Hotep and the Instruction of Ké'gemni: The Oldest Books in the World. Translated from the Egyptian, with an Introduction and Appendix, by BATTISCOMBE G. GUNN. (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, W., 1906.) This is one of "The Wisdom of the East Series," whose object is to be the means of conveying "good-will and understanding between East and West, the old world of thought and the new of action." The translator, Mr. Gunn, has given a long and exhaustive history of these "Instructions," called "Books." The first, he points out, "has been strangely overlooked by the educated public hitherto, although it would be difficult to over-estimate its importance to literature, as the oldest complete book known to ethics and theology, as the earliest expression of the mystery we name conscience, and to lovers of antiquity as one of the most instructive

and touching relics of a people and a power that once were great and are now brought to nothing." In the Appendix there are the Instruction of Amenemhê't, the King and founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, and a short Bibliography. The work is of great interest and value.

Pro Armenia, the fortnightly journal published at 3, Rue de Pondichery, Paris, M. Francis de Presseusé being editor, with M. Anatole France and Jean Janrès as coadjutors, is at least supplying *mémoires pour servir* in its eight quarto pages. The "Informations" constantly being received from its trusted correspondents in Western Asia tell to those who care to read their telegrams and brief notes the incidents and course of the pitiless warfare going on for months past between Tartars and the Armenian communities all round, from Erzeroum to Tiflis. For instance, in the number for August 20 there is an account of a pitched battle lasting two days, fought at Shousha, said to have been "provoked by *les Tartares*." After some scores had been killed the Tartars pleaded for an armistice, the terms of which, as granted by the Armenians, are set out in due legal form; but, having taken breath and obtained reinforcements, the Tartars, when night came, fell upon their victims, who lost 150 killed and wounded; but the Armenians being victorious drove their enemies from the field, burning 200 of their dwellings. This is only a sample, by the way, of the cruel struggles going on for months past, faithfully recorded in *Pro Armenia*, though Western Europe knows little and cares less, while Russia herself is struggling for very life, and her people are being decimated by fusillades in the provinces and bombs in the capital cities.

Contrasts in the Campaign, by Various Writers. (Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, London, E.C., 1906.) The object of this very interesting book is to show, from the evidence and experience of missionaries in various fields of labour, among pagans, heathens, idolators, and believers in erroneous religious systems, how men and

women, in adopting Christianity, become altogether changed in their moral habits and actions. Missionaries in British Columbia (among Canadian Indians), in West Africa, in Western India, in Mid China, in Toro, Uganda, in Kashmir, in West Africa, in South India, and in Japan, all tell of satisfactory and encouraging results. The various testimonies are simply and interestingly given, illustrated by neat representations. The contents of the book challenge the objector to missionary work by simply saying *Circumspice*, "come and see" for yourself, and judge by the fruits of missionary work the importance and necessity in advancing civilization, and promoting happiness and well-being.

The Anglo-Russian Literary Society (founded in 1893). (The Imperial Institute, London, S.W.) Proceedings, May, June, and July, 1906, No. 46. This report contains many interesting papers or lectures on various subjects, especially that on "The Jews and Zionism." It also contains a statement of the objects of the Society, and its rules.

The Indian Magazine. (A. Constable and Co., London.) The number for July contains much interesting information, especially in reference to the history and contents of the India Office Library. On the European side there are 49,000 works; on the Oriental side, 31,000, and 10,000 manuscripts.

Arabic Palæography. A collection of Arabic texts from the first century of the Hidjra till the year 1000. Edited by B. MORITZ. Large folio, 188 phototypic plates. Size 47 × 33 centimetres. Sole agent outside Egypt, Karl W. Hiersemann, Leipzig. The aim of this work is to represent the development of the Arabic writing, particularly in manuscripts, based upon the rich material in the Khedivial Library, Cairo. Forty-eight of the plates represent quite a number of magnificent Korans of the Mameluke Beys period, and some Persian, Indian, and Turkish Korans. On account of their splendid ornamentation they are of a

particular interest, and bring rich material for the history of Mohammedan art.

The Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute. (Northumberland Avenue, London, W.C., 1906.) The *Journal* of this Institute for July contains a very able and interesting paper by Mr. Lionel Decle on "The Development of our British African Empire." Sir Harry Johnston writes: "Mr. Decle was one of the first Frenchmen to promote a common understanding with Great Britain in the matter of the development of the African Continent, and his remarkable journeys in North-East, South, and Central Africa, and in Madagascar, have at different times thrown much light on the actual condition and future possibilities of these regions." And Mr. Decle himself states: "I can, without boasting, claim to hold the unique position of being the only man who has travelled twice over every portion of our African Empire, from the Cape to the Nile: first at the time when the foundations of the great monument which has since been built up were being laid, and a second time five years later, when its framework had been completed." In his first journey, lasting three years, he devoted a considerable time to the study of the natives, their habits and customs. Five years later, in 1899, Mr. Decle was sent by Mr. Rhodes to study the resources and capabilities of the regions through which his Cape to Cairo railway and telegraph lines were to pass, and his instructions were also to find a route for the railway from Lake Tanganyika to Lake Victoria Nyanza.

Livingstone College Year Book, 1906. (Livingstone College, Leyton, London, E.) This is a record of a year's work at the College, and of former students in all parts of the world, and contains most useful hints to travellers in tropical countries on matters of health, outfit, and travel. The work ought to be in the hands of missionary students destined to labour in Eastern countries.

Notes on Africa for Missionary Students. (London: Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, E.C., 1906.)

The notes are compiled by different hands. The greater part of the first five chapters is taken from various publications of the Society. The other five chapters are new, referring chiefly to Christian mission work. There are also a list of books useful for students, chronological tables, an excellent index, and a map of Africa.

There has been recently published at Bombay the second instalment of a far-reaching historical work which makes large claims on the attention of students of archaic periods. This portion traces what few tangible records and allusions the author (Mr. Jamshedji Pallonji Kapujia), after prolonged research, has been able to find that throw light on the prehistoric migrations and polity of the Aryan race before its separation into its Iranian and (later) Hindu branches.

Emerging from these dim and distant centuries, Mr. Jamshedji comes within the still early historic period to the close of the Kyanian (Persian) dynasty. Other portions of this monumental survey are nearly complete, and may be issued by the close of the present year.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: George Newnes, Limited, London and New York: *The Strand Magazine*, *The Grand Magazine*, *The Sunday Strand*, *The Wide World Magazine*;—C. B. Fry's *Magazine*;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney;—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred

Hölder); — *The Contemporary Review*; — *The North American Review*; — *Public Opinion* (London); — *The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London); — *Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.); — *The Canadian Gazette* (London); — *The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London); — *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London); — *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.); — *The Cornhill Magazine*; — *The Zoophilist and Animals Defender* (92, Victoria Street, London, S.W.); — *Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden); — *Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1^{er} et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte 19); — *The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.); — *The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.); — *The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin); — *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*. Revue philologique, paraissant tous les trois mois, vol. v., Nos. 3, 4 (Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1906); — *The Wednesday Review* of politics, literature, society, science, etc. (S. M. Raja Ram Rao, editor and proprietor, Teppakulam, Trichinopoly, Madras); — *The Hindustani Review and Kayastha Samachar*, edited by Sachchidananda Sinha, Barrister-at-law (Allahabad, India, 7, Elgin Road); — *Proceedings of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893), May, June, and July, 1906 (the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.); —

The Hindu (published at the National Press, 100, Mount Road, Madras);—*The Christian Patriot* (the M. E. Press, Mount Road, Madras);—*Journal of the Moslem Institute*, a quarterly chiefly devoted to subjects of Oriental interest (Calcutta);—*The Busy Man's Magazine* (The Maclean Publishing Company, Ltd., Toronto);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay* (Luzac and Co., London; Bombay Education Society's Press, Bombay);—*The Virjanand Magazine* (Partabgarh, Oudh, India);—*Bombay Gazetteer*, vols. iib. to xxivb., and General Index (Government Press, Bombay);—“*The Poisoners; or, As 'Twas in Italy.*” A tragedy, by Edwin Sauter (Saint Louis: Published by the author at the Sign of the Leech, 1331, N. Seventh Street);—*The Literary Digest*, which now includes *American Public Opinion* (Funk and Wagnalls Co., publishers, New York and London.)

We regret that want of space obliges us to postpone our notices of the following works: *Ancient Records of Egypt*: historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian Conquest. Collected, edited, and translated, with commentary, by James Henry Breasted, PH.D. Vols. i., ii., and iii. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906; London: Luzac and Co.; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz);—*The Great Plateau*: being an account of exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904-1905, by Captain C. G. Rawling (London: Edward Arnold, 41 and 43, Maddox Street, Bond Street, 1905);—*With Mounted Infantry in Tibet*, by Brevet-Major W. J. Ottley (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1906);—*A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, by Jane E. Duncan (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1906);—*Afghanistan*, by Angus Hamilton (London: William Heinemann, 1906);—*The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A., D. LITT., etc. Vols. i., ii., and iii. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner

and Co., Ltd., Dryden House, Gerrard Street, W., 1905) ;
—*Lift Irrigation*, by Alfred Chatterton (G. A. Natesan
and Co., Madras) ;—*Researches in Sinai*, by W. M.
Flinders Petrie (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) ;
—*Asia*. Vol. i., Northern and Eastern Asia, by A. H.
Keane (E. Stanford, 12-14, Long Acre, London, 1906).

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Viceroy has appointed a Committee, consisting of Sir A. T. Arundel, Sir D. C. J. Ibbetson, Mr. H. Erle Richards, and Mr. E. N. Baker, members of the Executive Council, with Mr. Risley as Secretary, to consider various reforms in administration, including the extension of representation in the Legislative Council.

Lord Lamington laid the foundation-stone of the new European Hospital in Poona, the gift of Mr. Jacob Sassoon, to commemorate the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

The designation of the cantonment of Mian Mir to be changed to Lahore cantonment has been sanctioned.

The district of Khandesh has been divided into two separate collectorates, to be known as West Khandesh, with headquarters at Dhulia, having an area of 5,903 square miles, a population of 469,654, and a land revenue of 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs of rupees; East Khandesh, with headquarters at Julgaon, with an area of 4,551 square miles, 957,728 inhabitants, and a land revenue of 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. The initial outlay on account of buildings for the new district will be £21,000, and the annual expenditure £5,400.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has sanctioned a grant of Rs. 8,000 towards the cost of building and fitting up a science laboratory in St. Stephen's College, Delhi.

For details of the Budget see under "Correspondence and Notes."

According to a preliminary statement, the receipts in India to the end of June, compared with 1905-1906, are better in land revenue by 37 lakhs, in Excise by 4 lakhs, in Customs by 10 lakhs, in assessed taxes by 4 lakhs, in registration by 1 lakh, and in civil revenue by 25 lakhs; while there is a falling off of 16 lakhs in opium, 14 lakhs in salt, 32 lakhs in provincial rates, and 5 lakhs in forests.

The cash balance on the last day of June amounted to Rs. 17,59,07,000, being 2 lakhs more than on the same date last year. The balance of gold reserve at the close of the half-year was £13,015,048.

The statistics of the overland trade with the countries on the border for last year show an increase of about one crore and a half, as compared with the previous year, the total being 1,684 lakhs. The trade with Nepal showed an increase of nearly one crore, and with Tibet it had increased from 25½ to 43½ lakhs. Trade with Cashmere decreased by 5 lakhs, and with Afghanistan there was an increase of 5 lakhs. Burma's trade with the countries on her border grows steadily, and her share in the total was 437½ lakhs, Bengal 381½ lakhs.

The income of the East India Railways during the first six months of the current year was 42 lakhs (£2,826,666), or 23 lakhs (£153,332), being the highest record.

The number of persons under State relief throughout India at present exceeds 252,000.

Sir J. Bampfylde Fuller having resigned the Lieutenant-Governorship of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Mr. Lancelot Hare, C.S.I., C.I.E., has been appointed in his stead, and he will be succeeded by Mr. Francis Slacke, a Commissioner and member of the Legislative Council.

Babu Radha Charan Pal and Mr. J. R. Bertram have become members of the Bengal Legislative Council.

Mr. Macpherson, member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, has become a member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Hon. Mr. H. A. Slim, C.I.E., having resigned as a member of the Viceroy's Council, Mr. Gordon Walker takes his place.

Major Sir Francis Younghusband is appointed Resident of Cashmere.

Mr. J. E. Phillimore, I.C.S., has been appointed District Sessions Judge of Sylhet and Cachar.

Dr. Asutosh Mukerji has been appointed a Judge of the

High Court of Judicature at Fort William, in place of Mr. Justice Henderson, deceased.

Mr. J. P. Hewett has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Agra and Oudh.

Sir Denziel C. J. Ibbetson, K.C.S.I., has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in succession to Sir Charles Rivaz, K.C.S.I.

The total amount expended in 1905-1906 on minor irrigation works in the Madras Presidency was Rs. 8,59,857, or 93·3 per cent. of the total allotment sanctioned for the year.

The Madras Government has sanctioned the sum of Rs. 1,15,600 for the construction of an anicut across the Gundlakamma River, and the excavation of a supply channel therefrom to Markapurталuk.

The Hon. L. C. Miller and the Hon. Mr. J. E. P. Wallis have been appointed Judges of the Madras High Court, in succession to Sir James Davis and Mr. Justice Moore.

BURMA.—The foreign trade (excluding Government transactions) for the year 1905-1906 amounted to 2,384 lakhs, as against 2,542 lakhs in the previous year. The total coasting trade was 1,888 lakhs, as against 1,675 lakhs in the previous year. The aggregate trade in 1905-1906 was Rs. 42,18,00,240. The net Customs duty collected during the year was Rs. 1,40,68,674, as against Rs. 1,57,07,037 during the preceding year.

The total estimated area under cotton for the year 1906-1907 in all the sixteen cotton-growing districts is 188,694 acres, an increase of 6,659 acres over last year. In Sagaing and Meiktila there have been increases of about 5,500 acres and 1,200 acres respectively; while in Myingyan there has been a decrease, owing to the lateness of the rains, of nearly 1,000 acres.

INDIA: NATIVE STATES. — The royalty paid to the Mysore Government from the gold-mines in the State for the year 1904 was nearly Rs. 17,42,462, as compared with Rs. 17,31,357 for 1903, an increase of Rs. 11,105.

The Bahawalpur State has decided to build a railway from Khanpur to Cha Chaman, on the Indus line. It will be twenty-two miles in length, comprising four stations.

The Maharaja of Travancore has accepted the appointment of Mr. S. Gopalachariar as Dewan of Travancore.

The Jam of Jamnagar, one of the principal chiefs of Kathiawar having died, the succession has passed to the direct heir.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—The Khan of Dir, having acted contrary to the provisions of the Chakdara Agreement, moved his forces in August against the Khans of Robat and Barjholi. He captured Birun and besieged the fort of Robat Khan, who surrendered.

A raiding gang was successfully routed by a party of Kyber Rifles, under Captain Bickford, on July 26, at Gandao. Two outlaws, named Rasul and Twaiyib, were killed and several others taken prisoners. The outlaw Rasul had taken part in at least two serious raids in the Peshawar district in the early part of the year.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Ameer has started cotton and silk-weaving factories in several of the cities in his territory, and is actively endeavouring to foster the industries. He declares that henceforth education will be the sole path to State employment.

It is expected that the meeting of the Ameer of Afghanistan with the Viceroy of India will take place in December, and probably he will leave Jalabad on December 17. There may be 25,000 troops taking part in a military demonstration.

PERSIA.—Sir Cecil Spring Rice has left England for Teheran, to assume his new duties as British Minister in Persia.

In consequence of disturbances and demands by the people for "self-government," the Shah has promised to grant a Parliament representing the various classes of the population.

PERSIAN GULF AND MASKAT.—The last Consular report in relation to Koweit shows that the trade has risen from Rs. 35,65,894 to Rs. 59,73,251.

The trade of Bahrein has increased during the past year, the imports from Rs. 1,48,84,129 (£992,275) to Rs. 2,43,01,519 (£1,620,169); the exports from Rs. 1,35,07,491 (£900,499) to Rs. 2,04,50,643 (£1,363,409).

YEMEN.—It is stated that in July sixteen battalions of Turkish reserves near Sana had mutinied. The mutineers, after some hundreds had been killed, surrendered.

An Iradé was issued in July calling out 17,000 recruits for service in Yemen.

CHINA: HONG KONG.—Sir Henry Spencer Berkeley (Attorney-General) has been appointed His Majesty's Consul for the Colony of Hong Kong; Berthold George Tours, Vice-Consul at Chung-king.

Two sections (ninety-one miles) of the Shanghai-Nanking Railway were opened on July 16.

A plot was formed by a gang of disguised pirates to seize a British steamer, trading between Canton and Wu-Chau, but was frustrated, and three of the ringleaders captured and handed over to the British Consul at Wu-Chau.

Attorney-General Wilfley, of the Philippines, has been appointed Judge of the United States Court in China. The Consuls will be limited to small cases. An appeal may be taken to the United States Court. The headquarters of the new court is at Shanghai, and includes the principal Chinese cities.

MANCHURIA.—The Japanese Government opened Dalney on September 1 as a free port.

Japanese troops have been withdrawn from Feng-tien (Mukden province), and the following places are opened to international trade—viz., Tich-ling, Tung-chang-tza, and Fa-ku-men.

JAPAN.—Baron Komura, the new Japanese Ambassador to the Court of St. James, arrived in London on August 16. General Oku has been appointed to succeed the late

General Viscount Kodama as Chief of the General Staff of the Japanese Army.

The foreign trade for the first six months of the present year shows an increase of 20,000,000 yen (£2,000,000) in exports, and a decrease of 60,000,000 yen (£6,000,000) in imports, as compared with the corresponding period of 1905.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS. — Mr. Hugh Fort, Barrister-at-law, has been appointed an unofficial member of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements.

The Legislative Council has passed a resolution to the effect that it is expedient to incorporate Labuan with the colony.

Mr. William Paterson Waddell has been appointed Consul of Norway at Singapore for the Straits Settlements.

CEYLON.—The revenue of the colony for the first half of this year amounted to Rs. 16,753,368, showing a net increase of Rs. 1,682,866 over the same period of last year.

The Customs revenue of the Central Provinces for the same period of this year amounted to Rs. 5,121,089, against Rs. 4,984,334.

The total export of black tea to all countries during this year to August 20 amounted to 107,945,857 lb., as compared with 105,642,870 lb. for the same period of 1905. The export of green tea for the same period was 1,948,087 lb., as compared with 1,717,352 lb. for the corresponding period of 1905.

Sir Joseph Turner Hutchinson, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Cyprus, has been appointed Chief Justice of the Island of Ceylon.

Mr. Thomas Barcroft Lewis Moonemalle has been appointed an unofficial member of the Legislative Council to represent the Kandyan Sinhalese.

Mr. E. B. Creasy has been appointed Consul of Norway at Colombo for Ceylon.

AFRICA : TRANSVAAL.—Lord Selborne has announced

that natives who work three months in the year shall pay only £1 hut-tax, instead of £2. Cape "boys" will be exempt, as they are not natives.

AFRICA : ORANGE RIVER.—The revenue of 1905-1906 amounted to £760,200; the expenditure to £758,800. The imports for the year ended March 31 showed a decrease of £100,000, but there was an increase of £654,000 in the exports. The wool export had increased from £413,000 to £546,000, the largest amount yet recorded.

AFRICA : NATAL.—With reference to the rising in Natal, referred to in our last issue, Sigananda and six of his sons were tried for treason and rebellion at Nkandhla. He, with four of his sons, were convicted, and two were acquitted. There were further additions to the insurrection on the Tugela, in which 4,000 rebels took part. At the fight at Noodsburg and other districts many natives were killed. Mesini's Impis were afterwards dispersed, and many of his followers killed. Mesini and Nahloonkatimuni, the two important rebel chiefs, surrendered with some of their followers, and the rebellion gradually came to an end. Colonel Mackenzie on July 28 stated that the rebellion in Natal and Zululand was at an end. A composite regiment of 500 men was to be formed to remain in the field for six months. He said that over 2,000 rebels had been killed, and about 3,000 taken prisoners.

AFRICA : CAPE COLONY.—The revenue for 1905-1906 was £8,269,299; the expenditure £8,264,671.

EAST AFRICA AND UGANDA PROTECTORATE.—The Secretary of State proposes, at an early date, that Letters Patent be issued for the establishment of a Legislative Council in the East Africa Protectorate, which will include unofficial members nominated by the Crown.

NIGERIA.—An International Commission was convened in London in the spring to prepare a definite Convention relative to the delimitation of the French and English territories between the Niger and Lake Chad. The new

frontier gives France the sultanates of Maouri Adar, Kouni, Gober, and Maradi. The French Colonial Office has chosen the members of the mission which is to mark out on the spot the frontier thus defined in London. France obtains the trade route from Niger to Lake Chad, between Saij and Dosso, and traversing Dosso, Matanpari, Kouni, Tibiri, Maradi, Zinder, Adebour, and Kabi. The Government has renounced authority over the tribes transferred to French suzerainty. The two missions will start shortly.

SOUTHERN NIGERIA.—Mr. J. J. Thorburn, Colonial Secretary, has been appointed Lieutenant-Governor.

The rebels belonging to the Ekumeiku Society, who murdered Mr. Oswald Crewe Reid, have been punished.

The punitive operations in Southern Nigeria are meeting with considerable resistance. One English officer and thirteen natives have been killed by an explosion of tonite whilst clearing a Niger waterway.

The chief Nana has been allowed to return to Southern Nigeria and to settle at a town called America, in Benin River. An allowance of £10 a month will be paid to him for two years, after which he may be able to support himself.

A native rising has taken place at Agtor, from some difficulty with the natives of Owa, who were engaged in constructing the Benin-Asaba road. The British Commissioner was killed by the son of the King of Owa. Captain Rudkin, with one and a half companies of the West Frontier Force, marched from Asaba. He attacked a combined native force from Owa, Uteh, and Owanta. The natives were driven off, and, having effected a junction with Captain Wayling, the disturbance was stopped.

AUSTRALIA: THE COMMONWEALTH.—The revenue for the past year amounted to £11,880,000, being £492,000 in excess of the estimates. The exports were £57,000,000; imports, £38,000,000.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The expenditure during the

past financial year was £11,389,707, leaving a surplus of £902,305.

The total value of production and industries for 1905 was £46,692,000, representing £31 11s. 6d. per head of the population, as compared with £39,382,000 in 1904.

The population on June 30 was 1,540,240, an increase of 9,540 for the quarter, including an excess of births over deaths of 6,691.

There was a surplus in the revenue of £896,124.

The minerals of the State are worth £7,000,000 a year : Gold, £1,000,000 ; silver, £2,500,000 ; coal, £2,000,000 ; copper, £500,000 ; tin and zinc, £500,000. Experts estimate that the coal-fields which are at present known contain £40,000,000,000 worth of workable coal.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the past financial year amounted to £3,854,000 ; the expenditure, £3,726,000.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the year ended June 30 was £3,558,939 ; expenditure, £3,632,318.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Legislative Assembly passed by a large majority the Government Bill for the reduction of the franchise qualification for the Legislative Council from £25 to £15.

On August 30 the Hon. A. H. Peake, on presenting his Budget, said that during the year the population had increased nearly 6,000 ; the death-rate was the lowest on record. There was a surplus of £87,500 in the revenue, the largest for fifteen years. The sum of £185,000 had been appropriated from revenue for the reduction of the Public Debt. The season had been good. The rainfall was the heaviest for many years. Harvest prospects were excellent. The sheep numbered 6,500,000, and the wool exports were valued at £1,250,000.

NEW ZEALAND.—The new Ministry has been formed as follows : Sir Joseph Ward, Premier, Colonial Treasurer, and Minister of Industries and Commerce ; Mr. Hall-Jones, Minister of Public Works and Railways ; Mr. Carroll, Minister of Native Affairs ; Mr. Pitt. Attorney-General,

Minister of Defence, and Colonial Secretary; Mr. McGowan, Minister of Justice, Mines, and Immigration; Mr. Millar, Minister of Marine, Labour, and Customs; Mr. McNab, Minister of Lands and Agriculture; and Mr. Fowlds, Minister of Education and Public Health.

On August 28 the Prime Minister, in his Budget, said there was a surplus of £788,795 in the last financial year. The Public Debt had increased by £2,266,839. The colony's balance of assets over liabilities amounted to £255,015,321. The white population of the colony increased from 117,000 to 890,000 in five years.

Sir John Gorst has been appointed Special Commissioner to represent the British Government at the New Zealand and International Exhibition, which is to be opened at Christchurch on November 1.

CANADA.—The revenue for the eleven months of the fiscal year ending May 31 was \$71,012,213, compared with \$63,324,329 for the same period of the last year, being an increase of \$7,688,884.

The foreign trade for the year ending June 30 amounted to £110,400,000, an increase of £16,400,000 over that of the previous year. The imports for the same period increased more than £5,600,000, and exports more than £10,600,000. Exports of Canadian farm produce increased more than £5,400,000; forest produce, £1,000,000; fisheries, £1,000,000; and manufactures, £700,000. These figures show the unprecedented prosperity and increased development of the country.

The Dominion paid in bounties on industrial products during the last financial year a total of £616,480.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during the past quarter of the following: Deputy-Surgeon-General Theobald Ringer, M.D., Indian Medical Service, late 7th Bengal Cavalry (Lucknow and Delhi);—Hugh Vachell Bradley, Major 9th Goorkha Rifles (Lushai 1889, Manipore 1891, Tirah campaign 1897-98); Major-General

- A. M. Rainey, Indian Army (Bellary Field Force 1858-59); — Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Hamilton (Crimea, Inkerman, Sebastopol, Cawnpore, Bhognapore, Culpee, Oude); Colonel A. R. T. McRae, Bombay Army (retired); — Thomas Robertson, c.v.o., late General Manager Great Northern Railway, Ireland, afterwards Chairman Irish Board of Works, and latterly Special Commissioner on Indian Railways; — Major Nicol Grahame Fraser, Poona Horse, Bombay, entered 1888 (Chin-Lushai Field Force 1889-90, Chitral 1895, Mohmund 1897); William Knox Johnson, Indian Educational Service; — Major MacCarthy R. E. Ray, D.S.O., Indian Army, D.A.O.M.G (Intelligence Branch); Captain J. D. Macpherson, 91st Punjabis; — Major-General H. G. White, late Royal Scots, entered 1853 (Crimea, Sebastopol, Redan, Indian Mutiny); Colonel Mark Lever Bell, v.c., c.b. (Bhootan Field Force 1865-66, Hazara campaign, 1868, Ashantee 1873-74, Burma 1886-87, Aide-de-camp to Queen Victoria, 1887); — Colonel Francis George Savage Curtis, c.m.g., late 6th Dragoons, joined 1854 (Crimea 1855, Indian Mutiny, Delhi, Transvaal 1881); — H. J. Tedder, i.c.s., Assistant Commissioner of Fyzabad; — Rev. Canon A. Saunders Dyer, m.a., f.s.a., Indian Chaplain; — General Sir John Forbes, Poomba Cavalry, entered 1835 (Afghan war 1841-42); — Major-General R. W. Hinxman, 60th Regiment, entered 1849 (Indian Mutiny); — Commander F. C. W. Liardet, r.n. (Kaffir war 1851-52, Burmese 1852); — Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Crossthwaite, Royal Regiment of Artillery, entered 1859 (Afghan war 1880, Tel-el-Kebir 1882); — Captain F. H. Johnstone, late Indian Army; — Major Best, 34th Regiment (Crimea, Indian Mutiny); — Colonel William Spottiswoode Sparkes, entered 1888 (Sudan); — Captain J. T. Coley, Senior Veterinary Officer at Rawal Pindi; — Major-General Patrick Maxwell, Indian Staff Corps, retired (Punjab campaign, 1848-49, Mutiny 1857); — Thomas Dawes, late Lieutenant-Colonel in the Bengal Staff Corps and 17th Bengal Infantry; — Charles William Agnew

Bruce, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Burma ;—Gordon Andrew Duff, Second Lieutenant, attached West Yorkshire Regiment in India ;—Captain George Bennett Gosling, entered Rifle Brigade 1892 (North-west Frontier campaign 1897-98, Alexander Gosling expedition in Nigeria and Central Africa 1904) ;—Andrew Hannah, late of Serajunge, Bengal ;—W. C. Bonnerjee, Barrister-at-law, Calcutta ;—John Walter Stanley Sutherland, late Major 4th East Surrey Regiment, India ;—Alexander Martin Lindsay, C.I.E., Bank of Bengal ;—Major-General F. Wheeler, Bengal Staff Corps, entered 1854 ;—Charles Richard Capel Sandys, Lieutenant Indian Army ;—Maung Hla Oung, Comptroller of Indian Treasuries ;—Deputy-Surgeon-General Edward Taylor, H.M. Bengal Army, retired ;—Howard Tripp, Government Service, India ;—Colonel Henry William Blair, late Indian Staff Corps, joined 1857 ;—Colonel C. N. Judge, Royal Bengal Engineers, entered 1855 (Lucknow) ;—Colonel E. S. Ludlow, C.I.E., Indian Staff Corps, entered 1858 (Indian Mutiny) ;—Augustus Brooke Warden, Judge of High Court of Bombay ;—Major-General H. P. Peacock, Bengal Cavalry, joined 1856 (Indian Mutiny campaign, 1857-58, Lucknow) ;—Colonel Fitzroy Stephen, C.B., entered 1855 (Indian campaign 1857-58, Lucknow, North-West Frontier campaign 1863-64, Afghan war 1878-79) ;—Colonel W. E. Saunders, Principal Medical Officer of the Meerut Division ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Walker Butler Boyd, F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service ;—General Padma Jung, Bahadur Rana (Oude 1857-58) ;—General William Martin Cope, V.C., late Indian Army, joined 1842 (Maharajpore 1843, Punjab campaign 1848-49, Indian Mutiny campaign 1857-58) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Taylor, late Bengal Staff Corps ;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. G. Burton, 53rd Sikhs, Indian Army (several campaigns—including Chitral expeditions) ;—Colonel A. W. McKinstry (Afghan war 1878-79) ;—George Collingwood Kynoch, late Chief Collector of Customs, Burma ;—Rev. Peter John Jarbo

ordained 1853, served many years in India ;—Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. M. Hall (Brigade Transport Officer with the Bombay forces during campaign of 1879-80 ;—William Wybergh James, Captain 20th Hussars ;—Mr. Justice Budrudin Tyabji, Bombay High Court ;—Colonel C. H. P. Christie, Public Works Department ;—Major F. Drake, entered 1847 (Mirzapore 1857, Mungarwar, Alumbagh, Lucknow, Oude) ;—Alexander Pennycuick, C.I.E., late Rangoon, 1897-1900 Member of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma ;—Captain C. B. Farwell, R.E. (Tirah Expeditionary Force, North-West Frontier of India 1897-98) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Leigh, 2nd Punjab Volunteer Rifles ;—C. H. Antram, late Postmaster, Rangoon ;—Lieutenant-General William Hall Caine, Royal Artillery, Madras ;—Captain Joseph Edward Mortimer, 15th East Yorkshire Regiment ;—Major-General R. H. Inglis, Indian Army, entered 1858 (Bhootan expedition 1865-66, Afghan war 1879) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Proudfoot, Madras Army (retired) ;—Lieutenant C. W. T. Wilson, Assistant Commissioner, Supply and Transport Corps (Egypt, Burma, and North-West Frontier) ;—Charles Baron Clarke, M.A., F.R.S., in 1865 Educational Department of the Bengal Government, 1884 Officiating Director of Public Instruction, transferred to Assam as Inspector of Schools, 1885 ;—Lieutenant George Francis Bloomfield Gough, R.E., Pachmarchi, India ;—Lieutenant-Colonel M. Raynsford, late Indian Staff Corps (Sepoy Mutiny) ;—Major-General W. H. Edgcome, R.E., late of India ;—Major-General J. J. Jenkins, Indian Army (retired) ;—Charles Gurdon Kemball, late Judge High Court, Bombay.

September 13, 1906.

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THE IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

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erscheint täglich dreimal. Angesehenste, vielseitigste und gelesenste politische Zeitung Deutschlands, ein getreues Spiegelbild aller wichtigen Vorgänge im öffentlichen Leben, in Handel und Wandel, Kunst und Wissenschaft etc.

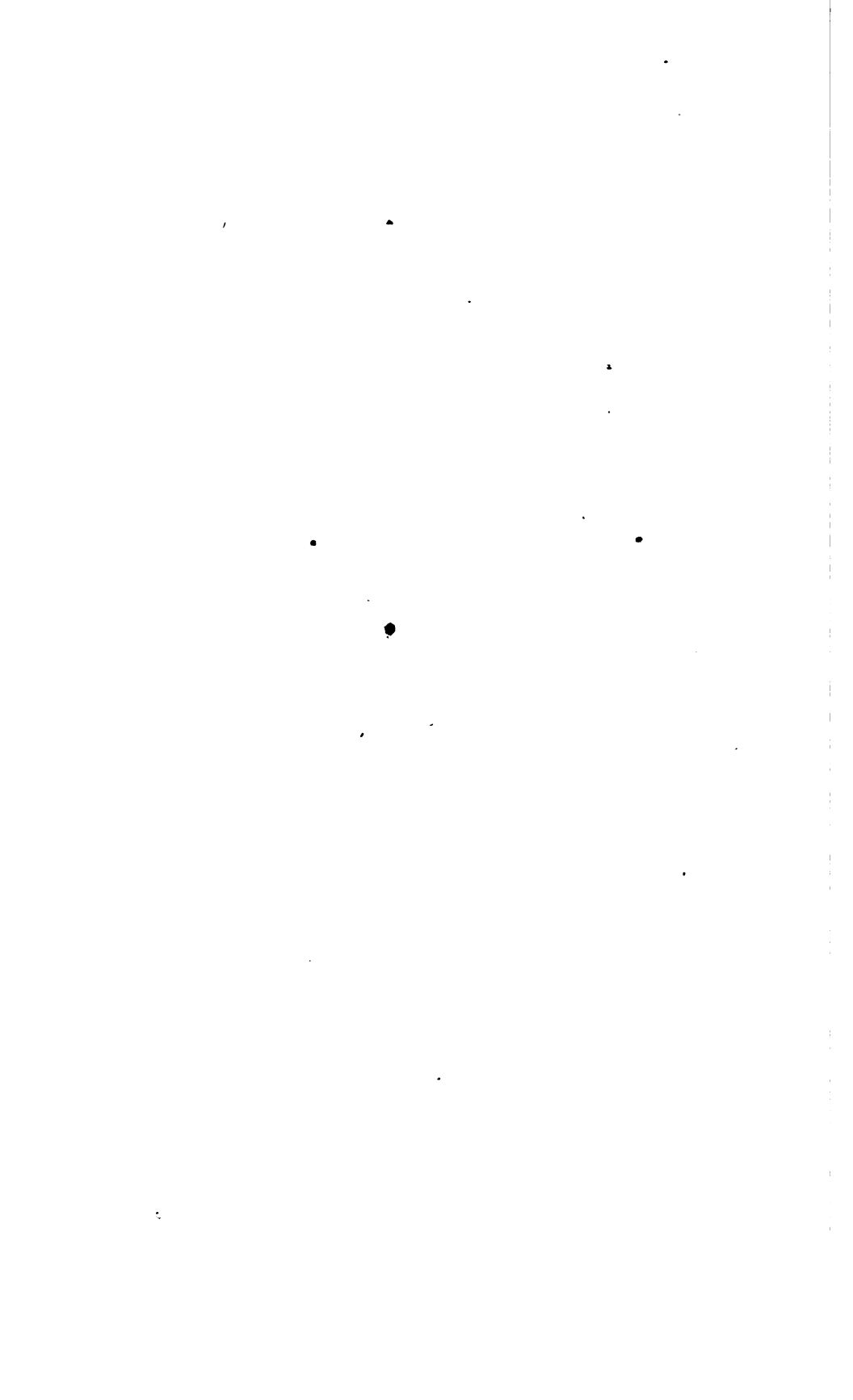
Geschäftliche Empfehlungen im **Anzeigenteil** der **Kölnischen Zeitung** sind für **Exporteure** das erfolgversprechendste Mittel zur Anbahnung und Erweiterung von geschäftlichen Beziehungen auf dem Continent, besonders in Deutschland.

2. Wochenausgabe

erscheint jeden Donnerstag und **ist in allen Ländern der Erde stark verbreitet**. Dieselbe bringt in gedrängter Kürze alle wichtigen politischen Ereignisse der Woche sowie interessante Feuilletons, Vermischte Nachrichten, Abhandlungen über Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft etc.

Der **Anzeigenteil** wird von allen Handelskreisen, welche mit dem Auslande und besonders mit den überseeischen Ländern in Verbindung stehen, in ausgedehnter Weise benutzt und ist daher namentlich Exporteuren zu empfehlen.

Prebenummern sowie ein Verzeichnis der Orte, wohin die Wochenausgabe regelmäßig versandt wird, liefert die Expedition der **Kölnischen Zeitung** auf Wunsch kostenfrei. Aufträge zum Abonnement für jeden beliebigen Zeitraum und zu Anzeigen sowie die Expeditionen in Köln sowie unsere Vertreter an allen größeren Plätzen mitgeteilt.





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